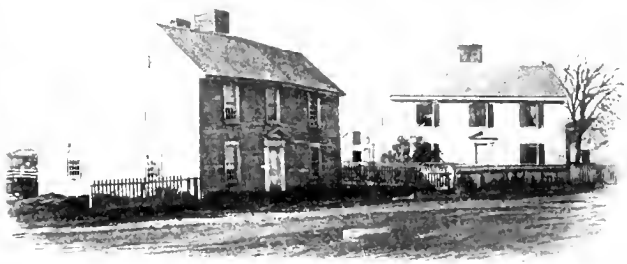


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1783

THE
ANNUAL REGISTER,
OR A VIEW OF THE
HISTORY,
POLITICS,
AND
LITERATURE,
For the YEAR 1780.



L O N D O N:

Printed for J. DODSLEY, in Pall-mall, 1781.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

PHYSICS DEPARTMENT

REPORT

ON THE



P R E F A C E.

AS it would give us the greatest concern, that any part of that Public, to whom we owe such long-continued and infinite obligations, should attribute the lateness of our publication, either to an unthankful remissness on our side, or to a presumptuous confidence on their favour, we think it necessary at this time to say a few words upon the subject.

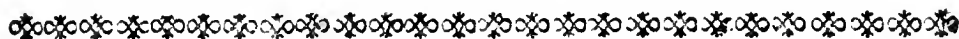
Our first considerable failure in point of time, proceeded from unavoidable misfortune; from long and dangerous illness; a sort of interruption, which a course of years must be expected naturally to produce. Whoever will at all consider the nature of an annual work, of great diversity,

fity, attention and labour, in which the business of the coming year is constantly pressing upon the present, will easily conceive the difficulty of speedily recovering any considerable portion of lost time, even supposing things still to continue in their usual and ordinary course. But in the instance we mention, the occasional delay was immediately succeeded by an unexpected and extraordinary accession of business; which has since continually increased, until it has arrived at a magnitude before unknown. Thus the original difficulty was not only rendered insurmountable, but the evil itself became of necessity greater.

If the Annual Register were entirely a compilation, we should have much to answer for any failure in point of time. But the nature of the historical part, does not admit of such precision. It must, in that respect, as in all others, be governed by the importance and magnitude of its objects,

jects. While the state of public affairs continues to render it the principal and most interesting part of our work, we shall run no race against time in its execution. We owe too much to the Public, to make them so bad a return for their favour; we owe too much to ourselves, to forfeit the high reputation in which the work now stands abroad as well as at home. We trust that the readers of our present History, will equally acquit us of remissness in the execution, and of an undue presumption on their favour in the delay.

THE
ANNUAL REGISTER,
For the YEAR 1780.



THE
HISTORY
OF
EUROPE.

CHAP. I.

Retrospective view of the affairs of Europe in the year 1779. State of the belligerent powers in Germany. Event of the late campaign, induces a disposition favourable to the pacific views of the Empress Queen; which are farther seconded by the mediation of Russia and France. A suspension of arms published, and the Congress for negotiating a peace assembled at Teschen. Treaty of peace concluded. Differences between Russia and the Porte, threaten a new war. Negotiation conducted, and a new convention concluded, under the mediation of the French minister. Naval preparations by Spain. Opens the war with the siege of Gibraltar. France. Consequences of the appointment of M. Necker to the government of the French finances. Successful expedition to the coast of Africa. Ineffectual attempt upon the Island of Jersey. Threat of an invasion, and great preparations apparently for that purpose. French fleet sails from Brest, and proceeds to the coasts of Spain. Combined fleets of France and Spain enter the British channel, and appear in great force before Plymouth. Enemy quit the channel, return again; at length finally quit the British coasts, and proceed to Brest.

THE little effect produced by the contention of the greatest leaders, and of the greatest armies in the world, during the campaign of 1778, in Bohemia, if not entirely sufficient to produce an actual desire of peace on both sides, could not, however, fail to induce a kind of languor and wearisomeness, and in some considerable

considerable degree to wear away that quick relish, and keen appetite for war, which great and untried force and talents, acting under the sanguine hopes of yet unfoiled ambition, are so eminently calculated to excite.

We have heretofore shewn, that this was not so much a war of choice, as of prudence, foresight, and political necessity, on the side of the King of Prussia. He made no claims; he had no immediate object of enlarging his dominions in view; nor if he had, was the present state of public affairs in any degree favourable to such a design. Neither his time of life, his great experience in war, nor the full knowledge he had of the power and ability of his adversary, were at all calculated to excite a spirit of enterprize. On the contrary, the desire of settling, improving, and consolidating with his antient people and dominions, the new subjects and acquisitions he had gained on the side of Poland, together with that still stronger wish, of transmitting a peaceable possession, and undiminished force to his successor, were objects which tended powerfully to dispose him to the preservation, so far as it could be properly and wisely done, of the public tranquillity.

But no motives, however cogent, could justify to him, in a political view, the admitting of any considerable addition of strength and dominion, to the power of the house of Austria; more especially, when this addition was to establish a precedent of innovation and dismemberment, which might in time be equally

extended to all the other states that compose the Germanic body. Upon the whole it would almost seem, as if fortune, who had so often wonderfully befriended that hero, and whose apparent desertions of him in cases of great danger, (which were no less conspicuous than her favours) always tended ultimately to the increase of his fame, was now anxious to affix a new stamp to the renown of her old favourite; and of closing his great military actions by a war, in which he was to appear, rather as the generous protector of the rights and liberties of the Germanic body at large, than as acting at all under the influence of any partial policy.

On the other side, the past campaign had afforded a full conviction to the emperor, (a prince prepared for war beyond almost any other, by the fine state of his armies, and the resources of his own indefatigable and resolute spirit) of the immense difficulty, of making any successful impression upon such an adversary as the King of Prussia. With so vast a force, and assisted by such consummate commanders, he could only act upon the defensive; and could not prevent his own dominions from being rendered the theatre, and being consequently subjected to all the calamities of war. It was true indeed, and no small matter of boast in such a contest, that he had suffered neither defeat nor disgrace; that the enemy had been obliged to abandon Bohemia, notwithstanding their utmost endeavours to establish a secure footing there during the winter; and likewise, that the losses on both sides were pretty

pretty equally balanced. But then it was obvious, that the season was the immediate cause which compelled the enemy to retreat from Bohemia; however, the good dispositions made by the emperor, which equally baffled all the efforts made by the King of Prussia, for gaining his favourite point of a general action, and defeated his views of obtaining any sure hold in the country, tended more remotely to that effect. Such a view of the circumstances of the campaign, could afford no great encouragement to an obstinate perseverance in the contest. A defensive war, however ably conducted, or however abounding with negative success, could by no means, whether in point of honour or effect, answer the purposes for which it was undertaken; and the prospects of changing its nature were confined indeed.

However numerous or cogent the causes and motives we have assigned, or others of a similar nature, might have been on either side, for the discontinuance of an unprofitable war, they would have been found unable to subdue the strong passions by which they were opposed, if another, of greater power than the whole taken together, had not, happily for Germany, and perhaps for no small part of the rest of Europe, supervened in restoring the public tranquillity. The late illustrious Maria Theresa, along with her other eminent virtues and great qualities, possessed at all times, however counteracted by the operation of a high and powerful ambition, a mind strongly impressed with an awful

sense of religion. This disposition, which naturally increased with years, was farther strengthened by the melancholy arising from the early loss of a husband whom she tenderly loved; and was latterly finally confirmed by the happy settlement of her numerous offspring, which freeing the mind from care and solicitude, tended equally to wear it from the affairs of the world.

The event of the late struggle with the King of Prussia, notwithstanding the immense assistance she then received, and which she could not hope now to receive, must have added great force to these motives. She could not wish to end her life in the midst of such a war. It was accordingly, much against the inclination of that great princess that the present war was undertaken; and she is said to have submitted with the greatest reluctance to the opinion of her council, and the desire of the emperor on that point. For, although that prince could only derive his means of action through the power of his mother; yet it would have been a matter of exceeding difficulty to her, directly to thwart the opinion and inclinations of a son, who was in the highest degree deservedly dear to her, who was to be her sole and immediate successor, and who scarcely stood higher in her affection than in her esteem. It was probably this reluctance to the war, on the side of the Empress-Queen, which produced those various appearances, of fluctuation in the councils, or of irresolution and indecision in the conduct of the court of Vienna, of

which we have formerly taken notice.

The ineffectiveness of the campaign, the equal fortune of the war, and the cessation of action occasioned by the winter, served, all together, to produce a state of temper and disposition, which was far more favourable to the pacific views and wishes of the empress, than that which had hitherto prevailed. She perceived, and seized the opportunity; and immediately applying her powerful influence to remove the obstacles which stood in the way of an accommodation on the one side, had soon the satisfaction of discovering that her views were well seconded, by the temperate disposition which prevailed on the other.

It is however to be observed, that the mediation of the court of Versailles, and the powerful interposition of the court of Petersburg, contributed essentially to further the work of peace. France was bound by the treaty of 1756, to assist the court of Vienna with a considerable body of forces, in case of a war in Germany, and she had been called upon early in the present contest to fulfil that engagement. The court of Versailles was likewise disposed to wish well to the house of Austria from private motives; as well as to cultivate and cement the new friendship and alliance from public. But France being likewise a guarantee of the treaty of Westphalia, her old engagements militated totally with her new in the present instance; she being thereby bound to resist all such infractions and invasions of the rights of the Germanic body, as those which she was now called

upon by the court of Vienna to support. She must therefore, in any situation, in which she was not disposed to become an absolute party in the contest, wish to be relieved from this dilemma. But her war with England, and her views with respect to America, operated more forcibly upon her conduct on this occasion, than any German treaties or connections. In the contemplation and pursuit of these grand and capital objects, the necessity of keeping her force whole, her attention undivided, and of restoring peace upon the continent, were all equally obvious, and were all mutually dependent. No wisdom could foresee, or venture to prescribe, what unexpected connections and alliances might spring up, and what new collisions of interests might take place, under a further progress of the war. France could not recollect the ruin brought upon her in the late war, without shuddering at the thoughts of Germany. It is not then to be wondered, that she was equally sincere and zealous in her endeavours to restore tranquility on the continent.

The court of Petersburg had from the beginning shewn and expressed the strongest disapprobation of the conduct, and paid no favourable attention to the claims, of that of Vienna; and had early avowed a full intention of effectually supporting the rights of the Germanic body; at the same time that preparations were actually made, for the march of a large body of Russian troops. Her powerful interposition, through the medium of her minister Prince Repnin, had no small effect in

facili-

facilitating the negotiations for peace.

Under such circumstances, and the offices of such mediators, little doubt was to be entertained of the event. Whether it proceeded from a view of giving weight to their claims in the expected treaty, or from any jealousy in point of arms or honour, which might have lain behind from the preceding campaign, however it was, the Austrians attacked with extraordinary vigour, and with no small degree of success, several of the Prussian posts on the side of Silesia and the county of Glatz, soon after the commencement of the year. The liveliness of these insults did not induce the king to any eagerness of retaliation. Points of honour of that nature weighed but little with him. He foresaw that an accommodation would take place; and he knew that no advantages which could now be gained would tell in the account upon that settlement; whilst a number of brave men would be idly lost without

March 10th. object or equivalent. 1779. An armistice on all sides was, however, published, before the season could have admitted the doing of any thing essential, if such had even been the intention.

The Congress which was to preserve Germany, from the most alarming and dangerous war to which it could have been exposed, was held at Teschen in Austrian Silesia; a town and district, which the emperor had generously consented to constitute into a Duchy, under the title of Saxe-Teschen, in favour of Prince Albert of Saxony, upon his marriage with an Arch-Duchess in 1765. At that

place, the garrison being previously withdrawn, the Imperial and Prussian ministers, with those of all the princes engaged or interested in the present contest, as well as of the two mediating powers, were assembled, immediately after the publication of the armistice. And so happy were the dispositions which now prevailed among the contending parties, and so efficacious the endeavours of the mediators, that the peace was finally concluded in May 13th. two months.

By this treaty, the late convention between the court of Vienna and the Elector Palatine was totally annulled; and the former restored all the places and districts which had been seized in Bavaria, excepting only the territory appertaining to the regency of Burg-hausen, which was ceded to the house of Austria, as an equivalent or indemnification for her claims and pretensions. That court likewise gave up to the Elector Palatine, all the Fiefs which had been possessed by the late Elector of Bavaria; and agreed also to pay to the court of Saxony, as an indemnification for the allodial estates, and other claims on that side, the sum of six millions of florins; (amounting to something near 600,000 pounds sterling) to be paid in the course of twelve years, without interest, by stipulated half-yearly payments. Some cessions were likewise made by the elector, in favour of the house of Saxony; and some equivalent satisfaction promised by the emperor to the Duke of Deux Ponts, on his succession to the double electorate. All former treaties between the court of

Vienna and the King of Prussia were renewed and confirmed; and the right of the king to succeed to the margraviates in the remote younger branches of his own family, upon the failure of issue in the immediate possessors. (a right which had been only called in question through the vexation of the late contest) was now fully acknowledged and established. The ducal house of Mecklenburgh was put off without any other advantage in lieu of its claims, than the promise of some new privilege with respect to appeals.

Upon the whole, few treaties of peace have been conducted upon more equitable principles, than those which seem to have prevailed in the present. The territory acquired by the house of Austria is not inconsiderable; being about 70 English miles in length, and something from about half to a third of that extent in breadth. This acquisition lies between the Danube, the river Dan, the Sultza, and the borders of Austria; including the towns of Scharding, Kitz, Altheim, Braunau, Eurglanse, Fryburg, and some others; forming, all together, a strong barrier, and a fixed unequivocal boundary, the limits of which are decisively marked out by those great rivers, between that arch-enemy, and the present dominion of Austria. This accession of territory, the court of Vienna seems, however, to have purchased at something about a fair price; partly to be paid in money, and partly by a renunciation of old, vexatious, and otherwise inextinguishable claims, which however, in general, unproductive, would

for ever have kept open a source of litigation, trouble, mischief, and war. To which may be added, that the establishment of a fixed and permanent barrier and boundary between the two states, seems to be a measure fraught with greater advantage to the Elector of Bavaria, as the weaker prince, than to the Arch-Duke of Austria, who is so abundantly his superior in strength. It may likewise be farther observed, that several parts of the ceded territory, were, what may be called, debateable land; the titles being disputed, opposite claims laid, and they having been heretofore, at different times, objects of great contest.

Such was the early and happy termination of the German war. A war of the greatest expectation; not more from the great power, than from the great abilities of the principal parties.

Many circumstances attending the late war and peace between Russia and the Porte, could not fail to sow the seeds of future discontent, jealousy, ill-will, and litigation, between the parties. Extraordinary success and triumph on the one side, with an equal degree of loss and disgrace on the other, are little calculated to promote any intercourse of friendship, or cordiality of sentiment, among men; nor will a recollection of the hard necessity under which a peace was subscribed, serve at all to render palatable the bitterness of its conditions. On the other hand, the victors are sure to consider the vanquished as owing them too much. They are apt to think, that they have always a right to claim those advantages, which they omitted to secure

cure in the moment of their fortune; and which they look upon as rights existing though neglected, as they could not at that time have been refused if demanded.

The navigation of the Black Sea, the opening the gates of the Dardanelles and Bosphorus, so as to admit a free intercourse from the White Sea to the Black, the affairs of the Crimea, with those of the Greek and recent provinces of the Empire of Constantinople, afforded the friends of those different states, the two empires, such an opportunity to such a lengthened dispute, that a new war broke out.

At the close of the fall of these provinces, the latter had been long known, that nothing was to be done without necessity, and that a concession of immediate independence would have been of great service to Russia in the navigation of the Black Sea. It might have appeared in private councils, under circumstances, to be of the greater danger, to have thrown the rule of the Crimea into the hands of a nation, living in the centre of an empire, into the hands of a powerful and litigious neighbour, who was watching only for means and opportunities to grasp at every part of the whole manor. It is not then to be doubted, that the Porte used every possible evasion to avoid a compliance with, and threw every obstacle in the way which could tend to render ineffective, that article of the late treaty. It seems however, that the Russians had notwithstanding, with wonderful spirit and industry, very speedily advanced large capitals, and opened a considerable

commerce on that sea. It may then be fairly presumed, without an absolute possession of facts, that commercial avidity was continually increased, in proportion to the number, magnitude, novelty, and value, of the objects which were gradually opened to its view; and that thus, new, and perhaps unreasonable claims, were as frequently started on the one side, as an indisposition to comply with the fair and literal terms of the treaty, was prevalent on the other.

The second ground of dispute, seemed still more difficult and delicate. The Porte had unwillingly consented by the late treaty, to admit or acknowledge the independence of the Crimea. That independence must be considered only as nominal. Between such powers as Turkey and Russia, such a power as the Khân of the Crim Tatars, cannot be really independent. The Turks were in hopes, as that prince and his subjects are Mahometans, to weaken the force of that article, by their natural inclination to the Porte. Otherwise they would have considered their concession in a still worse light. To have thrown that whole country, situated as it is, with its own and the adjoining nations of Tartars, together with the reigning family, the immediate descendants of Tamerlane, and in direct succession to the Ottoman throne, entirely into the hands of Russia, were circumstances exceedingly grievous to a power, which used to give and not to receive the law. Yet this was already the disagreeable and alarming consequence of that concession. For Russia, by a judicious but unsparing distribution of pre-

sents amongst the Tartars, and by artfully fomenting some divisions which had originated within themselves, with respect to the succession, had been able (as we have formerly shewn) to defeat and depose the reigning khân, and to place a creature of her own, although a prince of the royal blood, in possession of the nominal sovereignty; whilst the government was now in effect more dependent upon Russia, than it had even formerly been upon the Porte; the dependance being doubly secured, as well by a predominant faction among the people, as by the disposition or attachment of the prince. By these, and by other means, the Crimea, with Little Tartary, and the Budzinc, were become scarcely any thing less than provinces to Russia; or at least, they were as dependent on that empire, as the nature of that singular people will admit of their being, while they retain any considerable degree of inherent strength.

This conduct, and these circumstances, which certainly militated, at least, with the spirit of the late treaty, could not but give great umbrage to the Porte; and afforded, if not a clear justification, a tolerable ground of controversy, with respect to any slackness or non-compliance on her side, in fulfilling its conditions. But they also afforded cause of the most serious concern and alarm. For that peninsula, surrounded as it is by the Black Sea, and the Pajus Mæotis, and commanding the communication between both, would afford such a claim of right to Russia, with such an interest in, and such a strength upon those

seas, as nothing could afterwards be capable of opposing.

The disputes relative to the Greek nominal princes, but in effect governors, of Moldavia and Walachia, though not of a nature so immediately alarming and dangerous as the foregoing, yet were founded on claims, and on an interference, which tended ultimately to the same point; to the depreciation of the Ottoman power and government, the narrowing of its European dominion, and the finally throwing every thing on that side of the Danube into the hands of Russia. The attachment which the Greek Christians, who inhabit these provinces, had shewn to Russia in the late war, had, along with other motives, induced her to obtain very considerable concessions in their favour at the conclusion of the peace. The effect of the partial advantages granted to these two provinces was soon apparent, by the emigration of Christian inhabitants from those on the other side of the Danube which it naturally occasioned; who, as well as the natives, looked up to another power, than that to which they avowed allegiance, for favour and protection. In order to secure their independence on the Porte, Russia made a demand, that those princes should not be deposed or punished, (misfortunes to which they were particularly liable) on any pretence or account whatever.

In so unhappy a state of weakness and disorder was that vast and unwieldy empire, that it might be a question of doubt, whether to admire the spirit, or to condemn

demn the rashness, which induced the apparent resolution and vigour, with which she prepared for war. The ill success of the late war, had drawn out and exhibited in their utmost magnitude those enormous disorders, which had for so many years been acquiring growth, under a weak and wretched system of government. The distant provinces were still torn to pieces by faction and dissention; and the officers of the state, as well as the great men of the respective countries, were still, in many instances, too powerful to be governed. To crown the calamity, the plague had in the preceding year made such horrible ravages in Constantinople, as had not been before known in that capital, (to which it is so frequent a visitor) since its first acquisition by the Ottomans. It was computed that above 160,000 persons perished by that dreadful disorder, within the metropolis and its environs.

On the other hand, though Russia was conscious of the advantages acquired by the late treaty, she was far from desirous of war. That war, amidst its great and splendid successes, had discovered some symptoms of internal weakness. The rebellion of Pugatscheff, was a fit which laid open some defect in the constitution. Besides, Russia probably could never hope, with the consent of other powers, to obtain advantages equal to the victories she might hereafter purchase as dearly as she had done those of the preceding war. By which, along with her laurels, she brought the plague into a country exhausted of men and treasure. The empress was

therefore very willing to receive any mediation, consistent with her dignity, which in all events she was resolved not to sacrifice. France had the address to avail herself of this situation. The French minister was again the friendly mediator, and the successful negociator in bringing about an accommodation. And his merits and services were again honoured and rewarded, with similar expressions of gratitude, and with similar marks of favour from both sides.

It was, in the first instance more especially, a matter of no small general astonishment, that Great Britain, which had been so long and so closely united, in the strictest bands of friendship, and apparent political communion of views and interests, with Russia, and which had even gone some extraordinary lengths in the late war in her favour, should not have undertaken the friendly office of mediator; by which means she would likewise have had an opportunity of wearing off that, not unfounded, jealousy, which the Porte could not but entertain of her late conduct. On the other hand, a strong jealousy had for several years subsisted between France and Russia; and their political interests and regards so much clashed with respect to that war, that all the world knew, it was in a good measure the apprehension of England, which prevented the house of Bourbon from taking a decided part against the latter, upon her sending a fleet to the Mediterranean.

Whether it was that we were too feeble in the Mediterranean to appear with any lustre in such a negotiation,

negotiation, the effect seemed to be, that France, for some time at least, seemed to attain the ascendant at St. Petersburg, and the credit of Great Britain in that court proportionably to decline.

March 21st. We are not entirely masters of the conditions of the new convention which was now signed. Concessions were made on both sides; and matters of claim, interference, and litigation, amicably adjusted. Some concessions were made by the Porte with respect to commerce, and some new regulations made in favour of its Christian subjects. On the other hand, Russia relaxed in some matters with respect to the Crimea, and the provinces of Moldavia and Walachia, and obtained satisfaction in others. The new Khân of the Tartars was acknowledged by the Porte, and the apparent independency of the Crimea confirmed on both sides. The Empress of Russia had an opportunity of displaying her usual magnificence, by the splendid presents which she made to the French and Turkish ministers, as well as to M. de Stachief, her own resident at Constantinople; who received the valuable, but in other countries unheard of gift, of a thousand peasants; a kind of gift, which also includes the land which they cultivate and inhabit. Upon the whole, this convention seems to have afforded considerable satisfaction to both parties; nor has any matter of complaint or dispute since arisen on either side. By this arrangement, the Porte has had time to breathe, and to settle its affairs. With respect to Russia, it has afforded her leisure to direct her attention to her constant object; that

of displaying her authority, by becoming an arbiter in the public affairs of Europe; although, perhaps, the means of her becoming the greatest monarchy in the universe, (if she be not already such) do not lie on the side of Europe.

With regard to other powers, Spain, in conformity to the new, and, to us, dangerous system, adopted by the house of Bourbon, directed her whole attention to her navy; whilst her land force continued in its usual form. As her rescript to the court of London, on the 16th of June, avowed the part she would take, so the siege of Gibraltar, which speedily followed, pointed out the first and immediate object of her designs.

France, under a new king, and who was not originally furnished with great designs, experienced a wonderful change in her circumstances. That prince very soon appeared to follow better maxims than those of his predecessor. His first business was to reconcile all differences between the crown and the body of the law. He drew from neglect and obscurity men without intrigues, who were rendered respectable to the public by a general opinion of their probity. Maurepas, was a person long laid aside; and now much advanced in years; but he preserved, in that great age, considerable vigour of mind. He is at present, without any onice, the most prevalent in the French councils. St. Germain, whose conduct in the late war had entitled him to universal esteem, was in a like manner drawn from the bottom of his province, and placed in the office of secretary of state; in which, if he had lived, there is no doubt he would have done great

great services. Mr. De Sartine, was not a man of rank; but he had the merit of following up, with extraordinary spirit and diligence, the plan of increasing the marine, which had been adopted in the late reign; but more languidly pursued on account of the ill state of the revenue. But the present king took a still stronger step in the regulation of that important object. Louis the XVI. had the magnanimity, to place Mr. Necker, a foreign gentleman, and a protestant, at the head of his finances. The success and reward, were equal to the liberality and wisdom of the measure. France recovered her public credit. The people of France, for the first time, had the satisfaction of seeing a war carried on by sacrifices on the part of the king, and with an attention to the ease and relief of the people. This measure could not fail to encourage and promote their confidence in government; and must prove a source of strength, which that great monarchy never possessed before. The virtues of a republican state were professed, and in some measure practised.

France opened the year by a successful expedition to the coast of Africa. The squadron employed upon this service was commanded by the Marquis de Vaudrevil, and a land force, much greater than was necessary, (but both taking Africa only in their way to reinforce D'Estaing in the West-Indies) was commanded by the Duke de Lauzun. As the garrisons in that quarter were totally incapable of making any resistance, the British forts, settlements, factories, and property, at Senegal, in the river Gambia, and other parts

of that coast, fell without trouble into the hands of the enemy, between the latter end of January, and that of February, 1779. The French upon that success, abandoned the island of Gorée, which they had recovered by the late peace; and transported the artillery and garrison to strengthen Senegal. Sir Edward Hughes soon afterwards, on his passage to the East-Indies, seized and garrisoned the island of Gorée; and as he had a body of troops on board the squadron, it was eagerly expected and hoped by the public at home, that he would have recovered those settlements which we had so newly lost. But as no attempt of that sort was made, it must be concluded that officer's orders did not extend so far. It was perhaps an object not so important as to risque upon it the much greater objects which were then in view.

As the summer advanced it was thought necessary in France to attempt something, which might shew an early alacrity in some sort correspondent to their great military preparations. The first was an attempt on the isle of Jersey, part of the ancient dutchy of Normandy. This, with Guernsey and the lesser islands, being the sole remains of our vast possessions on the continent of Europe.

The design was laid by a prince, or count of Nassau; whose ancestor, if we are not misinformed, had rendered a very disputed claim, of being in some manner descended from a defunct branch of that illustrious family, the means of much furthering his fortunes in France. The force employed upon this service has been estimated, by different accounts, from three,

to

to five or six thousand men. They May 1st, appeared in sight of the island, in about fifty flat-bottomed boats, under the convoy of five frigates and some armed cutters, early in the morning, and attempted a debarkation in St. Owen's Bay. But they were so warmly and vigorously received, by the 78th regiment, and by the militia of the island, that after a faint, spiritless, and ill supported attempt, they relinquished the enterprise, with very little loss on either side.

Trifling and ineffective as this diversion was, it had the fortune of being productive of some consequences, with respect to the American war. For it happened that Admiral Arbuthnot, with a squadron of men of war, and a prodigious convoy, amounting to about four hundred merchantmen and transports, was then on the outset of his voyage to New York. He happened to fall in with the vessel which was sent express from Jersey to England, with the first account of the attack upon, and the apparent imminent danger of the island. That commander had spirit and resolution enough, rather to hazard any personal consequence that might attend his venturing upon a breach of orders, than to suffer the loss of so valuable an island, whilst he commanded a force in the channel. He accordingly ordered the convoy to wait for him at Torbay, and proceeded himself with the squadron, to the relief of Jersey. Although the delay immediately occasioned by this measure, was in the first instance but trifling, yet through the succeeding casualties of wind and weather, the fleet was not able to get

clear of the land of England, until the beginning of the ensuing month, and did not arrive at New York till near the end of August. As that fleet conveyed the reinforcements, camp equipage, stores, and other necessities, which were to enable Sir Henry Clinton to open the campaign with any vigour, the consequences of so late an arrival are sufficiently obvious.

Notwithstanding the repulse and disappointment which attended the late attempt upon Jersey, the design did not, however, seem to be relinquished. The French troops were landed and retained for several days on the small islands which lie between it and the continent; while the armed vessels paraded on the opposite coasts of Normandy. The spirit, activity, and gallantry of Sir James Wallace, in the *Experiment* of 50 guns, being seconded by two frigates, and as many armed brigs, by which he was accompanied, put an end to this appearance of threat, and state of alarm. That officer having pursued several large frigates, with some smaller craft, into the bay of Concarre in Normandy, until they had run ashore under the cover of a battery, and his pilots not venturing to take any farther charge of his ship, he directly took that charge and risque upon himself, and boldly carried her May 13th. up the bay, and layed her ashore abreast of the battery. In that situation he continued to engage, until he had silenced the guns of the battery, and compelled the French crews to abandon their ships; which being then boarded by the armed boats from the *Experiment* and *Cabot* brig, the *La Danae*, of 34 guns, and rated at

250 men, with two small loaded prizes, were brought safely off; but the country people, with some troops and militia, now keeping up a constant fire, with cannon and howitzers, as well as small arms from the shore, they were obliged to be contented with burning, or otherwise destroying, two other stout frigates, an armed cutter of 16 guns, with a number of small craft.

The attempt upon Jersey appeared, however, to be only a prelude, or intended as a preparatory exercise, to that grand invasion of Great-Britain, Ireland, or both, which seemed at that time, and during the greater part of the summer, to be in the immediate contemplation of France. Whether that design was really adopted, was, with some, a matter of doubt; but it was certainly strongly indicated by appearances; the northern provinces of France were every where in motion; as well on the coasts, as in the interior country. Armies were marched down to the sea coasts of Normandy and Brittany; the ports in the bay and on the channel, which were the best calculated for the purpose, were crowded with shipping; and the king named the generals and principal officers, who were to command or to act in a grand intended expedition. The military power of England was not at that time fully called forth; and the defenceless state of Ireland in the beginning of the year might well have given birth to such a design.

Whatever the designs of the enemy were, Great Britain seemed to have one great object of policy with respect to the direction and disposi-

tion of her naval force in Europe. This was to prevent the junction of the French and Spanish fleets, by blocking the former up in the port of Brest, until the season of enterprize was over.

Although this measure was undoubtedly in contemplation, yet, whether the naval preparation of Great Britain was not so forward as was imagined and given out; or from whatever cause, the sea was left open; and the French fleet at Brest was permitted to join the Spanish at Cadiz. This neglect, or necessity, was the more felt, as it served in its consequences to govern all the ensuing naval events of the campaign; and to give a new cast and colour to the state of public affairs between the house of Bourbon and Great Britain. The murmur and dissatisfaction were likewise much increased, from a general report and opinion, not only that the French fleet was more backward in point of preparation and condition than the British, but that the latter had been dilatory in its motions after it had sailed, as well as slack in its endeavours to prepare for sailing. However these charges or opinions might have been founded, they could not but derive great strength from the subsequent insult on our coasts, which appeared to be the direct consequence of that junction of the enemies united force.

The French fleet, consisting of about 28 sail of the line, under the command of M. D'Orvilliers, sailed from Brest early in the month of June, and 4th. by directing its course to the southward, indicated its destination to the coast of Spain. It has been since said, that it was very defective

tive in point of preparation; but that it hurried to sea in that condition, from an apprehension of its being intercepted by the British fleet under Sir Charles Hardy, which was then daily expected in the Bay of Biscay. It spent some considerable time on the Spanish coasts; and it was reported, that some misunderstanding, or difference, between some of the commanders on both sides, prevented an enterprize of the utmost importance from taking place. It would seem that this must allude to an attack upon Gibraltar, a design which does not, however, seem very consistent with their subsequent conduct. It does not seem improbable that the delay proceeded from the defect of preparation on both sides.

However that may be, the whole force being at length joined, the combined fleets made a tremendous appearance; amounting to between sixty and seventy line of battle ships, besides a cloud of frigates, fireships, and all those smaller kinds and denominations of vessels which in any manner appertain to war. This formidable force, having turned its face to the northward, continued to direct its course to the coasts of Great Britain.

It was rather singular, that the British home fleet, under Sir Charles Hardy, amounting to about 35, or from thence to 38 ships of the line, was then cruizing in some part of the bay, or somewhere near the chops of the channel, and was passed by this great armament, which covered so great an extent of ocean, with-

out their having any knowledge of each other.

The enemy entered the British channel about the middle of August, and paraded two or three days before Plymouth; to the great alarm of the people, but without making any attempt on the place. The Ardent man of war, of 64 guns, which was on her way from Portsmouth to join Sir Charles Hardy, mistaking them for the British fleet, had, however, the misfortune of being taken in sight of Plymouth. A strong easterly wind, which continued for several days, seems to have driven them out of the channel. They however pretended, that they went in search of the British fleet; and they continued to range about the Land's End, the Scilly Islands, and the chops of the channel, until the end of the month. On the last of August, the wind being in his favour, Sir Charles Hardy gained the entrance of the channel, in sight of the combined fleets, without their being able to prevent him. The great object of that commander, was to draw them up to the narrow part of the channel, where, if he should be obliged to an engagement, he could engage upon less disadvantageous terms; and where, either a defeat, or certain changes of the wind, might have been productive of the most ruinous consequences to the enemy.

The enemy pursued him as high up as Plymouth; but being sensible of the danger, particularly at that season of the year, they did not adventure much farther. And as the combined fleets were now become sickly in the most
extreme

extreme degree, so as almost wholly to disable some of the ships; that their ships were otherwise much out of condition; and the equinox fast approaching; their commanders thought it necessary, pretty early in September, totally to abandon the British coasts, and repair to Brest for the assistances which they wanted.

Thus ended the expectations of the enemy, and the apprehensions of Great Britain. Never had perhaps so great a naval force been assembled on the seas. Ne-

ver any by which less was done, or, except by sickness, less suffered.

Nothing could have been more fortunate in these circumstances, than the arrival in England, a few days before the appearance of the enemy, of a great Jamaica fleet, amounting to about 200 ships; and that eight homeward bound East Indiamen, having timely notice of the danger, had thereby an opportunity of putting into Limerick in Ireland.

CHAP. II.

State of public affairs previous to the meeting of parliament. Fast combination of power against Great Britain. Proclamations; for reprisals on Spain; and for defensive measures in case of an invasion. Various manifestos, and public pieces, issued by the belligerent powers. Some observations on the charges exhibited by Spain. Offensive causes, and real motives for war, on the side of the House of Bourbon. Ireland. Causes which led to the present state of affairs in that kingdom. Commercial, and non-consumption agreements. French invasion threatened. Military associations. People become strongly armed. Exemplary conduct of the associators. Prudent measures of government in this country. General demand of a free and unlimited commerce. Dissenters in Scotland, under an apprehension of a relaxation of the paper laws. Outrages in Edinburgh and Glasgow. Subscriptions for raising troops, and other public purposes. East India company grant bounty for raising 6000 seamen, and undertake to build three ships of the line, as an augmentation to the royal navy. State of parties. Changes in administration. Meeting of the Irish parliament.

THE recess of parliament, in the year 1779, opened a period of great danger, and presented a new and unusual face of public affairs, with respect to this country. Our situation in the preceding year had been deemed sufficiently alarming and perilous. We had, however, the fortune to sustain our ancient naval reputation; to maintain our

sovereignty perfect in the European seas; to afford the fullest protection to our own commerce, whilst we nearly ruined that of the enemy, and to suffer no disgrace any where. It is true, that abroad, we lost the valuable island of Dominica; but if this was not compensated for in point of commercial value by the reduction of St. Lucia, it was amply

ply so with regard to the advantage of a naval station, and in point of honour, by the double defeat both by sea and land, which, with forces so greatly unequal, D'Estaing received from the gallantry and conduct of Admiral Barrington and General Meadows. At the same time, the advantages obtained in the East Indies were of the first importance; and the reduction of Georgia, opened the way for goading and wounding the Americans in their most tender and sensible part, by that war which has been ever since carried on in the southern colonies.

In this year, the appearance of things was by no means so favourable. The flags of our enemies, were now for the first time, or at least after a very long interval, seen flying triumphant in our seas, and their fleets braving the British shores with impunity. The mighty accession of the whole weight of the Spanish monarchy, to that dangerous confederacy which was already formed against us, could not but deeply sink a scale, which, without that accession, was apparently to a level with our own. Such a combination of real power, and of actual effective force, has seldom been known in Europe upon any occasion, much less against any single state; excepting, perhaps, only that, which was lately united, but without any application of strength, in the partition of Poland. The great and formidable confederacy against the king of Prussia in the late war, will not hold in this comparison. For besides that he was ably supported by a most potent ally, various

impediments arose in the way; which prevented the accumulation, and the actual exertion of several of the parts, of that vast force which was destined to his destruction. The operations of one of the most formidable of his enemies, were greatly impeded by distance, and still more by internal circumstances. A second, not less dangerous, was, excepting a very short period, taken wholly off his hands by Great Britain. A third, was deprived of power by surprize; and a fourth, was ineffective by nature. Similar exceptions might be found with respect to the grand alliance formed against Lewis the XIV, at the opening of the present century; and it should be remembered that Spain, though it was, in some respects, rather a burthen, than an accession of force to that monarch, yet was more conveniently situated for him than for his enemies; and that the treasures and commerce of the Indies were in a great measure in his hands during the war.

It was not even against a state, single, but whole, that the present mighty combination of power was directed. It was against a state, already weakened by a ruinous civil war, and now disparted by defection; whilst the severed parts operated against it in the duplicate ratio, of a privation of native strength, and a communication of actual force to the combination.

The resistance of Great Britain to that mighty combination, filled all those parts of Europe which looked on with astonishment and respect. At home, her resources seemed to grow with her
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necessities. In no part of the world was her naval or military glory obscured, where it was thought proper to exert, either her naval or her military power. The combined force of the enemy was incumbered with those difficulties which ever attend combined operations: and this was probably the cause of their loss of several opportunities, the right use of which might have proved fatal to us. It was not, as in the war against Louis the fourteenth, in the power of the allies to bring on those great battles which decide the fate of empires. The war was at sea; and the sea is a wide field. The naval mode of war is perhaps in its nature not so decisive as that which is carried on by land. It was become every day more and more difficult to bring on a decision by land. The alarm of the preceding time had caused a great exertion in England, which, from a state very much unprepared, became at length to be powerfully armed. It must be observed, however, that this stand, which was made sometimes by bold pushes, and sometimes by prudent retreats, has had no tendency to bring the war to a termination. The heterogeneous parts of the alliance obtained time to coalesce. The great subject of alarm to all thinking men was the regular progressive growth of the enemies naval force; and that not only in number of ships, but also in naval skill. This had been too much overlooked in the beginning, from our confined attention to the American war. Against this no sufficient precaution seems to have been taken.

VOL. XXIII.

Whether afterwards it was in our power to recover our superiority, it is not easy to determine.

Thus, we not only had to encounter the ancient spirit and gallantry of our neighbour rivals, but likewise that artificial and dangerous courage, arising from a consciousness of professional knowledge and ability; and our seamen could not but be amazed, to see some of their own peculiar characteristics, with respect to maritime skill and dexterity, as it were, suddenly transferred to the enemy.

The hostile manifesto presented by the June 16th, Marquis D'Almodovar, the Spanish ambassador, besides the recal of Lord Grantham from Madrid, drew out from the court of London, on the third day after it was presented, a proclamation for reprisals on Spain, along with another, containing regulations for the distribution of prizes taken during the continuance of hostilities with that country. These were followed, soon after the July 9th. rising of parliament, by another proclamation, which announced to the public the receiving intelligence of an intended invasion of this kingdom by our enemies; and which likewise issued orders to the proper officers, for carefully watching the coasts; and, upon the first approach of the enemy, for the immediate removal of horses, oxen, cattle, and provisions, to places of security, and at a proper (but undefined) distance.

These were followed, at due intervals, and according to all the established rules of form, by

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measured and regular discharges of the diplomatique artillery on all sides. France led the way, as well to bring Spain forward with a good grace upon the occasion, and to justify their respective and reciprocal conduct, as to convince the world, of the close connection of interests and inseparable union, which subsisted between the two crowns. She accordingly issued her manifesto, under the title of “an exposition of the motives and conduct of his most Christian majesty towards England.” In this piece, the following are avowed to be the motives of the war with the united courts, viz. “to
 “*avenge their respective injuries,*
 “*and to put an end to that tyrannical empire, which England*
 “*has usurped, and pretends to*
 “*maintain upon the ocean.*”

Two royal Spanish Chedulas, as they are called, and a circular letter, which were all issued before the end of June, and the first signed in five days after the delivery of the rescript at London, may be considered in part as domestic papers; for although they include, in effect, a declaration of war, they likewise hold out a justification of the king to his subjects for his having recourse to that extremity; along with regulations to be observed by his officers, in respect to the persons and property of the English within the kingdom, and an interdiction of all commerce and connection between the two nations.—In the circular letter, the three following points are particularly insisted on, and seem, although without any direct specification, to be intended for the instruction of the Spanish ministers at foreign courts;

viz. “first, that whilst the court
 “of London fought to amuse
 “that of Spain, in seeking delays, and in finally refusing
 “to admit the honourable and
 “equitable proposals which his
 “majesty made, in quality of mediator, to establish peace between France, England, and
 “the American provinces, the
 “British cabinet offered, clandestinely, by means of secret
 “emissaries, conditions of like
 “purpose with the propositions
 “of his majesty.”—“That these
 “offers and conditions were not
 “to strange or indifferent persons, but directly and immediately to the minister of the
 “American provinces residing at
 “Paris.” And, “that the British minister hath omitted nothing to procure, by many
 “other methods, new enemies to
 “his majesty.”

All this might be true. The British ministers might see reason for declining the mediation of Spain, and applying directly to the American agents. This might have been a proceeding faulty with regard to dignity or to wise policy; (though that is by no means clear) but furnishes a very bad reason for the court of Spain to declare war against that of Great Britain.

These lesser pieces were not long after followed by a state paper of considerable length, published at Madrid, in the nature of a manifesto, declaring the motives which had induced his Catholic majesty to withdraw his ambassador, and to act hostilely against England. This piece abounds with the same sort of loose random charges, exceedingly deficient in point of specification; but with
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an unusual precision, in giving the sum of supposed injuries or grievances, in round and definite numbers, which so much distinguished that presented by the Marquis D'Almodovar. As a justification of the charge of *one hundred* injuries laid in that piece, and a proof of the cautious dread of offending the truth, which prevailed in the making of that statement, (which is likewise particularly noticed) eleven charges are laid here, (as the lawyers express it) in one count, twelve in another, and eighty-six in a third. We are at the same time assured, that they have abstained from lesser and more distant matters of complaint, as being too multitudinous for specification.

These charges may be arranged under the five following heads; violations of territorial rights; insults, or injuries, to the Spanish flag, navy, or commerce; injustice of the English admiralty courts, particularly, or entirely, in the West Indies; numberless wrongs, of various kinds, in the Bay of Honduras; and personal contempt, insult, and attempt at injury, to the Spanish monarch, during the late negotiations for peace, in which he assumed the character of mediator.

With respect to the first of these heads, considering it distinctly from what related to the Bay of Honduras, the only charge specified, is directed to the redress of a notorious act of violence committed by the Spaniards themselves, who in open defiance of the British flag, had unwarrantably seized, and were beginning to plunder, besides exceeding ill usage to the captain and crew, a small

vessel in the Bay of Gibraltar, which happened to be becalmed, or crossed by the current, as she was going in with provisions or necessaries for the use of that fortress. This outrage was committed in open day-light, in the sight of the garrison, and under the view of three British frigates of war, which were then riding in the harbour. As the want of wind did not admit the direct interference of the frigates, they dispatched their long-boats for the redemption of the vessel; the officers and crews of which bravely performed the service, by cutting out and bringing her off, from under the fire of the Spanish batteries. As the success in this business was attended by those usual circumstances of triumph, which are in some degree peculiar to that intrepid order of men who were the actors in it, these now constituted no small part of the present charge.

The charges classed under the second and third heads, are of a nature which admit of no opinion, much less decision, without a due course of enquiry, including a full examination of the evidence on both sides; and are matters which could afford no difficulty in the settling, if the parties were amicably disposed. It may, however, be observed on the whole, that it was not very probable, if any such violations did exist, that they were countenanced by the British ministers, whose policy with regard to their favourite points in America, would naturally make them cautious of giving particular cause of quarrel to the house of Bourbon.

The charges relative to imputed

or real transactions, on the coasts, or in the Bay of Honduras, would require investigation and evidence like the former, in order to determine the question of right in some instances, and to establish the matter of fact in others. Some of them are evidently and grossly mistated; and others are founded upon claims, which are either controverted, or absolutely denied. The charge of exciting the Mosquito Indians to a revolt, seems not better supported. Some connection had been constantly kept up with these people, who having never acknowledged the Spanish dominion, have always been regarded as a free nation. Perhaps the affairs on that coast, ought to have been put on a more distinct footing in the treaty of Paris.

Under the last head of grievance or injury, the charge of duplicity made, as we have seen, on the court of London in the circular letter, is more fully enforced, and more particularly specified. It asserts, that the British cabinet or ministry, (as they are indifferently called) at the same time that they rejected the proposals made openly by Spain, as mediator in the negotiations for a peace, were privately insinuating themselves at the court of France, by the means of secret emissaries, and making very great offers to her to abandon the colonies, and to make a peace with England. And, that at the very same time, they were treating, by means of another certain emissary, with Doctor Franklin, minister plenipotentiary from the American colonies at Paris, to whom they made various proposals to disunite

them from France, and to accommodate matters with England; thus, not only holding out conditions similar to those which they had rejected and spurned at, when coming through his Catholic majesty; but in fact, including offers much more favourable to the Americans. From these premises, the necessity of the Spanish king's giving full efficacy to his engagements with France, is endeavoured to be shewn, and conclusions to the following purport are likewise drawn;—that the English policy was principally directed to disunite the two courts of Paris and Madrid, by means of the suggestions and offers separately made to them; and also, to spread a net for the American states, so that being drawn in by flattering and magnificent promises to a separate accommodation, or even to join their arms against the house of Bourbon, England might afterwards, when they were left alone without protectors, and without guarantees to the treaties which she now concluded with them, again become the arbiter of their fate, and renew all their former oppressions.

Thus far we have seen the ostensible causes of the war on the side of Spain. The secret and prime motive, to which all these served only to afford a colouring, was either so predominant that it could not be entirely concealed, or things were now supposed to be in such situation as rendered concealment unnecessary. The dangerous design of crushing the English naval power, appears rather unexpectedly in the tail of this manifesto; but is as fully to the purpose as in that of France. It

declares,

declares, that, to attain the much wished for end of a secure peace, it is absolutely necessary to curtail and destroy the arbitrary proceedings and maxims of the English maritime power; an object, in the attainment of which, all other maritime powers, and even all nations in general, are become much interested.

Such are, in part, the dangerous combinations, and alarming designs, to which our fatal civil commotions have afforded too substantial a being.

The justifying memorial of the king of Great Britain, in answer to the French manifesto, compleated the circle of those formal appeals to mankind, which the etiquette of modern courts has established, as a sort of preludes to the opening of those real scenes of war and destruction, which they are preparing to exhibit. They usually trumpet forth the godlike attributes of justice, equity, mercy, and above all, that universal benevolence and tenderness to mankind, with which their respective courts or sovereigns are supposed to be infinitely endued; and deplore, in the most pathetic strain, those very evils which they are bringing on, and those miseries, which they are exerting their utmost powers to inflict. If they produce little, or no effect, it is, however, generally as much as is expected from them; and, however small the share of credit which they obtain with the public, it is, almost to a certainty, as much as they deserve.

In this state of danger from our foreign enemies, the empire seemed convulsed in almost all its parts, and on the point of being farther

rent, by internal dissatisfaction and discontent. In Ireland, affairs seemed approaching fast to a crisis. It was not to be expected that a country dependent on Great Britain, and much limited in the use of its natural advantages, should not be affected by the causes and consequences of the American war. The sagacious in that kingdom could not avoid perceiving in the present combination of circumstances an advantage, which was to be now improved, or given up for ever.

A new state of public and private distress, along with a strong sense of recent affronts, (as they were now considered) were the powerful agents, which, combined with several others of a subordinate degree, produced this revolution in the temper and disposition of the people of Ireland. We have on former occasions, and particularly in our last volume, taken notice of some of these matters. Habitual restraint seems in length of time to become so much a part of our nature, that it requires some new exertion, or an application to some tender and untried part, in order to excite any very uneasy sensation, or at least any particular degree of resentment. The restrictions on the commerce and manufactures of Ireland, might have been passed over for some ages to come, with perhaps even less difficulty than they had been endured for near a century past, if a temporary distress had not quickened their apprehensions.

Of all the evils of which they complained, the three years embargo on the only staple export of that kingdom, seemed the most immediately mischievous; and be-

ing considered, from the concessions to America, as particularly insulting, was accordingly the most highly resented by the people. One of the public writers of that country says.—“That it was sent as a curse, and operated as a pestilence.” It was likewise, along with its pernicious tendency and effects, charged with being not only unconstitutional, but directly illegal; and a gentleman of the Irish House of Commons only failed in bringing the question of legality to a final decision in a court of law, by the unexpected death of a custom-house officer, who from the seizure of a cargo fitted out on the purpose, was rendered defendant in the suit which the former instituted. But what aggravated every circumstance relative to this business to the highest possible degree, was the national contempt, which it was supposed to convey. For it being considered merely as a government job, and calculated only (as they said, without reserve, both in parliament and out) to raise immense fortunes for a few English and Scotch adherents to the British ministry, nothing could exceed their indignation at the reflection, that the interests of the kingdom should be sacrificed, and a whole nation reduced to distress, only (as they asserted) to favour the rapacity of a set of contractors.

The public distresses, they said, kept pace with the private, and proceeded from similar causes. Whilst the means of supply were cut off by unjust restriction, a corrupt and profuse system of government, which, they pretended, had been early adopted, and

had generally prevailed, during the present reign, had continually enhanced every article of the public expenditure, until the whole was swelled to its present enormous and ruinous state; far exceeding the standing revenues of the kingdom, and still much farther all past example of expence. Thus, instead of a full exchequer, as heretofore, which might happily afford encouragement to the cultivation and improvement of the country, and to arts and industry among the people, the great object and labour now of every session of parliament, was the multiplication of taxes, and the making some farther accumulation to that national debt, which had been contracted under this ruinous system.

Some other real or supposed matters of irritation, or causes of jealousy, as they excited discontent, suspicion, or apprehension, served likewise to render the sense of immediate grievance or distress still more insupportable in that country. The doctrines of taxation without representation, and of unconditional submission, which were extended to America, were urged, not unplausibly, as matter of apprehension and alarm to Ireland; and it was openly said, that the chains forged for the colonies, would, in case of success, afford a mode for the fetters which would soon after be made fitting to themselves. Some strong and very unprofitable language used in the British parliament, served very much to increase this apprehension and jealousy, in drawing parallels between the constitutions of Ireland and the colonies, and deriving arguments for the sub-

mission

mission of the latter, from the restraints to which the former had been subject.

Still, however, the hopes of some considerable enlargement of their commerce, which were repeatedly held out in parliament, operated wonderfully in soothing discontent, and in preserving the temper, and fortifying the patience of the people. Thus all public business, for a considerable time, was still carried on smoothly; and the compliance and obsequiousness of their parliament, with respect to all the proposals and measures of government, continued to be as conspicuously displayed as ever.

But when the people of Ireland found that little effectual was done in consequence of these declarations, and that little attended with much discontent and opposition from many of the trading parts of Great Britain, the hopes of redress became daily more faint, and the acquiescence, and good temper founded upon them, were proportionally exhausted. They observed that when a bill, which, although of no vast consequence, would have afforded some alleviation to their distresses, had been nearly carried through in the British House of Commons, the minister himself, who they had been taught to consider as a friend,

March 18th. came in person, armed at all points, to

1779. defeat this their only and last hope. The two bills which were afterwards passed in the same session, for permitting the cultivation of tobacco, and encouraging that of hemp, in Ireland, instead of affording satisfaction, or promoting harmony, pro-

duced a directly contrary effect; being considered as nothing less than mockeries, and as insults offered to their distress.

In this manner, things were represented and felt in Ireland; and when the attempt to keep parliament sitting for the purpose of settling some plan for their satisfaction was defeated, the flame, which had for some time been smothered, broke out with great violence.

Associations against the purchase and use of British manufactures, and for the encouragement, in every possible degree, of their own, had already taken place in some parts of that country; but seemed to be kept back, as a matter of consideration, and a final resort in case of extremity, by the greater part of the kingdom. All reserve upon this subject was now at an end; associations became universal; and the non-importation, and non-consumption agreements included the usual penalties, or denunciations of vengeance, not only against violators, but against those importers or sellers of the prohibited commodities who had not acceded to the general compact. By this means they computed, that, even in the present weak state of their manufactures, they would save a full million sterling, which went annually to Great Britain. This great saving would, they said, afford compensation or redress for many of their grievances and distresses; and, what was no small object of satisfaction with them, would be the means of pulling down and punishing the pride and ingratitude of Manchester and Glasgow; towns which had been constant

and immense gainers in the Irish trade, and which had, notwithstanding, they complained, been the foremost, the loudest, and the most effective, in opposing and defeating every measure of redress or relief, which had ever been proposed in favour of that kingdom.

But the turn of affairs, and perhaps the future fortune of Ireland, were to depend on associations of a more effective, if not more dangerous nature, than any which related merely to commercial or domestic regulation. To the accumulation of alarms which we have already seen, had been lately added, the imminent danger of foreign invasion; a measure evidently intended, if not absolutely avowed by France. This situation was the more alarming, as the military force supported by Ireland, had been continually drained off and weakened for the American war.

In order to provide for their defence, they said it must be placed in those who had the best interest in it. The state was unable or unwilling to defend them effectually; and the mode of defence which was unequal to their protection, might be ruinous to their liberties. Military associations were renewed; and the spirit of these associations soon became universal in that kingdom. They declared they were intended for the double purpose, of defending their safety against foreign enemies, and their rights against, what they called, domestic usurpation. That they were loyal to the king, and affectionate to Great Britain. But that it was with such loyalty and affection, as consisted with their own liberty and prosperity. In every part of the kingdom were seen to arise, as

it were by magic, vast bodies of citizens, serving at their own charges, choosing their own officers, trained to great expertness, and obeying with exemplary regularity and steadiness. No nobleman, no gentleman, could shew his face in the country, who did not fall in (and they did universally, and for the most part cheerfully concur) with the prevalent disposition of the inferior and middling sorts of their countrymen. Men of great fortunes served in the ranks. All this was done without any sort of confusion or disorder whatever. On the contrary, the peace of the country and the obedience to the laws was never better provided for. Considering the temper lately prevalent in that country, and its scenes of intestine division, this ought to be considered as one of the most extraordinary revolutions recorded in history.

The numbers thus trained and armed have been variously represented. They were not probably much under thirty thousand men in the very first year; and they have since been very considerably increased; some say to forty, others assert to sixty thousand men, admirably appointed.

Government saw this proceeding with astonishment. It was in vain to offer the least resistance to the design of a general armament; nor could it be wished to restrain the spirit so far as regarded a foreign enemy. They wished to regulate this force; and to bring it, if possible, to act under the authority of the crown; but after a very few and feeble attempts, which were frustrated with scorn, it was thought more wise to concur in what

what could not be prevented. Government gave out a considerable supply of arms to the volunteers, although far short of what was necessary; and thus this new establishment, so favourable to the rights of citizens, and of an example so flattering to the sufficiency of the people at large, to provide in an orderly and effectual manner for their own defence, without any positive law, or the interposition of the ordinary magistrate, has been sanctified and recognized by the state itself.

After having provided for their defence against foreign enemies, the Irish began to look towards their rights, or claims of rights—and in general declared all authority in the British Parliament over them, to be a gross usurpation. Among others, the British mutiny act was denied to be valid. This was carried to such a length, that the troops were, for some time, in a considerable degree, confined to their respective stations, as scarcely a magistrate could be found in the kingdom, who would issue billets for their quarters. It required the greatest degree of temper and circumspection in those who governed in Ireland, and in the commanders of the king's forces there, to prevent a collision of two such armies; and it would be invidious to deny them very great praise for the prudence of their conduct.

This state of things was not the work of a party, or of any particular order of men; but was produced, and upheld, by every rank, class, and denomination of the people. The wise and humane conduct of the British legislature, in relaxing the penal restrictions of the laws against the English

Roman Catholics, was a measure of such obvious utility, that the example was speedily followed by the Irish parliament; who communicated similar benefits to those of that profession in their own country. This measure tended in a great degree to destroy those animosities, which had for so many ages been the source of weakness and distress in that kingdom. The newly restored citizens, who form so vast a majority of the people in Ireland, soon perceived, that as they now possessed a common share in the common interests, so they were equally called upon with all others, to the public defence, and to the support of the public rights. All envy and aversion on the one side, and all distrust and apprehension on the other, appeared to vanish, and one general principle and spirit to operate upon the whole people.

A free and unlimited commerce with the whole world, was the first, the great, and the general object of redress; for which no compensation could be admitted, and without which, no other concessions or advantages, however great or beneficial, could afford satisfaction. This was the *sine qua non*, from which there was no departure. Such was the state of affairs in Ireland, previous to, and during the recess of the British parliament.

During the long course of real or supposed grievances, of public discontents, or of actual commotion, which, for several years past, have more or less agitated every other part of the British empire, Scotland alone had the fortune to escape the general contagion; and, feeling the happiness of her own peculiar

peculiar circumstances and situation, omitted no occasion of testifying her gratitude, by the fullest approbation of all the conduct of ministers, and the most perfect satisfaction in these measures, which were elsewhere productive of so much uneasiness, and such heart-burnings in all other parts of the British dominions. The spirit of fanaticism, which has so often laid the proudest monuments of human wisdom and power in the dust, was, even there, to produce a revolution in that settled temper and disposition, which had hitherto stood the test, and shewn such superior proof, to the application of every other public and political touchstone.

Upon the passing of the late law, in favour of the English Roman Catholics, some gentlemen of consideration and authority in the northern part of the united kingdom, expressed their warm wishes in parliament, that its benefits were extended to those of that communion in their own country; and as the season was then too far advanced, declared their intention of bringing in a bill for that purpose in the ensuing session. Similar sentiments seemed to prevail during the recess with some others; and as that spirit of intolerance, which had once so peculiarly distinguished Scotland from other reformed countries, was supposed to have been in a great measure worn away, along with the darkness of the times, from which such a disposition generally derives its force; it was scarcely imagined that the intended measure of relief, would have produced any considerable degree of opposition, or even of murmur.

The general assembly of the

church of Scotland, happened to be sitting at the very time that the English act was in agitation; and that body rejected, by a majority of above an hundred voices, a motion then made, for a remonstrance to parliament against the passing of the bill. This instance of moderation in the national church, could not but afford great encouragement to the Catholics in Scotland to hope, that they should be permitted to partake of the indulgence which had been granted to their brethren in England, and in Ireland. They accordingly prepared a petition to parliament, and employed counsel to frame the outlines of a bill for that purpose.

While matters were in this train, an inflammatory pamphlet, against the doctrines and members of popery, representing the latter as inimical to all states, and as the common enemies of mankind, was written by a nonjuring clergyman, printed at the expence of the society for propagating Christian knowledge, and circulated with great industry through every order of the people. The effects of this publication soon began to appear in some of the provincial synods, where the matter being taken up and agitated with much heat, angry resolutions were passed against the unfortunate people who were the objects of their jealousy; and these resolutions, including a full determination of opposing every measure of relief which was or might be intended for them, being published in the news-papers, could not fail to excite some ferment. The conduct of the synod of Lothian and Tweeddale, upon which the eyes of the people were particularly turned, seemed, however, calculated

calculated to restrain that fury of zeal, which was now generating, from spreading to any great extent. Notwithstanding the efforts of a violent party among themselves, the humane resolution issued by that assembly, went totally to disclaim their having any hand in opposing the mild intentions of government, for giving relief to their fellow-subjects.

Whatever good effects might have been expected from this temperate conduct, they were entirely defeated or prevented, by the activity and boldness of a few obscure zealots in Edinburgh; who, under the guise of some established political body of the state, undertook the protection and defence of the national church in the place of their clergy, whom they charged with a scandalous and impious desertion of the cause of God and religion. This self-created body, artfully concealing their insignificance, by studiously keeping their names, occupations, and number in total darkness, equally availed themselves of the opportunity which their situation in the capital afforded, of assuming an extraordinary degree of importance; and under the specious and pompous title of the committee for the protestant interest, easily passed upon the public, not only for men of rank, consequence, and authority, but as the acting delegates of a still greater body.

Under this delusive appearance, to which the prejudices or fears of the people afforded all the sanction they could wish, they soon became so popular, that committees for corresponding with them were established in several parts of that country, and particularly in the

western shires; and the public confidence and opinion increasing, in proportion to the magnitude of the dangers which they described, and were supposed to have discovered, they were considered as the fittest and most effective agents, for applying the contributions of the well-disposed to the immediate defence of religion. Thus a few unknown men seemed to be entrusted with the care of the purses, as well as of the consciences of the people; and by this means they were enabled to publish and distribute inflammatory pamphlets gratis, and without number; while the news-papers and streets were crowded with letters, paragraphs, and hand-bills, teeming with sedition, invective, and abuse; all tending evidently to excite a people, naturally warm and irritable, to acts of outrage. The effect answered their most sanguine expectations; and they soon beheld the flame which they had so successfully (they said unintentionally) blown up, not only spread through every part of Scotland, but extended into the southern part of the united kingdom; until, at length, it literally blazed forth in its utmost violence, and attended with all its horrors, in the metropolis of the empire.

As people are always curious to know something of those instruments, that are the means of producing extraordinary or unexpected effects, it may be expected that we should take some notice of the committee in question. From the only account of it which we have seen, and which is said to have been obtained with no small difficulty, it appears, that in point of number it amounted only to thir-

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teen persons; that the three first or principal of these, so far as may be judged from apparent rank or condition, were, a merchant, a goldsmith, and a teacher of the poor in an hospital; that the remainder, were either men exercising mean trades, or else writing-clerks, some serving in counting-houses, and others in public offices; excepting only the thirteenth, who being yet an apprentice, filled, notwithstanding, the important office of secretary to the committee. Such were the redoubted champions, who undertook the protection and defence of an established national religion; already guaranteed and fortified, not only by its invincible truth and holiness, but by laws, habits, length of possession, public opinion, and the united force of a whole empire.

The wretched people who were thus marked out as the objects of public execration and vengeance, apprehending the most fatal consequences from the dangerous spirit now raised, thought it prudent and necessary, early in the year 1779, to acquaint Lord North, through some of the northern members of parliament, that chusing rather to sacrifice their own future ease and advantage, than to endanger the immediate peace of their country, they would accordingly refrain from any application to the legislature, for the expected, and so much wished for indulgence. And hoping to alluage the fury and rage of the multitude, the letter written upon the subject by these gentlemen to the minister, including that resolution, and act of forbearance on their side, which totally removed every new object

of jealousy and discontent, was published in the news-papers.

No concession could, however, allay the fury of that outrageous zeal which was now let loose. For some time, the Roman Catholics had been subjected, in open daylight, and in the public streets, to contumelious treatment, and shocking threats, from the enraged rabble. Magistracy probably did not imagine to what lengths they might proceed. As the destined time of vengeance drew near, several days previous notice was publicly given, by an infinite number of incendiary letters and hand-bills, which were dispersed through every part of Edinburgh, not only specifying time, place, and object, but calling upon, or summoning, the assistance of the people in the enterprise.

This public announcement of a dangerous design, did not produce a greater alarm, or any measure of prevention; and was followed by several light attacks with stones, and other missile weapons, which seemed only calculated to feel the courage, and to excite the rage of the populace, and which went no farther than the breaking of windows, or other similar mischiefs; which were all passed over in the same manner.

On the appointed day, Feb. 2d. the first and great object of attack, was a new 1779. house, in which the principal Roman Catholic clergyman, or bishop, along with several other families of that persuasion dwelt; one room or floor of which had been designed and prepared for a place of worship, or private chapel, as being more commodious than another of the same nature, and situated likewise

wife in a private dwelling house, which they had for many years occupied in another part of the town. Although it appears that this room had been destined for the use, to which it was not then applied, a year before any thing was agitated in parliament for the relief of the Roman Catholics, yet the zealots of that party, in order to inflame the people, represented this building as the immediate consequence of that indulgence; and held it out as a new and signal instance of the intolerable pride and daring spirit of popery, which, on the first gleam of hope or favour, had thus at once burst through all the boundaries of decency and discretion, and ventured equally to insult the nation and the Protestant religion, by erecting in the metropolis, and in the face of both, this pompous place of worship, and ostentatious display of its triumph, in which it was publicly to exhibit all its superstitions and pageantries.

The people were accordingly particularly called upon, in those incendiary letters which we have noticed, to meet at Leith Wynd, in order "to pull down that Pillar of Popery lately erected there." It is to be observed that the house, which carried no appearance without side, of its containing any place of worship whatever, was inhabited by four families, besides that of the clergyman's; and that the room laid out for a chapel, is represented as being only 34 feet in length. This house was violently assaulted, and set on fire, and the flames continued until the noon of the following day. The inhabitants with difficulty escaped with their lives.

During the demolition of this

main "Pillar of Popery," a detachment from the main body were dispatched to the Old Chapel, in a place called Black Friars Wynd. The house which had the ill fortune of containing that place of worship, was inhabited by several families of trades-people, whose property and effects, as well as the inside of the house and chapel, were totally destroyed. Here a considerable library belonging to the Roman Catholic bishop, was also destroyed or carried away. The rioters afterwards directed their violence against the Catholics in other parts of the town; and totally destroyed the stock in trade and effects of two or three tradesmen of that profession; few houses being inhabited by them; as their number was very inconsiderable, and consisting chiefly of poor Highlanders, the lowest and most indigent of the people. One or two ladies of fashion of that communion, were threatened and insulted, and obliged to take refuge in the castle.

It is disagreeable to enter into the detail of these savage disorders, which continued with little or no effectual resistance from magistracy for some days. Some of their attempts, as they were more wicked, appeared more suitable to their courage, than the hunting out of their obscure retreats, a handful of miserable people. They now extended their views to the punishment or destruction of those gentlemen, of whatever rank, or religion, who had been supposed to favour, or in any degree to afford their countenance, to the late design of obtaining a relaxation of the popery laws. The failure of success which attended their efforts,

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on this enlargement of design and object, served, however, greatly to damp the spirit of future enterprise. Their first fury was directed to the house of Professor Robertson, the celebrated historian, and to that of Mr. Crosbie, an eminent advocate; who standing high, if not at the head of his profession, was still more distinguished by the excellency of his character and disposition. The enlightened views and liberal sentiments of the first of these gentlemen, which rendered him an enemy to all persecution, rendered him an object of it to the deluded populace; and the second, had submitted to the crime, of being professionally employed as counsel by that people; and of having accordingly drawn up the bill, which their representatives had intended to present to parliament. The mob found the houses of these gentlemen so well armed, and guarded with so determined a resolution by their numerous friends, that they refrained from proceeding to extremities; and retired, without any further outrage than the breaking of some windows.

These attempts seemed to alarm the magistracy; as it did not seem now easy to determine, to what farther lengths the malice of zeal might be carried, nor to what extent the objects of its revenge might be multiplied. They accordingly ordered some troops of dragoons into the town, who, with detachments from the Duke of Buccleugh's regiment of fencibles, formed chains across the streets and passes. But the same weakness or inertness on the side of the civil government still con-

tinued; and the soldiers, standing with arms in their hands, on this odious and painful duty, were most shamefully pelted with stones, and grievously wounded by the mob.

At length, on the last day of the week, a proclamation of a singular nature was published by the magistracy. In that piece, the Lord Provost assures the people, that no repeal of the penal statutes against papists should take place. The past riots are attributed to the apprehensions, fears, and distressed minds of *well-meaning* people. But they are informed, that "after this public assurance, the magistrates will take the most vigorous measures for repressing any tumultuous or riotous meetings of the populace, which may hereafter arise; being satisfied that any *future* disorders will proceed only from the wicked views of bad and designing men." A clause which seems to imply the strange concession, that the magistrates had not hitherto done their duty in suppressing the riots; and the no less extraordinary proposition, that the past disorders proceeded from good and well-disposed people.

The example of Edinburgh was in some degree copied in Glasgow; but the conduct of the magistrates in that great trading city was widely different. The objects of persecution being few in the latter, and being almost wholly, as for the greater part they were in the former, composed of poor and laborious people, who were even destitute of a clergyman of their own profession, the fury of the populace was first and principally directed to a Mr. Bagnal,

Bagnal, an English Roman Catholic; who being a native of Staffordshire, had introduced the art peculiar to his own country into Glasgow, where he had established, and for several years conducted a considerable manufactory of stone ware. The mob burned his houses; totally destroyed his manufactory and stock in trade; and obliged himself and his family to fly for their lives into the fields. But the laudable measures pursued by the magistrates and principal inhabitants for restoring the public peace and tranquility, were so efficacious, that the mischief went no farther; and order and security were soon restored. Being also, at the same time, equally abashed and concerned, that the character and government of so extensively commercial a city, should suffer under the imputation and disgrace of such an act of outrage and persecution, they seemed willing, so far as it could be done, to obliterate every trace of it from the memory. Bagnal was accordingly speedily acquainted, that he should be reimbursed for every part of his losses to the uttermost farthing; and several of the principal inhabitants, including respectable names among the clergy, acquired no small honour, by the attention and tenderness which the wife and family of the sufferer experienced from them, during the immediate pressure of their terror and distress.

These matters were of course agitated more than once in parliament during that session; and a patriotic member of the house of commons was upon the point of bringing in a bill for affording

compensation and relief to the sufferers, until the minister gave an assurance, that the matter would be privately settled to their satisfaction. Upon these occasions, the conduct of the magistracy of Edinburgh underwent no small degree of animadversion; and the assumption of the chief magistrate, in vouching to answer in his proclamation, for the future conduct and measures to be pursued or adopted by the British legislature, was particularly and severely reprehended. Neither did the ministers, nor parliament itself, escape a share of that censure, which was upon this occasion freely administered by one or two members of the opposition; who observed, that it was too near and too cruel an insult, so soon after the immense sacrifices which we had made, to the false pretence of supporting the supremacy and dignity of the British legislature in every part of the empire, to suffer a frantic and contemptible rabble at home, not only to fly in the face of its present authority, but to prescribe limits, beyond which it was not to pass, to its future operation. Thus, they said, sowing, under the sanction of a recorded precedent, the seeds of disorder, outrage, contempt of authority, and absolute rebellion, in every remaining part of the British dominions.

However unequal to the cause the effect may seem, it was through this religious combustion, and the circumstances attending it, that administration lost that firm hold of the temper and disposition of the people of Scotland, which nothing else, perhaps, could have loosened.

loofened. For the cry and alarm of popery being once raised, and freely propagated by the press in every part of the country, the violent spirit thus conjured up, was not satisfied to confine its wrath to the immediate objects of apprehension and aversion; but tracing the supposed grievance and danger to its primary source, would fix the more refined part of its resentments much higher. Thus, by degrees, not only the ministers were held out as objects of public execration; but every department of the state, including the highest and most sacred sources of the legislative and executive government, were little, if any thing, less than directly charged and represented, with forming a conspiracy for the destruction of the protestant religion, and the establishment of popery on its ruins. Under this persuasion or pretence, the zealots in Scotland, not content with combating and defeating the phantom of danger which had appeared in their own country, would pursue it to its last refuge in England; and eagerly undertook to preserve or free their brethren in the southern part of the united kingdom from those religious dangers, to which they had themselves been hitherto totally insensible.

One, among the rest, of these publications, being a kind of protest, issued by the heritors of the town and parish of Carlisle, in the county of Lanerk, seems a more direct and pointed libel upon administration in particular, and government in general, than the licence of the present times

in the south seems to have produced.

With respect to the charge of supporting popery, they hold the following language, having first laid it down as a postulatam, that whenever that religion is established, liberty is banished; viz. “ We are certainly authorized to say, that, from the passing the Quebec bill to the present hour, the encouraging and tolerating that bloody religion, seems to be the only consistent, and (we observe it with pain) the only successful measure, which the present ministry have adopted. And perhaps this single principle may account for all that seeming weakness and fluctuation of councils which have so remarkably characterized their administration.” — They conclude the charges against ministers by this declaration or opinion, that,—“ If Great Britain for manifold sins is devoted to perdition,”—“ whether her ministers have acted from weakness or design,”—“ her avenging angel could not have hit on more proper instruments to hasten her ruin.”

Nor is parliament treated with much more ceremony. They disclaim all hope of redress from that body; which, they say,—“ Not satisfied with repealing their own foolish acts, have dared to repeal the wise-enacted penal statutes against papists, the palladium of our established religion and civil liberties,” &c.

These specimens will afford some idea of the spirit and temper

per of the time in that country. The original of this curious publication, was ordered to be deposited in the archives of the committee of correspondence in Glasgow, and copies of it to be published in the Edinburgh and Glasgow newspapers. It was probably about this time they opened a correspondence with some fanatics in London, then obscure and little noticed, calling themselves the Protestant Association, whose object seems to have been the same with theirs, but yet pursued with less violence.

Such was the state of public affairs in Ireland and Scotland. In England, besides all other or former real or supposed causes of dissatisfaction, the long continuance, contrary to the expectations held out, of the American war, and its hopelessness of ultimate success in the minds of many, began now to affect the feelings of the people, so generally and powerfully, as to open a source of discontent, which, by degrees, seemed to grow wider, than any other of which they had hitherto complained. Many of those who had been among the foremost in supporting, and the warmest in approving, the measures which led to that issue, and the principle on which they were founded, were now among the loudest in lamenting the consequences of the war, and the most eager for its being brought to a speedy conclusion. No change, they said, had taken place in their original principle or opinion; but they were compelled to conform their sentiments, and to submit, to the present necessity of the times. The weakness of the counsels and mea-

asures, under which the American disputes and contest had been suffered to linger for so many years, had, they said, totally changed the state and nature of things. If we have lost, said they, the advantages which she afforded, by our folly, let our wisdom now immediately cut away those fatal incumbrances which are left behind; those incumbrances which clog and impede all our motions, and render all our exertions against the common enemy ineffective. Let the evils follow the benefits. It must be the extreme of madness to retain one without the other.

Such was now the language held by no small number of those, who had formerly supported or approved of the American measures, and by the whole of those who had constantly opposed or condemned them. They also uniformly coincided in another general opinion; which was, by no means to shrink from the war with the house of Bourbon. Holding a firm confidence, that if America was in any manner detached from the quarrel, or even rendered so far ineffective as not to be considered as a principal object, and our whole force, under the guidance of wise counsels, and the ability of those great commanders, which all the world knew we possessed, was directed against our natural enemies in their most vulnerable parts, they would not only be soon sickened of the part which they had taken in our domestic contest; but that we might also make such reprisals on them, as would afford no inconsiderable compensation for the losses we had suffered.

The danger held out of an invasion, and the proclamation ordering provisions to be made against it, were severely criticized by opposition; ascending more to alarm the people than to secure the country; as weak and indefinite in its directions, and only calculated to draw out a few miserable subscriptions, which might lay a claim of merit for individuals, but could never be a substantial aid to government. It was only indeed a little trick, to confound an attachment to ministers with a regard to the safety of the country.

On the other hand it was contended, that to caution without alarming was a thing impossible. That future directions, when occasions arose, would render the proclamation more explicit. That the whole intent was to make the people alert, and to call forth the general exertion. And as for subscription, if it should shew a confidence in administration, it was a confidence deserved, and would be repaid in the honour and safety of the nation.

The measure was not without effect. Large sums were raised in several counties, and applied to the levying of independent corps or companies. About 20,000*l.* was subscribed in the city of Westminster, although some considerable parishes refused to concur in the measure. Some of the inhabitants also of that city associated, and were formed into distinct bodies, armed and officered, with a view of being so far trained in military discipline and exercise, as would enable them to act with effect, under the immediate necessity of common defence. In some counties, how-

ever, the measure was rejected; and in others it was not proposed. In one, where a considerable subscription was made, the money was transmitted to the disposal of the Marine Society; as a more useful and constitutional application than to the raising of land forces.

In London, the proposal brought out another for a strong petition to the throne, as a previous measure, requiring the dismissal of incapable ministers and evil counsellors, and the employment of men in whom the nation could place a confidence, and who might be capable of retrieving its affairs. The final consequence was, that the first proposal, after much discussion, was rejected, and the petition then laid by. In the trading cities and towns, the money was applied to the manning of the navy; by which means, the various bounties to seamen, accumulated in some places, particularly Liverpool, to a height before unheard of. The East India company behaved with a magnificence, suited to its greatness, and to the apparent prosperity of its affairs. Besides a considerable bounty for the raising of 6000 men for the naval service, it made a liberal offer to the crown, which was accepted, of building and furnishing three seventy-four gun ships, as an addition to the royal navy.

The measures of home defence met with similar animadversion. The vast military force which was kept for our internal defence, a purpose to which, they said, the minister had avowedly in parliament sacrificed all other considerations, and particularly

ularly hazarded the preservation of our West India islands, was said to be so injudiciously disposed, as to be rendered incompetent to its only design. Towns of the greatest commercial consequence, and garrisons which defended the most valuable inlets and harbours, were left in a state of nakedness. The defenceless state in which even the great securities to our strength, Portsmouth and Plymouth, were afterwards reported to be, and the consequent danger to which they were supposed to be exposed; upon the approach of the enemy, served much to corroborate these assertions and opinions; and even afforded a degree of strength to others of a similar nature.

All these and many more topics were agitated, and they were agitated with the greater effect, from the junction of the French and Spanish fleets in the channel. The sending the fleets out to America and the East Indies, under the decided superiority of the enemy in our own seas, was much condemned.—Events, which usually decide the publick on political measures, and the inefficiency of those mighty fleets, have at length answered all these criticisms.

The proclamation which had been issued by the commissioners upon their departure from America, together with some ministerial declarations in parliament, had occasioned a very general persuasion, that as no farther lenity or forbearance was to be practised with respect to the refractory colonies, (a mistaken tenderness, to which many were apt to attribute the spinning out of the con-

test for so many years) so the war would have been carried on in the ensuing campaign, with a degree of vigour and activity hitherto unknown. At the same time, the declaration made by the American minister in parliament, that a vast majority of the people on that continent were zealously attached to the interests and government of Great Britain, and that even the remainder were either tired out and heartily sick of the war, or torn to pieces by factions and dissensions among themselves, spread an opinion no less general, that the defence on the one side would be proportionally as weak and ineffective, as the coercion on the other would be powerful and conclusive.

In proportion to the sanguine expectations thus raised, was the disappointment and concern which prevailed towards the close of the year, as the failure of success or inactivity in the American campaign, and the loss and danger in the West Indies, came by degrees to be known. The people were wearied out by the tediousness and length of that war, and disgusted by the continued repetition of hopes and disappointments which they had so long experienced.

In this state of danger from without, and of discontent within, the ministers seemed as little united among themselves, as any class or part of the people who were committed to their government. At the same time, the several parties which formed the opposition seemed to be drawing closer together, and to act with more apparent union and concert than hitherto they had done. At

no time do we remember the confidence of the people in government so low, as it appears to have been at that period.

Oct. 12th. The parliament of 1779. Ireland met before the middle of October, and soon shewed that they had received a portion of the general spirit of the nation. They declared in their addresses to the throne, that nothing less than a free and unlimited trade could save that country from ruin. The addresses were carried up with great parade amidst the acclamations of the people. The Duke of Leinster, who commanded the Dublin volunteers, escorted the speaker in person upon that occasion; whilst the streets were lined on both sides, from the parliament house to the castle, by that corps, drawn up in their arms and uniforms. That nobleman had also moved for the thanks of the Lords to the volunteer corps throughout the kingdom, which was carried with only one dissenting voice.

The associations and people at large, full of anger and jealousy, manifested strong apprehensions of political duplicity on this side of the water; and perhaps, did not place a perfect confidence in the steadiness or perseverance of their own parliament. They were afraid, that they would be amused by fair and empty promises, until they had resigned their power along with the national purse, by granting the supplies for the two following years, according to the customary mode in that country; when being no longer necessary to government, a sudden prerogative would put an end to all

hope of, at least, amicable redress, for the present. Under this apprehension, a short money bill, for six months only, by which means parliament would still continue indispensably necessary to government, became the general cry of the nation.

As this innovation upon established form and method, was strongly opposed, particularly by the court party, the Dublin mob thought it necessary to shew their zeal in the public cause; they were accordingly guilty of great and violent outrages, as well in their endeavours to enforce the measure, as in their punishment of the refractory. Although the Irish parliament used proper measures to express their resentment, and to maintain their dignity upon this occasion; yet many of themselves being inclined to a vigorous proceeding, and tire rest borne down by a cry almost universal in the nation, the representatives found it at length necessary to comply, and the short money bill was accordingly passed on that side. A necessity equally convincing, secured the passage of that humiliating and mortifying act in England.

It seemed remarkable, especially in a season of so much difficulty and trouble, that the office of secretary of state for the northern department, should have continued vacant for so great a length of time, as that which elapsed from the death of the Earl of Suffolk in the beginning of the preceeding month of March. Nor did the dissensions among themselves produce any new arrangement in administration, until the approach of the meeting of parliament,

liament, when their effect became conspicuous, and continued to operate for some time longer. Just at that period, the Earl of Gower, Lord President of the council, resigned that high office, Nov. 24th. and was succeeded by the Earl of Bathurst. Lord Weymouth likewise resigned his office of secretary of state for the southern department, and was succeeded by the Earl of Hillsborough. Lord Stormont, late ambassador at Paris, was appointed to the northern department; the business of which had been conducted by Lord Weymouth, since the death of the Earl of Suffolk. And the old place of first lord of trade and plantations, which had been absorbed and included in the new office of secretary of state for the colonies, was now separated,

and bestowed upon the Earl of Carlisle.

It was the received opinion at that time, that this defection of those who formerly composed what has been called the Bedford party (which had a considerable time before been preceded by the falling off of the Earl of Upper Ossory, and others, to the opposition) would now have become general. But the Lord Chancellor and Mr. Rigby continued in their places; and it would seem, from subsequent appearances, as if measures had been since taken to qualify in some degree that disgust, which then operated on some others.

Such was in general the state of public affairs, previous to, and about the time of the meeting of parliament.

C H A P. III.

Speech from the throne. Addresses. Amendment moved in the House of Commons by Lord John Cavendish. Great Debates. Strictures upon public measures in general, and upon the conduct of the preceding campaign. Able defence made by the minister. Amendment rejected upon a division. Amendment in the House of Lords moved for by the Marquis of Rockingham. After long debates, rejected upon a division.

UNDER the circumstances which we have described, it seemed no easy matter to determine what ground to choose, in framing a speech for the opening of parliament. This season of the year had generally been peculiarly favourable since the commencement of the troubles, in the production of some intelligence, which might serve to bring ministers and parliament together with a face of good humour; and which might warrant in some measure the hold-

ing out of such a degree of expectation with respect to the war, and such a prospect of the attainment of its first and principal object at no very great distance, as afforded encouragement to perseverance, and inducement to present liberality of support.

But the present season was not fortunate in this respect; and the prospect of affairs at the opening of the session, seemed scarcely to afford more room for hope, than the retrospect did for exultation.

In these circumstances, the judicious arrangement of the matter could only supply its defects in the construction of the speech. It was necessary to keep back those parts which were disgusting, and only to bring those forward which might be disposed of to some advantage. Loss or misfortune were therefore properly passed over; and an escape from imminent danger, afforded sufficient matter of satisfaction, if not of triumph. In a failure of active exertion, it became the more necessary to hold out to the people, a full confidence in that defensive strength arising from their common union; and where a recital of particular events could not admit of much happy application, it was to be judiciously evaded, by taking a wider field upon general ground.

The speech from
Nov. 25th. the throne accordingly
1779. opened with an observation, that being attacked by an unjust and unprovoked war, and contending with one of the most dangerous confederacies that ever was formed against the crown and people of Great Britain, they were called upon by every principle of duty, and every consideration of interest, to exert their united efforts in the support and defence of their country.—That, although the designs and attempts of our enemies to invade this kingdom had been hitherto frustrated, they still menaced us with great armaments and preparations; but it was trusted, that we were well prepared to meet every attack, and to repel every insult.—His majesty knew the character of his brave people; the menaces of their enemies, and the

approach of danger, had no other effect on their minds, than to animate their courage, and to call forth that national spirit, which had so often defeated the projects of ambition and injustice; and which had enabled the British fleets and armies, to uphold and preserve the liberties of Europe, from the restless and encroaching power of the house of Bourbon.

The state of Ireland, they were informed, had not been unattended to. In consequence of their former addresses, the necessary papers would be laid before them; and it was recommended, that they should consider what further benefits and advantages might be extended to that kingdom, by such regulations and methods, as might, most effectually, promote the common strength, wealth, and interests of all the dominions.

A total silence was observed with respect to America and the West Indies; nothing that related to either was even alluded to. The circumstances of the war, and the events of the campaign, in whatever part, were equally passed over.—The inevitable great and heavy expences of the ensuing year were regretted; but the usual reliance placed on their wisdom and public spirit for the necessary supplies.—The discipline, good conduct, and steady perseverance of the militia, was acknowledged with entire approbation.—Thanks were returned to all ranks of loyal subjects who had stood forth in this arduous conjuncture, and by their zeal, their influence, and their personal service, had given confidence as well as strength to the national defence.—And the speech concluded by declaring a firm

firm resolution to prosecute the war with vigour, and to make every exertion, in order to compel our enemies to listen to equitable terms of peace and accommodation.

An address, in the usual stile and form, was moved for and seconded in the House of Commons by the Lords Lewisham and Parker.—An amendment to the following purport was moved for by Lord John Cavendish, viz. to beseech his majesty to reflect upon the extent of territory, the power, the opulence, the reputation abroad, and the concord at home, which distinguished the opening of his majesty's reign, and marked it as the most splendid and happy period in the history of this nation; and on the endangered, impoverished, enfeebled, distracted, and even dismembered state of the whole, after all the grants of successive parliaments, liberal to profusion, and trusting to the very utmost extent of rational confidence; that his majesty will naturally expect to receive the honest opinion of a faithful and affectionate parliament, who would betray his majesty, and those whom they represent, if they did not distinctly state to his majesty, that if any thing can prevent the consummation of public ruin, it can only be new counsels and new counsellors, without farther loss of time, and a real change, from a sincere conviction of past errors, and not a mere palliation, which must prove fruitless.

As the amendment proposed in the House of Lords, was substantially the same with that which we have stated, we shall indifferently bring into one point of view,

the principal arguments used in both Houses, excepting where some circumstances peculiar to either, may render a distinction necessary. The opposition now feeling their strength, as well from their own union, as from the voice and opinion of the people, assumed a new aspect, and held a higher and more determined tone in parliament, than they had hitherto practised. All temporizing measures and observances seemed to be done away; their language was severe, their censures unqualified, and their charges pointed, direct, and sent home to their adversaries. The debates were accordingly masculine, bold, serious, and awful; and were more immediately and generally interesting, than they had been from the beginning of the present unhappy troubles. They did not now confine themselves to narrow ground; to the examination and censure of recent measures, the conduct of the war, nor even to that of the present ministers. They first took a wide and comprehensive range, which included the general administration of public affairs during much the greater part of the present reign, before they referred to particular measures or men.

On that general ground they peremptorily insisted, that the cause of all our misfortunes, of that unexampled change, which, within the last seventeen years, had taken place in the state and circumstances of the British empire, proceeded from a new, insidious, and most pernicious system of government; a system calculated to destroy all principle, and to dissolve all the bands of opi-

nion which unite mankind; a system which had already been subversive, in a very unhappy degree, of the national honour and character, and which tended ultimately to the dissolution of the constitution, if not of the government of this country. This unhappy system, they said, however artfully covered, and however invisible its authors, had not escaped observation at its introduction, any more than in its progress. It had been seen, with the deepest concern, from about the year 1763, to the present time, that however the instruments were changed, however appearances varied, however the mode was occasionally shifted, or whatever temporary interruptions occurred, the system itself never changed its nature, was never out of sight, and was, although with different degrees of exertion, constantly pursued with the most unremitting perseverance.

This fatal system, they said, had visibly spread its baleful influence through the army, the navy, the senate, through every department of the state, and through every order of the people; and as its grand and leading principles of action, were, corruption, the destruction of character, with that wretched and abominable policy, the *divide et impera*, it was not to be wondered at, that its progress should be every where marked, by the confusion, discord, and ruin which it produced; by the disgrace which it brought upon our arms, the contempt, ridicule, or execration of mankind, which it had drawn upon our public counsels; by that bitter spirit of contention and ani-

mosity which it had generated even in parliament, and what was still worse, that unequalled contempt of order, of government, of the laws, and of the legislature, which it had spread among the lower ranks of the people. Yet, notwithstanding the irretrievable losses, and the still greater dangers, of which this favourite system had already been productive, it was still, they said, so pertinaciously adhered to, that the loss of national renown, with that of half the empire, and the imminent danger of the remainder, were sacrifices offered, or hazarded, without scruple, to its support.

This system, they said, must be totally done away, or nothing could be effectually done; expedients might render things possibly worse, but they could not render them better. But it would be in vain to hope for any sincere and real change of the system, while its instruments were suffered to continue in power.—New counsels, and new counsellors, they contended, were not only now loudly demanded by the nation, but were become a matter of absolute necessity with respect to our political existence; and the sovereign must also give his confidence to those whom he apparently trusts, or it would be delusory to expect, that even new counsels and new counsellors could succeed.—They summed up the whole by concluding, that it was only from such an effectual and total change, that a rational hope could be entertained, even of the preservation of the state in any form; but that nothing less could afford the shadow of hope, of our

ever again recurring to those ancient principles of government, under which our commerce and our fame had been extended to every part of the globe, our interests became connected with those of the remotest nations, and we had risen to that extraordinary pitch of power, glory, and domestic happiness, which alternately excited the admiration, and the envy of mankind.

From a general view of the supposed system, they entered into a detail of its imputed effects on the executive and subordinate parts of government. Those officers, they said, civil and military, who were in great trust or in high command, particularly if their merit had placed them high in the opinion and confidence of their country, were the marked objects of its pernicious influence. Thus, while knowledge and integrity were proscribed in our councils, distinguished valour and ability were equally proscribed in our fleets and armies.—Our great naval commanders were driven from the service; nor were more atrocious and dangerous attempts left untried; the military commanders were no better treated; and in the moment of difficulty and danger, the state was robbed of its best and surest defence.—Thus our fleets and armies were either languishing in discontent, or torn to pieces by dissention; and the spirit of enterprise sunk under the benumbing conviction, that whatever honour or advantage might be achieved by brave and hardy service abroad, must inevitably perish under the fatal blasts of that malignant influence which prevailed at home.

The public measures and transactions of the current year at home and abroad, whether with respect to the actual operations of war, the disposition of our fleets and armies, or the adopted system of home defence, opened a wide field for animadversion, which was occupied with no small degree of vigour by the opposition. As the alledged criminal neglect, and consequent fatal decline of our navy, had held a principal place in the general charge of past misconduct, so the supposed exemplification of that unhappy decline and weakness, which, they said, had been recently exhibited in the channel, afforded an opportunity for the most direct application of particular censure.

The powers of language seemed accordingly exhausted, in the various expression of grief, shame, indignation and resentment, displayed upon this subject. They said it was reserved for the present inauspicious and disgraceful era, for the administration of those men who had fevered the empire, and who had plunged the English nation in all the guilt and calamity of a cruel and inextinguishable civil war, to brand this country with the indelible disgrace of the preceding summer; to exhibit the unthought of and unheard of spectacle, of a British fleet flying, in sight of their own coast, before that of Bourbon. Thus, said they, resigning all at once, that empire of the ocean, the inexhaustible source of all our power and greatness; the prize of past valour, and the reward of ancient virtue; thus giving up, without a blow, even the dominion of the narrow seas, our hereditary, and
hitherto

hitherto undisputed patrimony; and thus, while all Europe was lost in astonishment, was that name, national character, and general opinion, which bear so great a sway in the affairs of mankind, in a moment annihilated.

Without enquiring at present, they said, into the causes of that lamentable naval inferiority, through which our naked and astonished coasts were abandoned to the outrage of the enemy, and the triumphant flag of the insulting foe so long domineered on our native seas, it was fitting to ask ministers, what defence they could make, or what apology to the nation, for the unguarded and defenceless state, in which Plymouth, the second of our great naval arsenals, and the depositary of a treasure, which no money, nor perhaps time, could replace, was, in that season of disgrace and danger, not only exposed to his insult, but to absolute destruction? The insufficiency of the fleet, they said, afforded no cover of defence or excuse; as that great maritime key of the kingdom, was possessed of sufficient strength, to require nothing more than a proper garrison, and the necessary military provision, for its effectual protection.

Another question, they said, naturally arose, from the slightest view of the transactions of that shameful period, to which it behoved those who assumed the conduct of our public affairs, to give a clear and satisfactory answer.—If ministers are not really chargeable with wilfully bringing on our late disgrace and danger, how can they pretend to account for not preventing the junction of the

French and Spanish fleet?—This, they said, was a measure fully within their reach. They well know, that the British fleet was far more backward in point of preparation than the British; and it is a matter of public notoriety, that the latter loitered for a fortnight, without any object, at Torbay, or on the coast, when its proceeding to sea would have prevented the junction, or what would have been still more important, might have afforded an opportunity of intercepting the French fleet; and that, under such circumstances of advantage, as must have produced effects decisive of the fortune of the campaign, if not of the war.

The ministers, said they, will not venture to tell us, that they were ignorant of the great superiority which the junction of the Bourbon fleets would produce. Their line of conduct was marked out by long established and repeated precedent. They know, or ought to know, that this measure of prudence had not only been constantly adopted and strictly attended to in all former wars with those powers united, but that in the contests with France alone, the junction of her Mediterranean fleet with that of the Ocean, had been uniformly guarded against with the most unremitting care and industry. Yet these precautions were used in the most flourishing state of our navy; in those happy seasons of power and fortune, when some inattention to the rules of prudence might seem not altogether inexcusable. But can, said they, in the present state of things, any presumed stock of ignorance, any supposed portion of negli-

negligence or folly, satisfactorily account for so dangerous, and for what might well have been, so fatal an omission?

The neglect of the island of Jersey, was no less an object of censure. Through the want, they said, of two or three frigates, of that small marine force, which would have been sufficient to repel the desultory attempts, that were at that season to be expected from St. Maloes, Admiral Arbuthnot, in his laudable zeal for the relief or recovery of the island, was obliged to abandon his convoy, and to defer his voyage to New York. By that means, a fleet of three hundred merchantmen and transports, were exposed to the dangers of the sea and the enemy in the open road of Torbay, the trade was detained a full month at home, and suffered, at least, an equal delay on the voyage, to the immense loss and expence of the merchants; and the reinforcements for Sir Henry Clinton, which, to answer any effectual purpose, should have been landed at New York before the time of their departure from England, did not arrive at the place of their destination until the end of August, when the season for action was nearly over, and the troops had suffered so much from the unusual length of their confinement on shipboard, that they were incapable of any immediate service. Thus, said they, were all the views and hopes of the campaign frustrated in the outset; and thus, year after year, is the blood and treasure of the nation consumed, and its strength exhausted, in that fatal contest; while the unequalled misconduct

which prevails at home, renders all the exertions of valour and ability fruitless, and predestinates the ill success that follows.

The disposal, the amount, and the government, of the military force kept within the kingdom, afforded a copious subject of animadversion and censure. This was stated, including the militia, and the various corps of new-raised troops, as exceeding a hundred thousand men actually in arms. Yet this vast force, which, they said, under former wise and happy administrations, would have conveyed terror and destruction home to our enemies, and spread alarm and danger through their remotest possessions, was kept supine and idle at home. The enormous and cumbersome machine, which was framed and supported at so immense an expence to the public, was kept inert without life or action, through the ignorance and incapacity of those who were entrusted with its movements.—Nothing, they said, could more clearly point out, either the atrocious designs, or the consummate folly of administration. It was either intended that this prodigious force should act against the people, or it was unnecessary and had no object—they might chuse the alternative. If we had no fleet, it was more than competent to internal defence; if we had a fleet, and could trust to it, we had no occasion for so vast a land force. A vast fleet, and a vast military force, were incompatible; if the strength of the nation was to be equally divided between the land and the naval services, neither service could be rendered effectual. Independent
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of experience or precedent, our situation pointed out the true policy.

But ministers boasted loudly of the wisdom of their conduct in this respect, and of the essential benefits which it had produced;—we had escaped from danger—and they had frustrated the designs of the enemy. Utterly incapable, they said, through a total want of genius and ability, of conducting the war upon an extensive scale, or of forming any bold and comprehensive scheme of action, they narrowed its objects to the measure of their own ideas, and rest their merits upon a mean and dastardly system of local defence, confined merely to the seat of empire. Such has been the wretched application of all the joint power during the present year, of three hundred thousand men in arms, of three hundred ships of war, and of twenty millions of pounds sterling. Yet it will be found, said they, that their domestic merits are upon the same scale with their foreign; and that all their measures at home and abroad, are marked by the same peculiar fatality. Although they sacrificed every other object to the home defence, the measures which they adopted for that purpose were as shamefully defective, as those which they had pursued in the active operations of the war. Thus, with a force lying dormant within the kingdom, sufficient to have carried terror and hostility into the heart of the most powerful states, the disposition of this great force, under the incapacity of its direction, was so superlatively wretched, as to render it totally inadequate to its design; our western coasts were in a manner abandoned to the enemy; we were

exposed in the most tender and valuable parts to the most imminent danger; Plymouth seemed doomed to inevitable destruction; nor was the security of Portsmouth much better established. So vast an army, under such a guidance, could not afford protection to these invaluable repositories of our naval strength; and we were exposed to a loss, which no human means could have supplied or remedied.

Ministers, they said, might well boast in the speech, of their new and only ally, Providence; whose folly and misconduct had rendered them so universally contemptible or odious, as to be abandoned by all mankind; and who having interdicted all wisdom and ability from their counsels, had also, in the midst of a most ruinous and dangerous warfare, and sinking under the pressure of a greatly superior combination of force, driven every commander by sea and land from their service, who was capable of giving efficacy to their military exertions. In such circumstances, with an inferior fleet, a defenceless coast, a treasury exhausted by folly and prodigality, with an administration supine, divided, and incapable, we must have fallen a prey to our combined enemies, if they had seized the critical opportunity of making the attack. But this miraculous interposition of providence, in blinding the enemy at one season, and striking them with contagious distemper at another, only went to our preservation. Providence left the unparalleled disgrace, and the causes of the danger, to be answered for by ministers.

Nor was the internal government of our military force less unadvised

redverted upon, than its disposition or application. The new system adopted of modelling the army, was condemned in the strongest terms, and represented, as not being more unjust and scandalous in the practice, than ruinous in the effect. The honourable fears and long services of the experienced veteran, they said, were obliged to give way, to the superior interest, to the, perhaps, secret and corrupt influence, which supported the raw saboteur, who could lay no claim either to merit or service. Nor did the evil, however glaring and shameful, stop there. Men totally unacquainted with military affairs, were called from the civil walks of life, and suddenly appointed to the command of regiments. Desks, counting-houses, and public offices, were stripped of their useful and peaceable occupiers, to supply a new race of commanders and generals for our armies. Thus were officers of long service and tried honour, reduced to the hard necessity, of either abandoning a profession, to which they had dedicated their small fortunes, their hopes, and their lives, or of submitting to the military disgrace, of obeying those whom they were used to command, and of receiving orders from men, whose incapacity and ignorance rendered them objects of their sovereign contempt.

By this means, they said, continual murmurings, jealousies, and discontents, were generated among those who were fighting the battles of their country. Men who were bravely encountering all the fatigues, hardships, and perils of war, and who from their habits of life, and the nature of their pro-

fession, were exceedingly susceptible and quick in their sense of injury, and habitually nice in points of honour, were, by the caprice and corruption of ministers, continually fretted and galled in the tenderest part, their attention disturbed in the execution of their duty, and their minds alienated from the service, while their spirits were broken, and their military pride subdued, by seeing all their hopes of due preferment blasted, and by being obliged to crouch under a sense of indignity and injury, which they could not resent without personal ruin.

The alarming and dangerous situation of Ireland, presented new objects of stricture to the opposition, and afforded a new edge to their censure. They said, that every evil and danger there, was owing to that fatality which had influenced the incomprehensible conduct of ministers in the preceding session. They had been repeatedly warned of the danger and of the injustice of delay by the opposition; the latter had used their utmost endeavours in both houses to defer the adjournment of parliament, until some remedy was afforded for the evils which oppressed our sister island. But although this proposal held out the most favourable opportunity to them, by remedying the ill effects, to obliterate the traces of their own past negligence and misconduct; yet so blind and incorrigible was their obduracy, and so unhappily devoted the zeal of that standing majority which supports all their measures, that it was triumphantly overruled, in contempt of all reason and argument, and in defiance of all consequences. A moderate degree

degree of equitable condescension then, would have been received by our sister island, as the most friendly kindness, and acknowledged with the most lasting gratitude; whereas, the greatest sacrifice of her commercial and political interests which this country can now make, instead of being considered as the grant of favour, will be regarded as the mean concession of fear.

The same conduct, they said, which prevailed in Europe, was to be traced in every other part of the world. The enemy had, at one sweep, carried every thing that was English away, through the whole extent of the African coasts. The dominion of the sea, was no less effectually, they said, though much less disgracefully, lost in the West Indies, than in the narrow seas and the channel. Our brave commanders and seamen in that quarter, determined that the British name, and their own professional character, should not be sunk under the fatality and disgrace of our public counsels; but they were unable to support her power against the superiority of the enemy. The French flag reigned as triumphantly in the gulph of Mexico, as in the European seas; and the same unhappy and disgraceful season, shewed the downfall of our naval power in every part of the world.

Our West India islands, they said, had been more properly delivered up to the enemy, than subdued by him. It made no difference in the nature of things, whether our possessions were surrendered or sold, by a public or private treaty with France, or whether they were left so naked and defenceless, that the enemy should

have nothing more to do, than to send garrisons to take possession of them. This they insisted to have been the case with respect to the islands we had lost; and those that remained, they described, as not being in a much better situation. Jamaica, in particular, they said, the most valuable now of our colonial possessions, and the principal source of our remaining trade and wealth, was most shamefully abandoned; and was at that moment in the most imminent danger, if not already lost.

This course of invective was wound up by declaring, that the omissions and defects which produced all these calamities, went so much beyond any thing which could be allowed for impotence and imperfection of mind, that they seemed under a necessity of charging their conduct to direct treachery. That final ruin, or a total change of system and of men, was the short alternative to which we were now reduced. The short sentence of *New Counsels and New Counsellors*, included, they said, all the means of our national salvation, and expressed the sentiments of every intelligent and independent man in England; it was the universal language out of doors, and of those within, when they went out.

The speech itself underwent its share of censure, with respect both to matter and omission; and the acknowledgment in the proposed address of the lords, of the blessings enjoyed under government, afforded an opportunity for much severity of comment and observation in that house. It was freely asked, whether that recognition of public happiness was founded in truth? Whether it was not an in-

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sult to parliament, when applied to the ministers? Whether there was a noble lord present, of any description, who could lay his hand to his heart, and fairly congratulate his majesty on the blessings enjoyed under his government? A majority might indeed grant a vote; but they could go no farther; they could neither close the eyes, nor warp the opinions of mankind. Such an approbation, given in defiance of public notoriety, and the evidence of every man's sense and feeling, must not only fail of its intended, but produce a very contrary effect; it would only serve to excite contempt and ridicule in the first instance, and tend to the degradation of parliament in the second. For themselves, they said, that no motive whatever should induce them to the vain and scandalous attempt, of giving a sanction to so gross a species of delusion and imposition, by the acknowledgment of blessings which did not exist, and a recognition of the merits of government, in direct contradiction to experience and fact.

The minister opposed, in the House of Commons, the indirect charges of treachery which were made on the other side, with temper and firmness. He observed, that such charges or insinuations seemed of late to become a favourite topic with gentlemen in the opposition, who perhaps hoped to derive some great advantage from the frequent repetition; but if they were not entirely vague and unfounded, and calculated merely to stir up or nurse discontent and suspicion abroad, why did they not come forward like

men, and pursue their accusations? Why did they not follow them up with specific and defined proofs; thereby to fix the guilt, and bringing it home fairly and directly to its proper object, compel the miscreants, whoever they were, or where-ever found, to undergo that fate which treachery deserves? In allusion to what had so repeatedly been said, of the general opinion and discontent of the people, he eagerly exclaimed, "God forbid, that there should be a voice in the nation, stronger, louder, more peremptory or decisive, than that of parliament."—For himself, whenever his accounting day should come, and that day, he said, must come, he should meet it without fear. There were laws for the protection of innocence, and if his accusers adhered to the laws, he should be safe. His innocence would be his shield, and the laws would render him invulnerable under that protection.

Our being destitute of allies, or, as it was called on the other side, our being abandoned by mankind, was not to be attributed to any dislike on his side to continental connections; but to the prevalent, though mistaken politics of other powers, and to the peculiar circumstances of the contest in which we are at present engaged. If France had attacked any power upon the continent, others would have felt themselves immediately interested in the consequences and event, and would accordingly have taken an active and decided part. Our policy would have led us to a similar interference; and the reciprocity of interests, with the same object in view, would have been a common bond of alliance
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and union. But Great Britain not being considered as a continental power, other states did not think themselves so much interested with respect to the present attack made upon her, or so liable to be affected by its consequences, as if it had been made upon their more immediate neighbours. The contest was likewise, in its origin, merely colonial and domestic; its objects were in another quarter of the world; and even still, the operations of the war being either naval, or conducted at a vast distance, did not much disturb the internal peace of Europe, nor were the consequences considered as affecting the general balance of power.

Our being left alone to encounter the vast superiority of the enemy, was not then to be imputed to any fault or neglect on the side of the councils or ministers of the throne, but to the mistaken opinion and erroneous policy of other states; who had, from thence, blindly permitted the united house of Bourbon, to bring their whole force, unmolested and undisturbed, to bear upon this country. This was a mischief, which was as little to be foreseen as prevented by the ministers of Great Britain. They could not be accountable for the conduct of other states. It was not, however, to be doubted, that other powers would speedily perceive and rectify their error; and that, with a proper attention to their true interests, as well as to the general system of Europe, they would interpose to check the ambition of the house of Bourbon.

The same argument applied with equal effect to that charge, on which all the eloquence of grief, and all the indignation of appa-

rent passion, had been exhausted on the other side; that of our naval inferiority, particularly on the narrow seas. It was impossible for Great Britain alone, to oppose an equal number of ships to the whole united force of the house of Bourbon; but if she even equalled or exceeded them in point of number, still the wide arrangement of her naval services, which was indispensibly necessary for the protection of her numerous, exposed, and remote dependencies, must at any rate, notwithstanding any skill or judgment in the disposition, afford an opportunity to the enemy of obtaining a superiority in some particular part. Yet with that vast superiority which they actually possessed in the preceding summer, it would be found, on due consideration, that the disgrace was on their side, and not on ours. They had fitted out a great and formidable armament; and it was true, that they had appeared upon our coasts; they talked big, threatened a great deal, did nothing, and retired.

Two things were to be particularly remembered, that the enemy were avowedly acting on the offensive, and we as professedly on the defensive. They came with a declared intention to invade us, we undertook to defeat the design; they were therefore foiled; for they had not dared, even to make the attempt. Their immense armaments paraded, and paraded to no purpose; and their millions were spent in vain. Had they landed, (and it were almost to be wished they had) their reception would have been such, as would not only have added to their disgrace, but would have afforded them

them some more essential matter to crown the history of their campaign.

It was denied, that the retreat of the British fleet, under Sir Charles Hardy, up the channel, could with any propriety be considered as a flight. The whole conduct of that admiral, demanded no less the admiration than the applause of his country. To decline an engagement, when he expected a reinforcement, and when the enemy were so vastly superior in number, was the effect of prudence, and eminent professional skill; to have accepted a challenge, would have been the madness of valour. It was not, however, in any degree a flight; he endeavoured, by several judicious motions, to have drawn the enemy up the channel, where, from its narrowness, and other circumstances, our fleet might have engaged them with less disadvantage, and they might have been subjected to much danger. The enemy did not chuse to venture far up the channel; but the design was the result of prudence and superior judgment. It was indeed true, that if the commander could then have possibly known the internal state and ill condition of the enemy's fleet, he would have eagerly sought an engagement, instead of avoiding it; but as the knowledge was unattainable, he could not profit of the occasion.

It was invidious, they said, on the other side, to endeavour to deprive ministers and commanders of their due merits, in the protection of our trade, and in baffling all the designs of the enemy, by ascribing solely to providence, these happy and important circumstances.

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It would be more ingenuous to acknowledge, that it required great sagacity, and no common abilities, with no more than from thirty-seven to forty ships of the line, to amuse, fix the attention, and keep in continual motion for so long a time, without their being able to gain any advantage, the vastly superior fleets of the enemy, which counted no less than sixty-six ships of the same rank and character. This judicious conduct produced the most salutary effects. An immense hostile armament was kept together during the campaign, and its efforts directed to a point where they could be of no avail; whereas, had this vast force been employed upon separate services, and directed to specific operations in the western world, or, perhaps; other parts, besides the destruction of our commerce, which must have been inevitable, we should probably, by this time, have been disrobed of some of our most valuable possessions.

The minister acknowledged, that it would have been a matter of no small moment, to have prevented the junction of the French and Spanish fleets; he likewise acknowledged, that we were much more forward in point of naval preparation than France; but he had every reason to believe, that it was not in our power to prevent the junction. The measure was in contemplation; and had the French continued in port, until they were in real condition for service, the junction would have been most assuredly prevented; but they perceiving our intention, rather chose to slip out of Brest, as they were, while we were still preparing, than to wait for proper equipment at [D] the

the risque of an encounter. If it was asked, why we were more nice with respect to preparation than France, the answer was obvious; we had another enemy to attend to; the naval force of Spain was in full equipment; our all depended on our fleet; we were therefore of necessity cautious.

With respect to Plymouth, the charge was partly denied, its force weakened, by alledging the conviction of government that no debarkation was there intended by the enemy, and the attention was called off from the past to the present state of that place, by stating the effectual measures which had been since taken for its security.

As to Ireland, the minister observed, that if it was distressed, and he heard it was, it was certainly entitled to relief. England would undoubtedly grant her every thing that could be given without injuring herself, and Ireland could not, with justice, ask more. Ireland could bear no resentment to the present administration, for she had received more favours and national benefits from them, than from any other during the forty preceding years. Her complaints were not directed against the present servants of the crown; they were laid against the constitution of this country; for the great source of their complaints lay in those laws, which were passed during the reign of Charles the second and William the third, imposing restraints upon their trade. He did not believe in their distress; and as he did not know the bill, he was not able to point out a specific remedy. But whenever her grievances appeared, he was well disposed to redress them. Ireland.

so far as his voice went, should have what was reasonable; and he was so well convinced that she would be satisfied, that he did not entertain the smallest apprehension on that subject.

He concluded, upon the whole, that our situation was not by any means so lamentable as it had been described; that it was much more secure and respectable at present, than it had been at the same season of the preceding year; our fleet was much stronger, and likely to be soon considerably augmented; though he would not encourage too sanguine expectations, he entertained strong hopes that the ensuing spring would open a brilliant campaign; and instead of those supposed symptoms of danger, which were said to keep mankind at a distance, we shewed such a fulness of strength, and growing vigour of preparation, that no power in Europe could hesitate, on that account, at making a common cause with us.

He observed, with regard to the proposed amendment, that the language it contained was strictly parliamentary. It was the duty, as well as the right of parliament, to cause the removal of evil ministers; but justice required, that proof should first be made of their delinquency. To remove the servants of the crown, without assigning any cause for it; or attributing to them, without evidence or trial, those errors or crimes, which on trial would not be found imputable to them, would be equally unjust and unprecedented. Therefore, though he admitted, to the fullest extent, the right of that house to address the throne for a removal of ministers; yet, as there

was

was nothing specifically charged against them in the amendment, he must certainly oppose it on principle; much less could it be supposed that he would agree to the implied censure upon himself, which was included in the general requisition for new counsels and new counsellors.

One of the ablest advocates on the same side observed, that the address was totally unexceptionable in all its parts; that it went no farther in its tendency than to carry up to the throne, these expressions of duty and adhesion, which had ever been the language of parliament, in their answer to the speech of the sovereign. There was not a word in the address, which could imply that parliament pledged itself to the support of any particular measure, or to oppose or protect any particular description of men. Along with the usual terms of respect it contained nothing more, than a general profession of union, on the common principle of self-defence.

On the other hand, the amendment, according to the explanations which had been given in its support, implied a requisition, not only that his majesty would dismiss all his counsellors, whether guilty or guiltless, old or new; but that he would go still farther, and adopt an entirely new system of government. On this he observed, that the constitution had placed the executive power of this government in the sovereign, the official functions of which are performed by persons of his appointment, each of whom is personally responsible for

his conduct in office. It was absolutely necessary, he said, for preserving the due equilibrium prescribed by the constitution, that the prince should have free liberty to appoint these persons to the various executive offices, who appeared to him the most proper to fill them; otherwise the government would degenerate into an aristocracy, and assume the worst vices, without the virtues, of a republic. If the prince were debarred of such a choice, either the nobles would acquire a most dangerous ascendancy over the crown, or the commons, encircling the throne, like a spider's web, with a ministry of their own choosing, would throw every thing into anarchy and confusion, and reduce us to the worst and most despicable state of government.

Neither the course of reasoning, the arguments, or the assertions of the minister, were sufficient to afford any satisfaction to the other side. They observed, that with his usual ingenuity, he had converted the heaviest charges against his conduct, into the means of actual defence. The criminal neglect and fatal decline of the navy under his administration, illustrated and proved by its acknowledged inferiority, and late indelible disgrace, afforded a charge of so alarming and capital a nature, that it seemed to lay him under an indispensable necessity of shewing, either, that it had not declined, or that the grants afforded by parliament were not adequate to its support. But without the smallest trouble of that sort, the minister applies that

very inferiority, which constitutes his most deadly crime, to the justification of its shameful consequence, the scandalous flight of the British fleet; and tells us with the greatest unconcern, that it would have been madness not to run away.

The noble lord, they said, was not less ingenious in the exculpation of other parts of his conduct. Administration were entirely guiltless of all those ruinous consequences, which can only be generated, by a long conjunction of evil government and political folly. The common union and revolt of thirteen colonies, who never agreed in any thing else, with the loss of America, he accounts for in one short sentence, by charging it to the rebellious disposition of a people, who had ever been eminently distinguished for their loyalty. If we are abandoned, in a manner unexampled in history, at this perilous moment, without the assistance or hope of a single ally, the minister comforts us with the assurance that it is no fault of his, but proceeds merely from the blind folly, or strange ingratitude of other powers. The loss of our West-India islands, is by no means to be charged to the indolence or neglect of ministry, but to the activity and impudence of D'Estaing, who unexpectedly took them from us. And if Ireland was slipping out of our hands, by a repetition of the same measures and conduct which lost America, still our immaculate ministers were totally free from blame; for it was easily shewn by this new logic, that the Irish themselves were the causes of

their own grievances and disturbances. Such, they said, was the mode of reasoning, with which ministers and their advocates, in the present day, dared to insult the understanding of parliament.

But they demand proofs of their incapacity and misconduct. Could any proofs upon earth exceed or equal, a bare recital of their acts, and of the consequences which they produced? Is not the unexampled ruin, which, within a few years, their government has brought upon a country, so great, so glorious, and so flourishing as this was, at the commencement of the present reign, the most conclusive possible evidence, either, of the most wretched incapacity, or of wilful design and treachery. But if every other proof of ignorance and incapacity, and of the necessity of demanding from the throne the removal of the present ministers and counsellors, were wanting, the noble lord himself had just supplied the strongest that could be given; and what, indeed, might well supersede all other evidence. For, after the long notice he had received from that house, the repeated warnings given him by the opposition, and the very alarming motives, which every day grew more urgent, for his making a full and immediate enquiry into the affairs, state, and condition of Ireland, and duly weighing and considering the means, for affording a proper and adequate relief to her wants, and providing a remedy for her disorders, he had now candidly, but inadvertently confessed, that he was equally ignorant

rant of the wants, the disorder, and the cure. Could the most inveterate enemy, said they, have urged a better or stronger reason for the dismission of a minister, than was included in that confession? Could any other evidence, be so unexceptionable, or establish so full a conviction? Or, after such a confession, was it possible for that house to hesitate a moment in voting for the removal of such a minister?

After very long debates, in which an infinite quantity and variety of public matter was canvassed, the question being put, at a late hour, the proposed amendment was rejected upon a division, by a majority of 233, to 134.

The address was moved for in the House of Lords by the Earl of Chesterfield, and seconded by Lord Grantham, late ambassador at the court of Madrid. The amendment was moved for, and supported with great ability, by the Marquis of Rockingham; who, in a long speech, took a comprehensive view of the general policy of the present reign, as well as of the particular circumstances and public transactions of the current year. The debate was supported, on that side, by the Dukes of Richmond and Grafton, the Earls of Shelburne, Coventry, and Effingham, with the Lords Camden, and Lyttelton. On the other side, the two great law lords in office, the two new secretaries of state, the noble earl just placed at the head of the board of trade, and the marine minister, bore the weight of the contest.

It will be easily seen from a

view of the antagonists, that no advantage could be gained on either side, from any defect of address or ability on the opposite. The debates were accordingly exceedingly interesting, embraced a variety of subjects of the greatest importance, and were carried on, without languor, through a length of time very unusual in that house. Among other matters, the affairs of Ireland were much agitated; and much unqualified censure past upon that criminal neglect, as it was called, to which their present dangerous situation was attributed. But no part of our recent public conduct, underwent a more critical investigation, or was more severely condemned, than what related to the disposition and government of the army within the kingdom, and to the means of defence adopted, or supposed to be neglected, during the summer. On this ground, the charges were so numerous, so directly applied, and supported with such ability and knowledge of the subject, particularly by the Duke of Richmond, that the noble lord at the head of that department, notwithstanding his habitual coolness and command of temper, could not but feel some embarrassment; and indeed it would have required such habits of argument, and such a portion of eloquence, as are not often acquired by, nor frequently the lot of military men, to have successfully resisted their effect, and entirely effaced the impression which they made.

As the charge of an undue system of government, and the strictures upon the general policy of the present reign, were principally

cipally made in that house, the matters arising from those subjects, were, of course, more particularly canvassed there; and brought out much severity and bitterness of reply. The lords in administration, besides an absolute contradiction or denial of every thing advanced on that ground, expressed the utmost astonishment, at the new and extraordinary language now held. They said, that the proposed amendment, along with the comments and explanations by which it was attended, were replete with invective, and in reality a kind of libel upon government. That nothing could be more fallacious or invidious, than the contrast drawn, and the manner in which it was applied, between the degree of power, prosperity, and pre-eminence, attributed to the nation at the time of his majesty's accession, and the misfortune or danger of the present period.

It must indeed, they said, be acknowledged, however it might be regretted, that too many of the unfortunate facts stated on the other side, were too well established to be controverted; but the deduction drawn from these premises, that our public misfortunes were imputable to the present ministers, did not by any means follow. It would have been more ingenuous to have attributed these misfortunes, in a very great degree, to our internal divisions, and to that incautious and violent language, which was too frequently held in parliament. But if they were imputable to the present administration, they were equally so to every other during the present reign. Dead

and living ministers, those now in opposition, as well as those in office, must all bear an equal share of the blame. There was scarcely a lord, on the same side with the noble marquis who moved the amendment, who had not been a member of one administration or other within that period. They had all a share in those public measures, and in the support of that system, as it is affected to be called, which they now so bitterly inveigh against. Even the forbidden ground of America, which is execrated as the source of all our evils and calamities, has been indifferently trodden by every administration since the year 1763.

The present ministers had neither passed or repealed the stamp act. They had not laid on those American duties, by which the seeds of the present rebellion were first sowed. And, whatever the measures were, good or bad, wise or unwise, which they pursued, they only followed up the line, which had already been chalked out for them by their predecessors. Why then, this sudden and violent cry, "of new counsels and new counsellors?" Or what was meant by new counsels? It was evident from the speech before them, that the object of the present system of government, was to pursue the war with vigour and effect: would the noble marquis and his friends have that system changed? Did they wish to have it carried on with the reverse of vigour? Would they recommend to have it followed with weakness, and conducted without spirit? If not, what was the intent or purpose of new counsels?

To this it was answered, that supposing the facts to be fairly stated, (which was not, however, in any degree the case) it was a new and extraordinary mode of defence, to bring the errors, vices, or crimes of former ministers, whether dead or living, in exculpation of the erroneous conduct, and destructive measures of the present. It must afford much satisfaction to the public, and be a matter of great comfort in their present distresses, to be informed, that their ministers had only obstinately persevered, in despite of reason, warning, and experience, in following up to the final extremity of ruin, to foreign and domestic war, and to the dismembering of the empire, certain measures of absurdity and evil, which had been either dreamed of in theory, or attempted in practice, by some of their predecessors. It was, indeed, rather unlucky, that it was only in such instances, that they ever attempted to profit by example. Upon other occasions, the maxims and conduct of their predecessors went for nothing. When it suited their own views, or the purposes of the arbitrary system under which they acted, they not only readily over-stepped all ancient and established rules of government, but they could with as much ease, make long strides beyond the limits of the constitution itself. But they wholly denied the universality of the charge on all the ministers of this reign. Some of them had no share in those measures, except in correcting the ill consequences of them; and none but the present

ministers persevered in direct opposition to all experience.

The late resignations and appointments afforded an opportunity to the opposition for much animadversion and some satire. They attributed the resignation of the lord president of the council, to his disdain of continuing any longer in office with men, who he found totally incapable of conducting the public business, and of adding up to any fixed rule or principle of conduct. The recent bringing in of a noble lord, to a short epistle of whose writing when formerly in office, they directly charged the loss of America, was severely censured in both houses, as a measure which tended to render all reconciliation with the colonies still more desperate.

But the spirit of that system, they said, which had so long governed, and so long disgraced our public counsels, was peculiarly operative in the business of appointments. When the measures, which eventually led to the loss of America, were first planned under that fatal system, it had been thought proper to create a new office, under the title of secretary of state for the colonies, in order to give a supposed degree of weight, and the greater eclat, to the intended proceedings. And now, in the fulness of the same spirit, and according to the true wisdom of that system, when we have no colonies to take care of, and that America no longer forms a part of the British empire, it is thought necessary to create or renew another high and expensive office, by adding, to

the secretary of state for that department, a first lord of trade and plantations.

The defection of a young nobleman, who then possessed, and had for some years held, a sinecure office of considerable emolument and distinction, and who had constantly been one of the warmest, and most able advocates of administration in that house, was not more a matter of observation or surprize, than the exceeding severity of censure, and bitterness of language, which marked his exposure and condemnation of their conduct and measures. Such a desertion, at such a period, and so untoward a direction of abilities, of no ordinary form, might well have been considered as ominous to administration, if the sudden death of this nobleman, which happened almost immediately after, had not put an end to all expectation and apprehension in that respect.

The question being at length put, at half after one o'clock in the morning, the amendment was rejected, upon a division, by a majority of just two to one; the numbers being 82 to 41. The address was then carried without a division.

The debate of this day in the House of Commons, was distinguished by a circumstance, at that time, rather unusual in parlia-

ment. The representation of something in the news-papers, which had fallen from Mr. Charles Fox in his speech, and which was passed over at the time without any particular notice, affording some dissatisfaction to Mr. Adam, another member, he thought it necessary to require of the former gentleman, a public disavowal and contradiction of it, through the same vehicles of intelligence in which it had appeared. This requisition or demand, being deemed highly improper by Mr. Fox, he absolutely refused a concession, which he thought it would be inconsistent with his character to make. The consequence was, a message from Mr. Adam, and a duel with pistols in Hyde Park, in which Mr. Fox was wounded. The novelty of the affair would, in any case, have excited much curiosity; and this was not only greatly increased, but blended with scarcely a less degree of anxiety, through the interest which the public took in the life of that gentleman. At the same time, that the affair being generally attributed, rather to the animosity or views of party, than to the offensive motives, so it contributed not a little, to spread and inflame that spirit without doors, from which it was supposed to have originated within.*

* For the particulars of this duel, see the chronicle part of our last volume, page 235.

C H A P. IV.

Vote of censure against ministers, relative to their conduct with respect to Ireland, moved by the Earl of Shelburne. Debates on the question. Part taken by the late lord president of the council. Motion rejected upon a division. Similar motion in the House of Commons by the Earl of Upper Ossory. Defence of administration. Animadversion. Motion rejected upon a division. Motion by the Duke of Richmond, for an economical reform of the civil list establishment. Motion, after considerable debates, rejected upon a division. Minister opens his propositions, in the House of Commons, for affording relief to Ireland. Agreed to without opposition. Two bills accordingly brought in, and passed before the recess. Third bill to lie open till after the holidays. Earl of Shelburne's motion relative to the extraordinaries of the army; and introductory to a farther reform in the public expenditure. Motion rejected on a division. Notice given of a second intended motion, and the lords summoned for the 8th of February. Letters of thanks from the city of London to the Duke of Richmond and to the Earl of Shelburne, for their attempts to introduce a reform in the public expenditure; and similar letters sent to his royal highness the Duke of Cumberland, and to all the other lords who supported the two late motions. Mr. Burke gives notice of his plan of public reform and economy, which he proposes bringing forward after the recess.

AS the affairs of Ireland held a principal place in point of importance, so they took the lead in the business of the present session. The subject was first brought forward in the House of Lords, where the Earl of Shelburne prefaced an intended and avowed vote of censure on ministers, by shewing from the journals, that their address, which had been moved for by a noble marquis, and unanimously passed on the 11th of May last, had strongly recommended to his majesty's most serious consideration, the distressed and impoverished state of that loyal and well-deserving people; at the same time requiring, that such documents, relative to the trade and manufactures of Great Britain and Ireland might be laid be-

fore them, as would enable the national wisdom to pursue effectual measures for the common interest of both kingdoms; and likewise, that the answer, returned from the throne on the following day, was entirely consonant to the ideas and requisition held out in the address.

He then referred to the address which he had himself moved for, and which had been rejected by a great majority on the second of the following June, which related the necessity of giving speedy and effectual relief to Ireland, and offered the full co-operation of that house for the purpose; at the same time recommending, that if the royal prerogative, as vested in the throne by the constitution, was not adequate to the administering of the relief wanted,

wanted, that his majesty would be pleased to continue the parliament of this kingdom sitting, and give orders forthwith, for calling the parliament of Ireland, in order that their just complaints might be fully considered, and remedied without delay.

He observed, with respect to the first-mentioned address, that it contained, in its original state, as framed by the noble marquis, an implied and just censure on ministers, for their so long and so shamefully neglecting the immediate concerns of our sister island, and in so doing, endangering the union, and sacrificing the prosperity of both kingdoms. That the noble earl, then at the head of his majesty's council, proposed an amendment, by which the censure was omitted, and the address reduced to its present form. That, although the amendment did not meet the ideas of many lords on that side of the house, any more than his own, yet they agreed to accept of it, lest their rigid adherence to the original terms of the address, should produce the absolute rejection of the whole. They beheld a people already driven to the verge of despair, and they could not look forward, without the greatest apprehension, to the fatal consequences which were to be expected, from the rejection, by a majority in that house, of any proposal, which, at so critical a period, carried even the appearance of being in their favour.

That the noble framer of the address, with several other lords on that side, in consenting to the modification, which extracted the sting against ministers, did it expressly on the condition, that its great object, the obtaining of ef-

fectual and immediate relief for Ireland, was to be fixed and inviolable. He then observed, that a similar address had on the same day been passed by the House of Commons; so that these two addresses, with the answers from the throne to both, held out the full concurrence of every part of the legislature in granting the proposed relief.

Thus, he said, a new era was commenced in the affairs of Ireland. This furnished a ground of hope, and even of certainty to that kingdom. But what must her indignation and resentment be, when she discovered that her hopes were totally unfounded; and that no reliance could be placed on any sanction, however solemn or sacred, held out by the British legislature? Three weeks had elapsed, without a single step being taken, or a single measure adopted, which could tend to the proposed business. That, in order, if possible, to prevent the fatal and inevitable effects of such a conduct, he had himself, on the 2d of June, moved for that second address which had been just read. The ministers set their faces directly against the remedy, which their own faults had rendered necessary. The lateness of that season, the waste of which constituted no small part of their crime, was the ostensible argument which unhappily prevailed in that house to the rejection of his motion; and thus the fate of Ireland was, by a British ministry and parliament, committed to fortune, chance, or accident.

The situation and circumstances of that country were at the time singular. She had long maintained, for internal defence and security,

curity, a great military force, at an expence which exceeded her ability. Of this, contrary to royal faith and compact, she had been stripped, for the support of the American war; a contest in which she had no other national concern, than a well founded cause of apprehension, that the principle from which it had generated, would, in the next instance, be applied to the subversion of her own constitution. Struggling, as she had been before, under long continued oppression, this additional misfortune was decisive. For to crown the climax, in this state of weakness, she was known to be the marked object of hostile invasion from our powerful and inveterate enemies.

Still, however, she thought that the wisdom and justice of a British parliament, would afford full redress to her domestic evils; and that, deprived as she was of her internal strength, in the support of our quarrel, the power of this country would be her sure protection against the designs of the enemy. But the time was now arrived, which was to shew her hopes to be equally delusive in both respects. After appearances, which seemed only intended as a mockery of her distresses, every prospect of relief was finally closed by the rising of the British parliament. On the other hand, as to the point of defence, the ministers told them plainly they must take care of themselves; they would spare them some arms; but as to protection, they acknowledged openly, and pleaded, inability.

Thus exposed, defenceless, and abandoned, Ireland was reduced to the simple alternative, of either

perishing, or of finding the means of preservation within herself. Through the public spirit, and gallantry of her sons, she was happily saved. With a peculiar magnanimity, the most divided people in the universe, instantly forgot all their differences, and united as one man to ward off the impending destruction of their country. The miracle in this instance, could only be equalled by that which ministers had already produced, in the union of the thirteen American colonies. Above forty thousand men were already arrayed, officered, and formed into regular bodies. This, already formidable, and daily increasing force, was not composed of mercenaries who had no interest in the cause for which they armed: it was composed of the nobility, gentry, merchants, respectable citizens, and substantial farmers; men who had each a stake to lose; and who were willing and able to devote their time, and a part of their property, to the defence of the whole.

By this union, and exertion of native strength and spirit, all ideas of invasion were effectually erased from the designs of the enemy. But the Irish became sensible at the same time, of the respect due to that internal force, which, until it was called forth through the weakness of government, they were unconscious of possessing. The means were in their hands; and they seized the occasion with that spirit and wisdom, which shewed they were worthy of whatever advantages it was capable of affording.

In these circumstances, Ireland only acted the part, which every thinking

thinking man must have foreseen. The government had been abdicated, and the people resumed the powers vested in it; a measure in which they were justified, by every principle of the constitution, and every motive of self-preservation. But being now in full possession, they wisely and firmly determined, that in again delegating this inherent power, they would have it so regulated, and placed upon so sound and liberal a basis, as would effectually prevent a repetition of those oppressions which they had so long experienced.

Their parliament, usually at the devotion of the court, found itself, for once, obliged to conform to the universal sentiments of the people. The late address to the throne from both Houses of the Irish parliament declares, that nothing less than a free trade, could save that country from certain ruin. This was the united voice of that kingdom, and conveyed through its proper constitutional organs; there was but one dissenting voice in both Houses. All orders and degrees of men, church of England Protestants, and Roman Catholics; Dissenters, and sectaries of all denominations; Whigs and Tories; placemen, pensioners, and country gentlemen; Englishmen by birth, all join in one voice, and concur in one opinion, for a free trade. But however guarded and temperate the language held by the Irish parliament upon that subject may be in their address, the public at large, in that country, were by no means disposed to consider the freedom of trade as a matter of favour or affection; on

the contrary, their eyes were now opened in such a manner, that they viewed it as a natural, inherent, inalienable right; and as it is natural to men, to fly from any extreme to its opposite, they do not by any means stop there; they not only call in question, but they absolutely deny, the right of the British parliament to bind that country in any case whatever; and upon that principle, have actually freighted a vessel with woollen goods for a foreign market, in order, that upon the stoppage, or refusal of clearance by the custom house, the question might be brought to an issue in the common courts of law.

It was obvious, that at the time the noble marquis moved the first address, very moderate concessions would have afforded a full gratification to Ireland; that she would have thankfully received them, both as a proof of present affection, and as an earnest of further favour, when a more auspicious season should present a happier opportunity; and all who know the character of that country would acknowledge, that with such a proof of our kindness and good disposition, she would have disdained to press us, during the time of our troubles and difficulties, for any thing more, than what her own necessities rendered indispensibly and immediately necessary.

On the other hand it was equally evident, that through the obduracy of ministers, no less than their incapacity, and the contempt with which they rejected the advice of parliament, the happy season of conciliation and gratitude, was now irrecoverably lost;

lost; that whatever this country now granted, (and much it must grant) would be considered as a right, and not as a favour; and that it became difficult to say, as it was alarming to consider, what might yet afford contentment to that kingdom. That, to sum up the whole, ministers had first sacrificed the dignity, and hazarded the dominion of the crown, by resigning the sword, and relinquishing the government of that kingdom; and that now, they have reduced parliament to the melancholy dilemma, either of submitting to whatever terms Ireland might chuse to dictate, or to the loss of that country, as well as of America.

He then moved a resolution to the following purport—That it is highly criminal in his majesty's ministers to have neglected taking effectual measures for the relief of the kingdom of Ireland, in consequence of the address of this House of the 11th of May, and of his majesty's most gracious answer; and to have suffered the discontents of that country to rise to such a height as evidently to endanger the constitutional connection between the two kingdoms, and to create new embarrassments to the public counsels through division and dissidence, in a moment when real unanimity, grounded upon mutual confidence and affection, is confessedly essential to the preservation of what is left of the British empire.

The want of proof to substantiate the charges on which the censure included in the resolution was supposed to be founded, was the strong ground of objection to the motion taken on the other

side. They said that the censure went indiscriminately to all his majesty's ministers; that it took in the dead, as well as the living; those who had retired from public business, as well as those who had not been a week in office. That it would be an act of the highest injustice, in any case, to pass such a censure, without the most direct and positive evidence. That in the present instance, there was not only a total defect of evidence, but the motion went to the condemnation of persons who could not possibly be culpable.

In fact, what did the charge, taken in its utmost latitude, amount to? To no more than this, that parliament had desired ministers to do something, which some of their lordships were of opinion they had not done. In that case, two questions arose which must be necessarily discussed, before any determination could be had. First, whether ministers had not executed what they had been desired? Or, if they had not, whether they were blameable? There was not the smallest proof before them, that they had not fully complied with the intentions of parliament; or if it were granted that they had not, there was nothing to shew that they could have been complied with. Both must however be proved, before the House could, with any colour of reason or justice, proceed to a vote on either side of the question.

The papers on the tables of both Houses, they said, would fully shew, that ministers had done every thing that lay with them; and that instead of being blameable, they were highly praise-worthy,

worthy, for the diligence which they used, in procuring every kind of possible information relative to the affairs of Ireland for the consideration of parliament. So far they went, and farther they could not, nor should not have gone. The means of affording relief to Ireland lay solely with the legislature. It was a business of too great a magnitude to come within the embrace of ministers. Nor was it a matter to be taken up lightly, nor carried through in a hurry, even by parliament. It included so many arduous questions, relative to the most important concerns, and commercial interests of both kingdoms, that the most mature deliberation, as well as the highest wisdom, and every degree of information that had been obtained, would be found necessary for its final determination.

But if any thing more were wanting to convince their lordships that the charge was ill founded, and that the king's confidential servants had not, in the terms of the motion, been guilty of criminal neglect, a very few days would bring an additional testimony of the unwearied assiduity of ministers; as, within that period, the noble minister in the other House would bring forward certain propositions for the relief of Ireland, being the result of that information, which, during the recess of parliament, they had employed themselves in obtaining. They concluded, that they must on every ground oppose a motion, which, if agreed to, could tend only to create unnecessary jealousies and embarrassments, at a time when all parties agreed, that

to promote union was the first object of every man who wished well to his country; and were at the same time themselves thoroughly convinced, that both the letter and spirit of the addresses of the 11th of May had been fully complied with.

The defence drawn from a defect of proof, was laughed at by the opposition. The neglect charged upon ministers, they said, was self-evident. The unexampled revolution in the affairs, and still more so in the temper of Ireland; the present disorders reigning in that country, and the general alarm which they have spread in this; with the new language held by the Irish parliament, and that merely an echo of the universal voice of the people, establish a fund of evidence infinitely superior to any, which the forms and circumstances of a court of law can either require or compass. The Marquis of Rockingham undertook to shew, that the non-importation agreement in Ireland was far from general, and only entered into in some particular places, at the time of making his motion on the 11th of May. But as soon as Ireland perceived, that the relief promised by every part of the legislature, was withheld by ministers, the non-importation agreement became general: and in the same manner, the spirit of military association, which was before directed solely to defence against a foreign enemy, assumed a new form; and from thence looked forward to compel that relief which was denied; an idea which, while good will and good intentions appeared on our part, had never an exist-

ence in the minds of the people of Ireland. He insisted, that if any thing reasonable, however moderate, had been done, when he first moved the business, or if parliament had been kept sitting, according to the proposition of his noble friend, of the 2d of June last, that neither the associations, nor the non-importation agreements, would have ever assumed their present appearance, nor ever existed in their present extent.

He then asked, whether their lordships, with such self-evident proofs before them, that it was perhaps the only measure that could extricate their country from the perils with which she was on every side encompassed, could hesitate a moment, in passing the awful, but highly necessary censure of parliament, upon those men, whose neglect, or complicated folly and treachery, had forced the Irish into measures, which, however necessary and well intended, most clearly amounted to a suspension, if not a subversion, of all the powers of legal government; and who had thus involved the affairs of both countries in such difficulties, as were likely, without much caution and judgment on both sides, to terminate in all the calamities and dangers of civil war? He therefore exhorted them in the most urgent terms to agree to the motion, as the only method of convincing Ireland, in the first instance, of the generous intentions of this country towards her, and that the treatment they had experienced from ministers, by no means accorded with the real sense of the parliament of Great Britain, but was solely imputable to the criminal conduct of the king's servants.

It was evident that the lords in administration wished merely to get rid of the motion, without being at all disposed to enter deeply into its subject, or to discuss the various questions which arose from it. The debate on their side was more dry than usual. This was attributed to their having no plan in readiness. Their reserve and backwardness continued, notwithstanding the call made upon them, thro' the marked part taken by Earl Gower, late president of the council, which contained expressions of a nature unusually strong, and infinitely the stronger, as coming from one so lately of their own cabinet, and by no means disposed to act in opposition to the court. Even this did not oblige them to quit that defensive plan, in which for the present they entrenched themselves.

That noble earl said that he should vote against the motion; although there did not exist a single doubt in his mind, that the censure it contained was not well founded; and that his motive for acting so directly contrary to his opinion, was founded entirely upon the great respect with which he regarded the decisions of that house. The men who were the object of public censure, had required a few days for their exculpation, and the wisdom and dignity of parliament forbid their being refused the short time which they desired for that purpose. He was, for his own part, fully convinced, that the charge of neglect urged against them, was strictly true, though not yet quite evident. Things were not yet ripe for proof, but they would, he ventured to say, be shortly so. He had the good fortune

fortune to unite the house last session, upon the terms of the address to the throne; and was in hopes, that something effectual for the relief of Ireland would have arisen from the unanimous concurrence of their lordships, in the amendment which he then had the honour to propose. If nothing had since been done for the relief of that country, he assured the house it was not owing to any fault of his; he had done every thing in his power to keep his word; he was ready to acknowledge, that he had solemnly pledged himself to their lordships; he thought himself then fully competent to the engagement; but he must now in his own justification declare, that his efforts had proved totally fruitless. It was not in his power, nor in the power of any individual, to have effected the intended purpose.

The noble earl observed, that he had presided for some years at the council-table; and that he had seen such things pass of late, that no man of honour or conscience, could any longer sit there. The times were such as called upon every man to speak out: the situation of these two kingdoms at present, particularly required sincerity and activity in council. He was confident, that the resources of this country were equal to the dangerous confederacy formed against us; but to profit by those resources, to give success to those abilities, energy and effect must be restored to government.

Such charges or declarations, coming from such a quarter, and so authorized, were sufficiently alarming; and it seemed not a little singular, that they did not bring

out a single word, whether of observation or reply, on the side of administration.

A great law lord, who has been long supposed to be higher even in favour and power than in office, had, in the last debate, strongly recommended a coalition and union of men and of parties, as absolutely necessary to the salvation of this country, in its present perilous circumstances; and supported his opinion, with his usual ability, by a reference to the happy effects which proceeded from former coalitions, particularly with respect to the coming in of Mr. Pitt, in the beginning of the late war. The tenor, however, of the whole present debate was such, as shewed little disposition to such a coalition.

The question being put, the motion was rejected on a division, by a majority of more than two to one, the numbers being 32 to 37.

The minister in the House of Commons was continually pressed, in the same manner, and on the same subject. He was reminded of a general observation, so current without doors as to become almost proverbial, that ministry were constantly a day too late in all their measures; that what should be done this day and this year, was then fully practicable, and capable of the greatest benefits, was constantly deferred to the next; and then vainly and disgracefully attempted, when it was become utterly impracticable. Such, they said, had been the conduct of government, in every one step it took with regard to America; and as America was lost by this means, so would Ireland, if speedily and effective

fective measures, originating from decisive counsels, were not immediately adopted.

Thus doubly pressed on the subject, apparently by the demands of opposition, and in reality by the short supply of the parliament of Ireland, he gave notice on the day of that debate which we have just stated, that he would, in something more than a week, move for a committee of the whole house to enter upon that business. He was then strongly urged to give the house some information of the ground which he intended to go upon; at least some general outline or idea of the plan which he had adopted for settling the affairs of Ireland. He was warned, on a subject of such vast importance, to lay by, what they termed, all wonted modes of concealment and surprize; not to consider it as a party matter; to remember, that in a business of such magnitude, and including the most essential interests of both kingdoms, it was necessary that gentlemen should be fully prepared, by the possession of every degree of previous information, to enter coolly, deliberately, and decisively into the subject. Particularly, that the minister's plan or system should not be disgraced, by any doing and undoing, holding out and recanting; or appearance of trick and chicanery, in its progress through the house. The minister found the calls for an explanation, which he was not prepared to give, so urgent, and his non-compliance productive of so much observation and reflection, that he was at length under a sort of necessity of acknowledging, that the plan was not as yet finally agreed

upon, and could not therefore be communicated.

In a few days after, a vote of censure upon the ministers for their conduct and neglect with respect to the affairs of Ireland, and similar to that which had been lately rejected by the lords, was moved in the House of Commons Dec. 6th. by the earl of Upper Ossory, and seconded by Lord Middleton. As the attacks on the minister were here more immediately and directly applied than in the other house, so his defence or justification, including of course that of his colleagues, was more fully entered into; and was in fact very ably conducted.

In the first place it was contended, that the distresses and miseries of Ireland could not with justice be attributed to the present, or to any late ministers of this country; that her grievances originated many years since in the general system of our trade laws; that the restrictions then laid on, arose from a narrow, short-sighted policy; a policy, which though conceived in prejudice, and founded on ignorance, was so strengthened by time, and confirmed by the habits of a century, that it seemed at length wrought into, and become a part of our very constitution. That the prejudices on that ground were so strong, both within the house and without, that the attempts made in two preceding sessions, only to obtain a moderate relaxation of the restrictions with which that country was bound, met with the most determined opposition; the few who undertook that invidious task, found themselves obliged to encounter preju-

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dies without petitions and counsels, he is said to be at length overborne by numbers within the house. It was then evident, that the house was at those times averse to the affording of any favour to Ireland, which could either interfere with our trade laws, or affect certain branches of our commerce or manufacture; nor did it signify, whether this temper proceeded from the common prejudice, or from the attention which they paid to the desires and wishes of their constituents, the operation and effect in either case were just the same. Thus, he said, ministers were fully exculpated from two of the principal charges brought against them. It was demonstrable, that they had no share whatever, in drawing on the calamities of Ireland; and it was as clearly evident, that it was not in their power to have afforded that timely redress to her grievances, a supposed or imputed neglect in which, has been made the ground of so much ingenious, but unfounded, and therefore unjust invective.

The two main pillars of the motion, he said, were, first the charge against ministers, of not effectively following up the address of the 11th of May, by continuing the sitting of the British parliament until redress was afforded to Ireland; and secondly, the charge of negligence since the prorogation, in their not having framed a proper plan for that purpose during the interim, so as to be ready immediately to lay it before parliament at the meeting. To these, he said, a number of answers were at hand, a few of which would be fully conclusive. The British parliament did not rise until the 3d of

July, after a sitting of more than seven months. Nobody can have yet forgotten, the alarming and dangerous state of public affairs during the last summer. The gentlemen in opposition have already taken care sufficiently to remind us, that the enemy were, for a great part of the time, masters of our coasts and of the channel. Defeats and invasion were every day expected, and long threatened. A very great number of the members of both houses sent of necessity have been drawn away to join their regiments, and to act in the defence of their country. Those even who held no commands in the militia or army, would have deemed their presence indispensably necessary, in those places where their fortunes and interests lay. Could it then have been consistent with propriety, with reason, or with safety, to have kept parliament sitting at such a period?

But if this necessity, arising from danger and the state of public affairs, had not even existed, still it would have been highly unfitting, and might have been attended with obvious ill consequences, for the British parliament to have at all entered upon the affairs of Ireland, until they were properly informed, what the nature of her wants, and the extent of her demands were; as it was from these circumstances only, that any true judgment could be formed, as to the measure of relief which it would be fitting to afford to that country. Now as this knowledge could only be properly obtained from the Irish parliament, which every body knows was not then sitting, every shadow of blame against the ministers, with respect to the prorogation, vanishes of

of course. The same statement of facts and arguments, goes equally to the overthrow of the second principal charge laid against the ministers, of negligence with respect to Ireland during the recess, as likewise to that other, of their not having assembled the British parliament, previous to the meeting of the Irish. For if it was unfitting (which surely would not be denied) for the British parliament to enter upon the affairs of Ireland, until they were in possession of those data, which were necessary to regulate their measures, and to afford matter for establishing their judgment, it must have been much more so for his majesty's servants, to venture in the dark upon a business of such magnitude and importance; and the assembling of the British parliament before the Irish would have been absurd, when they must necessarily wait for the proceedings of the latter.

But by convening the Irish parliament first, the sentiments of that people, properly conveyed through the medium of their representatives, was now fully understood. The question of policy with regard to that country, and brought forward under the most unquestionable authority, was now laid fairly within the cognizance of the British legislature; and all they had now to consider was, how far it would be advisable to comply with the requests made by Ireland; and with what terms and conditions it might be thought proper to charge the favours granted. The temper and disposition of the people of this country had undergone a great and happy change with respect to that; prejudice had worn off both within doors and with-

out; and parliament could not now confer any mark of favour upon Ireland, which would not meet with general approbation.

Upon the whole, he drew from the various premises which he stated, the following conclusions. That the present ministers, instead of being inimical to Ireland, or inattentive to her interests, had been her best and warmest friends. —That they had done more for her than all their predecessors during a century past. —That not only the nation at large, but parliament, were, until now, adverse to the granting any concessions to Ireland, which could afford her either content or redress. —And that consequently, if any blame was due for not affording more early relief to Ireland, it was imputable only to the prejudices and temper of the people and parliament of this country, and not by any means to the ministers; who, as they had no share in the causes of her distresses, were equally guiltless as to their continuance.

This state of things, and the arguments arising from, or by which it was accompanied, were opposed, and attempted to be invalidated by the opposition. They reprobated in terms of high indignation the imputation of prejudice laid to that house; by which ministers, they said, according to their now established, but daring practice, attempted to father all their own blunders and misdemeanors on parliament. They laughed at the pretended weakness and inefficiency with respect to the transactions of that house, which ministers now affected, in order thereby to shield their own neglect with respect to Ireland. The minister upon this

occasion is represented as a man of straw, a creature destitute of all consequence and efficacy, who only attends as one of the officers of the house, merely to hear and receive with reverential awe the decrees of parliament. The noble minister has not assumed any part of this delicacy upon occasions, when it would have been highly becoming in him, and of infinite advantage to his country. In such cases, he has paid as little regard to popular clamour or censure without doors, as to reason or argument within. If a scheme is meditated for depriving all the freeholders in England of the noblest portion of their birthright; if the chartered rights of the greatest commercial company in the universe are to be violently invaded, and all parliamentary faith at one stroke annihilated; or if a great quarter of the world, if thirteen nations, are to be at once stripped of all that is worth the consideration and value of mankind, of all those rights which they inherited from their ancestors, and even of the means of existence; on any, and on all of these occasions, the minister stands forth in all the fulness of his power. He leads on his majorities of two or three to one, in all the easy pride and conscious triumph of assured victory. He boasts of them as appendages to his own inherent merit; and tells you gravely, that government could not subsist, without such an overruling influence, and so decisive a power. But if the nature of the service is changed, and that he is called from the successful works of destruction, to the salvation of one kingdom, by the preservation of another, he sinks at once into no-

thing, and has not authority or influence left, sufficient for the opening of a turnpike gate. So that in fact it appears, as if the powers of government only existed in their contact with evil, but instantly lost their efficacy when applied to any good purpose.

They, however, absolutely denied, that the minister had been passive, neutral, or inefficacious, with respect to the affairs of Ireland; and on the contrary severely charged him, with having, very unfortunately for this country, taken a very active part in that business in the preceding session. For a bill having been brought in to afford some relief to Ireland, by admitting the direct importation of sugars for their own consumption, and he, as they said, having for a time suffered things to take their natural course in that house, the bill was accordingly (as all matters ever would be under the same circumstances) coolly and deliberately canvassed and debated in all its parts; and without being overwhelmed by those extraordinary prejudices which are now pretended, and without its being supported by any powerful influence, worked its way, by the strength of its own intrinsic merit, through repeated divisions, until it had nearly arrived at the last stage of its progress. But at that inauspicious moment, the minister having by some means been roused from his slumber, most unhappily resumed his activity; and departing at once from that neutrality which he had hitherto professed, came down in all the power, and surrounded with all the instruments of office, in order to defeat the measure. He accordingly succeeded in

in throwing out the bill; but, as a proof how little prejudice had to do in the business, his majority upon this occasion was so totally disproportioned to those which attended his steps upon others, that a victory upon such terms seemed some sort of degradation. It was to be acknowledged, that the bill, in itself, was not of much value, and would have afforded but a scanty measure to Ireland of that relief which she wanted; but the time, manner, and circumstances of a favour, frequently stamp a greater value upon it than it inherently possesses; and the passing of the bill at that time, would evidently have produced very happy consequences, and, in a great measure, if not entirely, have prevented all the mischiefs and dangers which have since taken place with respect to that country. But, on the contrary, when the people of Ireland saw that the minister had thus openly set his face directly against them; and found after, that every effort in their favour was rendered abortive by his influence or management, until they saw themselves at length totally abandoned by the rising of the British parliament; it was no wonder then that they should become desperate; and that they should seek in themselves for the means of that redress, which they found denied both to favour and to justice. The only matter of admiration now, and which does them the highest honour as a people, is, that they have not yet proceeded to still greater extremities, and that their demands are not abundantly more exorbitant than they yet appear. But their demands must be rejected with the same degree of scorn with

which those of America were treated, before they can think of following that example.

Ministers, they said, boasted, that the distresses of Ireland had not originated with them. It would be readily admitted, that she was not without grievances, previous to the fatal period of their administration; but her immediate calamities sprung principally from the grand source of all our evils and dangers, from their own American war. By that, Ireland, like England, lost a valuable part of her commerce, with less ability to support the loss; and the corrupt expences of a feeble government increased, as all the means of supplying them diminished.

But if ministers, said they, did not administer relief to Ireland themselves, they may with justice boast, that they instructed her in the means of obtaining effectual redress. In fact, they taught Ireland by example, from their own conduct and that of America, every thing she had to do. They had convinced her, that no extent of affection or service to this country, could entitle her either to favour or justice. But they shewed her at the same time, in a striking instance, the benefits to be derived from a bold and determined resistance. They taught her to dictate to the crown and parliament of England the terms of their future union. America, for her revolt, had a profusion of favours held out to her. Every thing short of nominal independency had been offered. Such was the reward of rebellion. The reward of loyalty, and of long forbearance under accumulated oppression and internal distress, she had herself just experienced,

rienced, in the refusal of so small a favour as the importation of her own sugars. Ireland, accordingly, profited of the example; and determined not to render vain the wisdom, nor to disappoint the good intentions of ministers.

She also enters into her commercial and military associations. She also, adhering strictly to the line in all its parts, holds the faith and integrity of government in exactly the same degree of contempt, which has been so long and so repeatedly expressed and shewn by the Americans; and which indeed has hitherto prevented, and seems still to shut out the possibility, not only of any reconciliation, but even of peace, with that people. The Irish parliament accordingly, to shew her total distrust of the good faith or honesty of the British government, departs from her own established rules and mode of action, and instead of making a provision for two years as usual, passes a short money bill for six months only; thus telling you, in plain mercantile language, that your character is so bad, that you cannot be trusted for more than six months credit; and pointing out at the same time, the inevitable consequences which must immediately attend your refusal to comply with her demands.

Thus, said they, Ireland has riled up every part of the system on her side, but there seems a strange deficiency on that of the ministers. They have yet neglected to hurl the thunders of the cabinet against that kingdom, as they had done before against the continent of America. Dub-

lin has had her mob and riot, as well as ill-fated Boston; yet neither her port has been shut up, nor the rioters brought over here to be tried by an English jury. No alteration has even taken place in the usual mode of trials in that country; their popular meetings and popular elections are not interrupted; no prescription has been issued against their leaders, nor has that kingdom been declared out of the king's peace; we see that Corke has still escaped the flames, nor do we hear that Waterford is yet reduced to ashes. Whence then this wonderful departure from the grand American system? The answer, they said, was plain and obvious. This change of system proceeded neither from lenity, humanity, a more enlightened policy, or from any real accession of wisdom. It proceeded from the tremendous appearance, and the real dangers of the present awful moment; these had compelled insolence and arrogance to give way to fear and humiliation. Ministers were overpowered, aghast, and astonished, in the horrors of that tempest which they had themselves raised; and this drove them to such lengths, as to defend, and to represent as prudent and constitutional, those things, which they considered as causes of war with America, and which they would consider as acts of rebellion even in England.

In this severe and sarcastic manner, and with these bitter parallels, was the whole of the ministers defence treated by opposition. But no part was handled with more spirit, than the
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plea for not affording timely relief to Ireland, because the parliament of that country was not then sitting. As if (they said) the British legislature was incapable of thinking justly, or acting rightly, with respect to the commercial interests of both kingdoms, until they were illuminated by those beams of wisdom and knowledge which were to be reflected on them by the Irish parliament. If the charge of incapacity was confined to the ministers, friends and foes, all mankind, they said, would readily concur in acknowledging the justness of the application; but with regard to the British parliament, the reflection was not only uncivil, but indeed constituted a libel of a new and singular nature. They said, it was entirely needless to take the trouble of entering at all into the question relative to the necessity of the rising of parliament; for there had been more than sufficient time, between the 11th of May, when the business was first brought before them, and the 3d of July, when the prorogation took place, to have done every thing that was then necessary with respect to the affairs of Ireland. But if they would not forward, why did they oppose the relief? Ministers themselves, said they, acknowledge, that one half of what must now be yielded to Ireland, would then have afforded satisfaction. What atonement can they then make, to their sovereign, to parliament, or to their country, for reducing them to the hard alternative, of either sacrificing the supreme authority of the British legislature, by a compelled compliance with all the

demands of Ireland, or of being driven to the direful necessity of opening another civil war, when we are already surcharged by France, Spain, and America?

On the other hand, the ministry endeavoured to turn the tables on the opposition. Here, said they, is the uniform course opposition faithfully holds, without any deviation from the established precedents of all their forefathers in faction. Compulsion, concession, things done, or things left undone, are alike a subject of clamour. If measures of vigour for support of authority are adopted, a cry is raised as if tyranny were going to be established. If, for the sake of peace, concessions are to be made, then the dignity of the nation is sacrificed. If measures are prompt and spirited, the ministry are accused of precipitation; if they are maturely weighed and considered, then the charge is timidity, irresolution, and procrastination. Finding it impossible to please these gentlemen, they would discharge their consciences, and would do what they trusted would be both pleasing and beneficial to England and Ireland. That, the loyalty of that country was too clear to be shaken by all the endeavours of factions either there or here; although attempts were not wanting, by comparing her case to that of America, to bring on the like confusions in Ireland. The armaments in Ireland were solely directed against the common enemy; and they knew that the concessions which would be proposed (and they hoped adopted) in parliament, as they would be adequate to the necessities of

Ireland, would be satisfactory to her wishes. If they were not, both nations would know who to thank for the consequences. The ministers had long and inveterate prejudices to deal with in this kingdom, which obliged them to defer relief to Ireland, until England saw the propriety of it. When such prejudices prevailed, it was necessary perhaps that some inconveniences should be felt from the prevalence of similar prejudices in others, and thus, that the opposite passions of men ballancing each other, might bring them all at length to reason. History confirmed this principle; and it has been seldom or ever known, that one narrow self-interest in states has been got the better of, but in the conflict with some other. It would be hard to make the present ministers answerable for the natural course of things.

The debates were long, various and interesting. All the wit, ability, and eloquence of the opposition, were thrown out without measure or reserve against the ministers. On their side, they exerted themselves much more than they had done in the House of Lords. The two great leaders and speakers of the opposition in that house, took a large share in the debate, and were as usual distinguished. The appearance of Mr. Fox, after his recovery from the wound which he had received in the late duel, occasioned by something that had fallen from him on the first day of the session, afforded matter of much general curiosity; and that incident seemed now to have produced a renovation, rather than

any detraction of his former spirit.

The question being put at half after twelve o'clock, the motion was rejected, upon a division, by a majority of 173, to 100.

An unexpected motion, made on the following day by 7th. the Duke of Richmond, brought on a considerable debate in the House of Lords. The noble duke having stated the vast combination of force which was formed against this country, which was left without friend or ally; the suspicious or unfavourable appearance of some powers who were not in declared enmity, and the total indifference, at best, of all others; then entered into a detailed statement of our present vast military establishments by sea and land; which, including the late augmentation of above 20,000 men to the land force, would not fall much short, he shewed, in both departments, of 300,000 men. He proceeded to argue, that it would exceed the ability of any power whatever in Europe, to support, for any continuance, this prodigious force, by sea and land, at the enormous expence which it created to this country. Without at all taking into the account, that the commercial losses of this country, including those of all kinds which proceeded from the defection of her colonies, far exceeded in extent, what could well have fallen to the lot of any other state.

He then proceeded to examine the state of our resources, and laid down the actual expences of the war. He shewed, by a number of calculations, that if the war only continued to the end of

the ensuing year, and was only to consume the provision which parliament was now making for its support, it would, by that time, complete an addition from its beginning, of sixty-three millions to the former national debt; the whole then amounting to very little short of two hundred millions. And, that as the minister had given on an average about 6 per cent for the new debt, the standing interest of the whole, would not amount to less than eight millions sterling annually; a tribute, to the payment of which, all the landed property in England was to be for ever mortgaged.

Such, he said, would be the state of this country with respect to its finances at the close of the following year; and it would only be better by twelve millions, were peace to be concluded at the instant he was speaking. Under so vast a burthen, an expenditure constantly increasing, and which already exceeded all measure and example, the most exact and rigid public œconomy, along with the most liberal exertions of public spirit, were absolutely necessary for our preservation. Our formidable neighbour and enemy, had set us the example of œconomy. Whilst the English were bent down to the earth under the pressure of their burthens, and the industry of our minister was exhausted, in multiplying new and vexatious, but unproductive objects of taxation, France, through the ability of her minister, by a judicious reform in the collection and expenditure of her finances, had not yet laid a single tax on her people for the

support of the war. How different was the conduct in this country. Instead of any attempt towards the practice, or even any profession or pretence of œconomy, our expenditure was so shamefully lavish, as to surpass all recorded example of waste and mismanagement, in the weakest and most corrupt governments.

Our affairs were now, however, he said, arrived at such a point of distress and danger, as laid us under an absolute necessity of recurring to that never-failing source of wealth, œconomy. We could not otherwise hope to work out our national salvation. It must begin somewhere, and in so trying a season as the present, he could not but be of opinion, that the example should come from the sovereign. It would then have a great and general effect; and he could not doubt, that after such a beginning, there was one of their lordships, who would not chearfully relinquish such a part of their public emoluments, as his majesty might think proper to recommend. The example would go still farther. It would spread through the different departments of the state; it would influence the conduct, and excite the public spirit of individuals; and it would likewise, in its effect, tend to restrain that boundless profusion in the public expenditure which at present prevailed. He did not wish to abridge the crown of any thing which was necessary to support its splendour and dignity. He was certain his intended motion could not at all produce that effect. Parliament had, a few years before, augmented the civil
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list to the enormous amount of 900,000*l.* a year. His motion could go no farther, in its utmost presumed extent, than to bring it again to that state, in which both the honour and splendour of the crown had been well supported, in much happier times and more prosperous seasons.

He accordingly moved for an address to the following purport—To beseech his majesty to reflect on the manifold distresses and difficulties, in which this country is involved, and too deeply felt to stand in need of enumeration—To represent, that amidst the many and various matters that require reformation, and must undergo correction, before this country can rise superior to its powerful enemies, the waste of public treasure requires instant remedy. That profusion is not vigour; and that it is become indispensably necessary to adopt that true œconomy, which, by reforming all useless expences, creates confidence in government, gives energy to its exertions, and provides the means for their continuance.—Humbly to submit to his majesty, that a considerable reduction of the civil list, would be an example well worthy his majesty's paternal affection for his people, and his own dignity; could not fail of diffusing its influence through every department of the state, and would add true lustre to his crown, from the grateful feelings of a distressed people.—And, to assure his majesty, that this House will readily concur in promoting so desirable a purpose; and that every one of its members will cheerfully submit to such reduction of emolument in any office

he may hold, as his majesty in his royal wisdom may think proper to make.

The lords in administration agreed in general with the noble duke, as to the representation of public affairs which he had laid down as the grounds of his motion. We were certainly involved in a dangerous and expensive war, and obliged to contend with one of the most formidable confederacies that Europe had ever beheld. They likewise acknowledged, that there had been some want of œconomy during the present administration; but they rather considered this circumstance as incident to a state of war, than as being peculiar to the ministers. They, however, wished, that a more clear and satisfactory manner was adopted in stating the public accounts, and that the strictest œconomy should be practised in the public expenditure.

But they opposed the motion, with respect to its direct and principal object, on various grounds; particularly from a conviction that it could not be of any service, and considering it besides, as being of an improper tendency. The mode, they said, was totally inadequate to its object, of extricating us in any degree from our present difficulties; at the same time that it conveyed a censure upon the former proceedings of that House, in the augmentation of the civil list. It was inconsistent and unjust to attempt to withdraw from his majesty what had been so unanimously granted to him by parliament. It would be paltry and mean to tax the salaries of the servants of the crown; and the revenue so raised would

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be trifling, and totally incompetent to any of the great purposes of national expenditure. If we were reduced to such an extremity of distress as rendered the measure indispensably necessary, let the contributions from the public benevolence or spirit be general and optional; let us follow the example of Holland in such a situation, where money was received, without any specification, in the public treasury, and without its being in any degree accountable for.

Whatever system of œconomy might be adopted, it should not by any means, they said, begin at the crown; the splendour of which should at all events be maintained, as including in it the honour and dignity of the empire. Œconomy should be directed to the various departments which were connected with the public expenditure, so that their respective business might be prudently and honestly administered. They were all interested in supporting the honour and dignity of the crown; and they must all partake in the satisfaction of that increase of the royal family, which increased the necessity of an ample revenue. Were we fallen to that deplorable and abject state, to be under a necessity of publishing to all the world, that we were unable to continue that income which we had so freely granted to his majesty? Such a proceeding would sink and degrade us so much in the eyes of all Europe, that instead of affording any benefit, it would be productive of great national prejudice.

The noble lord at the head of the law encountered the motion, with all the weight of his own great natural abilities, as well as with that refined subtilty and acuteness of argument, which may in some degree be considered as professional. He asked, who knew of those distresses which were stated in the motion? How were they before the House? From what investigation of their lordships, as a house of parliament, was such a result drawn? Another assertion, he said, was surely of too much importance to be hazarded on mere speculation. The motion stated that “the waste of public treasure required instant remedy.” If the fact were so, the department of government ought to be directly pointed out, in which the waste of the public treasure lay; otherwise the charge was unjust, because it applied alike to all public offices. If the fact were not true, the injustice was manifestly still greater. No kind of proof had been offered; much less had the fact been even attempted to be established in parliamentary form. Such being the case, he submitted to the House, how far it would be decent, how far it would be just, to vote an address, which, in any part of it, contained a general and undefined charge against the king’s servants.

As to the main propositions, which included the substance of the motion, he objected to the want of specification, as he did to the defect of proof with respect to the preceding assertions. What was to be understood by the words *considerable reduction*? Did they signify a moiety, or two thirds
of

of the civil list? What minister could, under such a direction, venture to give his majesty any counsel, or to explain to him what the House desired? But he particularly reminded the lords, that if the motion was carried, it could not enforce the advice. It was no act of parliament. His majesty's civil list, was established at its present amount, by a positive act of parliament. He concluded by endeavouring to shew, that the object of the address, if the words and language of the motion fairly avowed its purpose, was both inexpedient and impracticable; if it were intended only as a covert attack upon the ministers, and as a means of turning them out of office, he thought it would be more fair and more honourable, to come forward, in a more explicit, a more direct, and a more obvious manner.

The lords in opposition, however, supported the motion with great vigour. The noble earl, who had been himself the mover of the late addition to the civil list, stated the reasons, why he now thought a retrenchment of that establishment to be, even, more necessary, than he, at that time, did its increase. The times were unhappily changed; the situation of this country was totally different; our revenue was lessened; our resources greatly exhausted. The immense sums raised upon the people, were either entirely diverted from their purpose, or if applied, squandered without wisdom or effect. With a vastness of supply before unheard of, and a prodigious, but misapplied and ill directed force, he said, that the costs of this country were

more exposed and defenceless, and her dependencies and commerce in every part of the world worse protected, than ever had been known in any former war whatever. In a word, that our misconduct and misgovernment was so glaring, that this country excited either the pity or contempt of all the world. We were become despicable in the eyes of our avowed enemies, as well as of those who had not yet declared themselves such.

It was only regretted on that side, that the measure had not originated from the throne. Surely they said, if his majesty had any real friends about him, they would not fail to have suggested a measure, which would so effectually have conciliated the affections of all ranks of his subjects; who admiring it, when coming unsought from the father of his people, as an act of the highest wisdom and goodness, could never think they had means sufficient for expressing their gratitude. Queen Anne had set the example, in a war of a far different nature from the present; she had the good sense or good fortune, during all the bright part of her reign, to be guided by wise and honest counsels; she allotted 100,000*l.* a year of her private revenue to the support of the war; and her civil list was lower by 300,000*l.* than the present establishment.

Other lords on that side went farther. They attributed all our misfortunes and calamities, to the long increasing and now prodigious influence of the crown. They considered the augmentation of the civil list, as having greatly

greatly increased and confirmed that influence. They said, that all temporizing expedients to relieve the people would prove ineffectual; that a reformation of the constitution was called for; that its principles were perverted; and that until it was restored to its native and original purity, this country could never recover its former power and character, nor could any thing great or decisive be expected from its utmost exertions.—A noble lord, in a high military office, declared his concurrence to the motion, provided that it extended to all places under government: he said, that he knew it was what all people expected; that all ranks felt the general calamity, and looked out impatiently for relief; and that he would cheerfully give up the whole emoluments of his own place for the good of his country.

The great and learned law lord was congratulated, on his happy ignorance of those manifold public distresses and calamities, of which, every other man in the kingdom, they said, had too sensible a knowledge. He was likewise, they said, the only ignorant man in the kingdom, with respect to that waste of the public treasure which was stated in the proposed address. The fact had been charged, admitted, or acknowledged, on every side of the House; and even confirmed by the declaration of a noble viscount newly come into high office, that the fact was truly stated. Although it could not be difficult to give to facts of such notoriety the fullest degree of conviction; yet, in order to obtain the learn-

ed lord's concurrence with the more material parts of the address, they would undertake to induce the noble framer, to withdraw those two passages of objection.

The question being at length put, the motion was rejected, upon a division, by a majority of forty-one, the numbers being 77, to 36; including ten proxies on one side, and three on the other.

The minister at Dec. 13th, lengthened his propositions for affording relief to Ireland, in the House of Commons. They were three in number, and went to the following articles.—To the repeal of those laws, which prohibit the exportation of Irish manufactures, made of or mixed with wool, and wool flocks, from Ireland to any part of Europe.—That so much of the act of 19th George II. as prohibits the importation of glass into Ireland, except of British manufacture, or to export glass from that kingdom, be repealed.—And, that Ireland be suffered to carry on a trade of export and import, to and from the British colonies in America and the West Indies, and her settlements on the coasts of Africa, subject to such limitations, regulations, restrictions, and duties, as the parliament of Ireland shall impose.

The noble lord stated, in a speech of considerable length, and of equal ability and knowledge of the subject, the propriety and justice, as well as the necessity, of affording relief to Ireland; and entered fully into the claims of that country, as well with respect to her natural and inherent rights, as to those arising from her particular

cular connection with Great Britain. He likewise expatiated largely on the mutual and respective interests of both countries; and very happily collected into one point of view almost all those questions of commerce and policy, which we have already seen agitated upon the subject. Indeed, it would not have been easy at present to discover much new ground, upon the general questions of right, justice, or reciprocal advantage, whatever might be derived from expedience or immediate necessity. Such was the happy temper now prevailing, that the resolutions were agreed to without the smallest opposition. Some short discourse of the nature formerly related; some reproach for delay; and some doubt of the complete efficacy of any thing which could be done in the present circumstances to give complete satisfaction, was the whole of what passed on a subject, which would formerly have agitated, possibly convulsed the whole empire. But the late great revolution had rendered every change easy. Bills founded on the two first propositions, were accordingly brought in, passed both houses with the utmost facility, and received the royal assent, before the recess. The third, being more complex in its nature, requiring a variety of enquiry, and being subject to several limitations and conditions, was suffered to lie over the holidays in its present state of an open proposition; not only to afford time for consideration here, but for acquiring a knowledge of the effect which the measure would produce in Ireland.

The vast sums which were charged to the extraordinaries of the army, and which every year became still more enormous, had long been a subject of complaint with the opposition in both houses of parliament; who had likewise, from time to time, made various ineffectual attempts to restrain them within some defined limits.

Although the business seemed more properly to appertain to the House of Commons, yet the former failure, or present hopelessness of success there, probably were the motives which induced the Earl of Shelburne to bring it now forward before the 15th. lords, who were accordingly summoned for the purpose. He introduced his motion by entering into an ample discussion of its subject, and by an accurate comparative estimate of the extraordinary military services of former reigns, and of the present. On this ground he stated a number of curious and interesting facts. He shewed that the extras of King William's reign, when a war was carried on in Flanders, Ireland, and the West Indies, did not exceed, in the highest year of the revolution war, 100,000*l*. That in the next, the succession war, which we maintained in Germany, on the banks of the Danube, in Flanders, Spain, the Mediterranean, North America, and the West Indies, the extras never exceeded 200,000*l*. And, that in the first war of the late king, waged with France and Spain jointly, they did not, in any one year, exceed 400,000*l*.

That during the late war, the most extensive, and also the most expensive, in which this country

Had ever been engaged, the extraordinary of the year 1757, were only 800,000*l.* while those of 1777, amounted to 1,200,000*l.* besides a million granted for the transport service; thus, upon the whole, exceeding two millions. That the highest year of the late war, that of 1762, when our arms were triumphant in every quarter of the globe; when we supported 80,000 men in Germany, besides victorious armies in North America, the British and French West Indies, the East Indies, in Portugal, on the coast of France, and at the reduction of the Havannah, the whole of the extras did not exceed two millions; whereas the two last defensive campaigns would be found, when the accounts of the latter of the two were made up, to amount to the enormous sum of upwards of three millions each. And that the extra military charges in the last four years, during the greater part of which the contest was confined to the Americans only, would be found to amount to a sum, very nearly equal to the whole expenditure of the first four years of King William's, and fully equal to the two first years of the Duke of Marlborough's campaigns.

He then proceeded to state and explain the causes, to which he attributed the monstrous disproportion between the present military extraordinaries, and those of any former period. In this curious and particular detail he stated, that only one contractor had been employed in the last war for the supply of the forces in America; but that the minister had split the present contract into twelve parts, in order to make a

return to so many of his friends for the services which he received from them at home. That in the former instance, the sole contractor, Sir William Baker, was bound to furnish provisions on the spot, in America, at sixpence a ration; whereas the present contractors were only to deliver rations at the same price in Cork; so that the whole freight, insurance, risk, and all other possible expences, were taken out of the pockets of the public, and put into the pockets of the minister's contracting friends. From which, and from a variety of other specified instances of mismanagement, he pledged himself to the proof, that every ration now delivered in America, stood the public in two shillings, instead of sixpence which they cost in the last war.

He went the whole round of contracts in this course; and while he treated the conduct of the minister without mercy, he was nothing more sparing of the contractors. He paid particular attention to the supposed favourite of the minister in that line. That man, he said, notwithstanding his reprobation in parliament, and his detection in the most glaring imposition on the public, had contracts given him in the years 1777, and 1778, to the amount of 1,300,000*l.*; and probably, his contracts in the preceding year. (the accounts of which were not yet delivered in) far exceeded those in either of the two former. He was exceedingly severe on the conduct of the minister with this supposed favourite contractor. Nor did he pass over the Gold, or Bullion contractor, through whose

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hands, he said, no less than three millions seven hundred thousand pounds in specie had been transmitted to America, and for which a single voucher had not been produced. That immense sum, he said, had been written off in thirty or forty lines, without any account, or specification whatever, forty thousand pounds in one line, twenty in another, and thirty in a third. When it was remembered that the transport service, ordnance, provisions, stores, pay, new appointments, and, in a word, every item of expence that could be thought of, were all separately provided for, and each brought to account under its proper head, it must surely puzzle the most quick and fertile genius, even to guess, in what manner, or to what use, this enormous sum, of nearly four millions, could have been applied.

After going over a vast quantity and great variety of matter relative to the subject, he opened his views more particularly with respect to his intended motions. He said that an unconstitutional, ministerial influence, had usurped the regal prerogative, which it was now become absolutely necessary to crush for the salvation of this country. That this mischief arose principally from the opportunity, now afforded in a greater degree than ever to the first lord of the treasury, of expending millions of the public money without account, and consequently without œconomy. And, that as the army extraordinaries afforded the most unlimited means to the minister, for the propagation and support of that fatal system of influence and corruption,

he would make that lavish head of expenditure, the first and great object of his enquiry and censure:

He accordingly moved his first resolution to the following purport,—that the alarming addition annually making to the present enormous national debt, under the head of extraordinaries, incurred in the different services, requires immediate check and controul. The increasing the public expence beyond the grants of parliament, being at all times an invasion of the fundamental rights of parliament; and the utmost œconomy being indispensibly necessary, in the present reduced and deplorable state of the landed and mercantile interest of Great Britain and Ireland.

The defence on part of the ministry was extremely short and dry. It is not clear, whether this arose from some disagreement between the ministers, which did not permit them to be much displeased with the arraignment of a conduct, in which none in that House was officially concerned; or whether at the time, they were not sufficiently instructed in the state of the question to answer to it fully. Whatever was the cause, the chancellor seeing no likelihood of a debate, after waiting a considerable time, proceeded at length to put the question. This called up a noble duke in the opposition, who expressed the utmost astonishment and indignation; that ministers should venture to sit still under such charges, without an attempt at answer or defence. A noble earl likewise, who had lately succeeded to his seat in that House, declared, that during fifteen years he had sat in the other,

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he had never seen a question of such importance treated with indifference or silence, or what was full as bad, with some feeble attempt which meant nothing, and seemed intended to mean nothing.

This at length drew out some vindication of the character of the noble minister in the other House; who was said to be clean handed in the most eminent degree; and who would go out of office in a state of poverty, if it were to happen on the following day. They chiefly relied on the defect of proof to support the facts or charges; that the motion reversed the order of things; it proceeded to punishment before it convicted, and was therefore preposterous; that every part of the public expenditure was already subject to check and controul at the exchequer. That such enquiries, and so conducted, would be in fact to establish a new committee of safety, and, under pretences of correcting the abuses of administration, would tend to the subversion of the constitution; that we were besides engaged in a great war and must not starve it; if a proper confidence was not placed in our commanders, it could not at all be carried on; and, that the principal precedent brought to shew the former interference of parliament on similar occasions, was drawn from the scandalous administration of the year 1711, which should alone be a sufficient motive for reprobating the present motion.

It was accordingly rejected, upon a division, by a majority of 81, including 21 proxies, to 41, including four proxies; being as

nearly two to one, as it was possible without being quite so.

The noble earl, after the division, having informed the House of the purport of his second intended proposition, which went to the appointment of a committee for enquiring into the several parts of the public expenditure, and considering what reductions or savings could with consistency be made, then moved, that it should be taken into consideration on the 8th of the following February, which was agreed to.

The rejection, however, of his first motion, together with that of the Duke of Richmond's, on the 7th instant, served much to increase the public dissatisfaction, which, whether with or without reason, did now, much more than at any former period, certainly prevail without doors, and to give strength and confirmation to that opinion which was also very generally prevalent, that no hope of obtaining redress now remained, until such measures were pursued by the people at large, as would, by dissolving that unnatural combination which was charged to subsist between ministers and the representative body, restore the ancient dignity, and the former energy of parliament. Thanks from the city of London were voted to the noble duke and earl for their past motions, accompanied with the fullest approbation of that announced for the 8th of February, and an assurance of every constitutional support in their power, to those necessary plans of reformation proposed by them. The business was likewise soon adopted in the counties; and from this time that spirit of reformation began

gan to appear, which we have since seen produce so many meetings, associations, and projects in almost all parts of the kingdom, though with different degrees of warmth, and different extent of objects, for correcting the supposed vices of government, and for restoring the independency of parliament. The city of London likewise sent separate letters of thanks and acknowledgement to all the lords who had voted in support of the two past motions, including his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, whose name appeared at the head of the minority on the last division; these letters, with their respective answers, were published in most of the papers at that time.

It was on the very day of Lord Shelburne's motion, that Mr. Burke opened in the House of Commons, such parts as it was yet thought fitting and necessary to expose, of that celebrated plan of public economy, and attempt towards a reform or lessening of corrupt influence, which afterwards afforded so many subjects of parliamentary discussion, and was, for a long time, an object of so much general admiration. He likewise gave notice, that he would bring on the business as soon after the holidays as possible; and amidst a variety of observations and arguments, to enforce the propriety, expediency, and necessity of the proposed measure, particularly alluded to the business then carrying on in the other House.

He said, that the desire of reformation operated every where, but where it ought to operate most strongly, in that House. That

the propositions which had been lately made, and were that day making, in the other House, although highly laudable in themselves, were no less than a reproach to that in which he sat. To them, who claimed the exclusive management of the public purse, all interference of the lords, in their peculiar province, was, at least, a reproach. It might be something worse; for, if the lords should assume or usurp the performance of a duty of theirs, which they neglected, they would be supported in an usurpation which was become necessary to the public. Privileges were lost by neglect, as well as by abuse. That old parliamentary forms and privileges were no trifles, he would freely grant; but the nation called for something more substantial than the very best of them: and if form and duty must be separated, they would prefer the duty without the form, to the form without the duty. If both lords and commons should conspire in a neglect of duty, other means, still more irregular than the interference of the lords might be now considered, would be undoubtedly resorted to; for, he conceived the nation would, some way or other, have its business done; or otherwise, that it could not much longer continue to be a nation.

Other arguments, on different grounds, but tending to the same object, will appear in their proper place. A noble lord, of a family highly considered for its constitutional principles, and who always draws great attention in the House of Commons, where he is looked on as a leader of the Whigs, declared,

clared, that Mr. Burke had communicated his plan to him, so far as it was yet perfected; and that it not only met with his warmest approbation, but that he was convinced (from reasonings and facts which he stated, tending to shew the public distresses and expectations) that it was become absolutely necessary that something of the kind should be done, in order to remove the present dissatisfactions, by meeting the wishes of the people. He had, however, told his honourable friend at the time, that although he highly approved of his plan, wished it all possible success, and was fully sensible that some remedy of the sort was earnestly expected by the public from that house, and more particularly from his side of it, yet he much doubted, whether parliament had virtue enough at that time to bring so right a measure to perfection.

A gentleman, from the northern part of the united kingdom, distinguished for his candour, temper, and moderation in opposition, declared on his conscience he was firmly persuaded, that the undue influence of the crown was the true cause of the mischievous origin, the destructive progress, the absurd conduct, and the obstinate prosecution, without view or hope, of the accursed American war; which was now universally felt, and generally acknowledged, as being in itself the cause of all the other misfortunes of Great Britain, and particularly of the present naval greatness of the house of Bourbon. He said, that from the cordial affection he bore to his sovereign, he felt himself bound, so far as he was able, to remove that evil. He thought himself bound to it by his faith, by his allegiance, and by the sacred oath he had taken to his majesty. By that sacred bond and indissoluble obligation, he was compelled to do every thing in his power to secure the stability of the throne. "This influence shakes it; it may subvert it; and nothing can be undertaken more worthy of a good subject, than to remove, in time, this means of mischief and danger to the king."

Upon this discourse, Mr. Fox, who was just come in from the House of Lords, said, that the first men in the kingdom, the first in abilities, the first in estimation, were then libelling that house. Every instance they gave, (and the instances he said were many and strong) of uncorrected abuse, with regard to public money, was a direct libel on that house. Every argument they used for the reduction of prodigious expence, and their arguments were various and unanswerable, was a libel on that house. Every thing they stated on the luxuriant growth of corrupt influence, (and it was never, he said, half so flourishing) was a most severe and direct libel on that house.

But that house, he said, would be brought, by proper means, to wipe off all these imputations. The people had for a long time been slow and torpid. They had, however, at length, been quickened by their feelings to a sense of their situation and sufferings. He accorded with the opinion of a noble lord, that there was not virtue enough within them walls, to go through with the plan of reformation which his honourable friend had to propose. But the virtue of necessity would at last ani-

mate the people; and, through them, it would likewise animate and correct that house. The virtue of necessity, sure in its principle, and irresistible in its operation, was an effectual reformer. It awakens late; but it calls up many other virtues to its aid; and their joint exertion will infallibly bear down the greatest force, and will infallibly dissipate the strongest combination, that corrupt men have ever formed, or can ever form against them.

He applauded the sentiment of the gentleman who spoke just before him, that his duty and allegiance to the king were strong motives with him, for wishing success to the present proposition. These motives, he said, must undoubtedly operate in the same manner with every good subject. Could the king, he said, possibly enjoy the affection and confidence of his people, when his interest was wholly dissociated from theirs, and put upon a bottom perfectly separate? It is but one and the same principle, which cements friendship between man and man in society, and which promotes affection between king and subject: namely, that they share but one fortune; that they flourish by the same prosperity, and are equal sufferers by the same distress; that the calamity of the people is the depression of the prince. On any other terms, there can be no sympathy between men in any relation of life.

He concluded by hoping, that his honourable friend would add perseverance, to the diligence and ability which he had already employed, in his plan for lessening the public expence, and for re-

ducing the ruinous influence of the crown; and that all men who had an interest in their country, who professed a zeal for her welfare, a regard for the honour of parliament, and an affection for the constitution, would now have but one mind, and heartily unite, in promoting a measure so highly useful, and at this time so absolutely necessary.

While the scheme of reformation was thus warmly patronized and commended by the opposition, and drew out no small share of praise and applause to its author from all sides of the house, the minister was totally silent; an appearance of indifference, which did not pass without some severe comments from his adversaries.

The estimates of the army, and the augmentation of the land force, had (as usual of late) drawn out much debate, censure, and some attempts at particular enquiry, in the House of Commons. The estimates of the ordnance likewise, which amounted to the sum of 1,049,000*l.* and exceeded the expence of the preceding year by 132,000*l.* afforded room for animadversion and contest. On these occasions, much extraneous matter, relative to the conduct of the commander in chief of the army, the, alledged, neglected and dangerous state of Plymouth, and the general means of national defence adopted through the summer, was repeatedly brought up. In other respects, the matter of argument, of charge and defence, as well as the time in all cases, were such as we have had already more occasions than one of stating.

Such were the grounds of debate, and such the state of the warfare

fare between the contending parties, previous to the Christmas recess. Every thing seemed directly to lead to the extraordinary events which distinguished the remainder of the session.

C H A P. V.

County meetings, petitions, and associations. York leads the way. Great meeting at that city. Committee appointed. Some account of the petition from that county, which becomes a model to others. Sir George Saville presents the petition from the county of York. Debates on that subject. Jamaica petition presented. Mr. Burke's plan of economical reform. Bills brought in upon that system. Earl of Shelburne's motion (pursuant to the notice given before the recess) for a committee of both houses, to enquire into the public expenditure. Motion seconded by the Earl of Coventry. Opposed. Debates. Strictures with respect to the county meetings and petitions. Marquis of Carmarthen explains the causes of his resignation. Strictures on the conduct of a noble lord at the head of a great department. Motion rejected upon a division. Unusual strength shewn by the opposition on this division.

THE business of public meetings, of petitions to parliament, and of associations for the redress of grievances, was commenced during the recess; and the adoption of these means for procuring a reform in the executive departments of the state, not only became soon very general, but the minds of the public being agitated and warmed by these meetings, the views of many, and those persons of no mean weight and consequence, were extended still farther; and they gradually began to consider, that nothing less than a reform in the constitution of parliament itself, by shortening its duration, and obtaining a more equal representation of the people, could reach to a perfect cure of the present, and afford an effectual preservative against the return of similar evils.

The great, populous, and opulent county of York, led the way,

and set the example to the rest of the kingdom. A very numerous and respectable meeting of the gentlemen, clergy, and freeholders, including persons of the first consideration and property in the county, and in the kingdom, such as perhaps never was assembled in the same manner in this nation, was held at York on the last day but one of the year. There a petition to the House of Commons was unanimously agreed upon, and accompanied with a resolution, that a committee of sixty-one gentlemen be appointed, to carry on the necessary correspondence for effectually promoting the object of the petition; and likewise to prepare a plan of an association, on legal and constitutional grounds, to support the laudable reform, and such other measures as might conduce to restore the freedom of parliament; to be presented by the chairman of the committee at their

next meeting, which was to be held by adjournment in the ensuing Easter week.

As the petition served in a great measure as the groundwork for those that succeeded from other counties and towns, we shall enter the more particularly into its detail.—They begin by stating the following matters as facts—That the nation had for several years been engaged in a most expensive and unfortunate war; that many of our valuable colonies, having declared themselves independent, had formed a strict confederacy with our most dangerous and inveterate enemies; and, that the consequence of those combined misfortunes had been, a large addition to the national debt, a heavy accumulation of taxes, with a rapid decline of the trade, manufactures, and land-rents of the kingdom.—They then declare, that, alarmed at the diminished resources and growing burthens of this country, and convinced, that rigid frugality is now indispensably necessary in every department of the state, they observed with grief, that notwithstanding the calamities, and impoverished condition of the nation, much public money had been improvidently squandered; that many individuals enjoy sinecure places, efficient places with exorbitant emoluments, and pensions, unmerited by public service, to a large and still increasing amount; whence the crown has acquired a great unconstitutional influence, which, if not timely checked, may soon prove fatal to the liberties of this country.

They further declare, that conceiving the true end of every legitimate government to be, not the

emolument of any individual, but the welfare of the community; and considering, that by the constitution, the custody of the national purse is entrusted in a peculiar manner to that house; they beg leave to represent, that until effectual measures be taken to redress those oppressive grievances, the grant of any additional sum of money, beyond the produce of the present taxes, would be injurious to the rights and property of the people, and derogatory from the honour and dignity of parliament.—They, therefore, appealing to the justice of the Commons, most earnestly request, that before any new burthens are laid upon this country, effectual measures might be taken by that house, to enquire into and correct the gross abuses in the expenditure of public money; to reduce all exorbitant emoluments; to rescind and abolish all sinecure places, and unmerited pensions; and to appropriate the produce to the necessities of the state.

The clergy upon this occasion disproved a charge, which had been often laid, and, perhaps, not always without some foundation, against them; as if they were more peculiarly disposed to be obsequious to power, and to support all measures, of whatever government, and whatever nature, which did not immediately affect their own particular rights or privileges, than any other order of the community. Although the meeting was in the seat of the metropolitan see, and immediately under the eye of provincial authority and government, not only a considerable number of that body attended, and zealously promoted the resolutions and petition;

tion; but no less than fourteen clergymen, including two dignitaries of the church, were appointed of the committee, which was intended to give efficacy to the whole measure and design.

Jan. 7th, 1780. The county of Middlesex stood forth as the second of the county of York. In about a week, a very numerous meeting was held at Hackney, where a petition, similar to that of York, with several resolutions, were unanimously agreed to; and a committee of correspondence and association, consisting of fifty-three gentlemen, who were distinguished by rank, fortune, ability, or popularity, appointed to conduct the business. At this meeting, as well as at some of those which succeeded in other counties, although the conduct of ministers was treated with little mercy indeed; yet it was scarcely more reprobated, than that of the majorities in both houses. The late rejection in the House of Lords, of the two motions of economical reform, which had been made on the 7th and 15th of December, was an object of much general and particular censure. It became likewise customary at those meetings, to return a public tribute of thanks and applause to those lords and gentlemen in both houses, who had attempted to stem the resistless torrent of the American war, or who had since as unsuccessfully endeavoured to check or restrain the supposed waste in the public expenditure.

The example of York and Middlesex was soon followed by the county palatine of Chester. And in a pretty close succession of time, by the counties of Herts, Suffex, Huntingdon, Surry, Cumberland,

Bedford, Essex, Somerset, Gloucester, Wilts, Dorset, Devon, Norfolk, Berks, Bucks, Nottingham, Kent, Northumberland, Suffolk, Hereford, Cambridge, and Derby; nearly, if not entirely, in the order in which they are placed. Hants had agreed upon a petition, on the same day with Middlesex. The Welsh counties of Denbigh, Flint, and Brecknock, likewise petitioned, as did the cities of London, Westminster, York, Bristol, Gloucester, and Hereford, with the towns of Nottingham, Reading, Cambridge, Bridgewater, and Newcastle upon Tyne. The county of Northampton declined petitioning, but voted resolutions, and instructions to their representatives, upon the same ground, and including the purport of the petitions, as a previous measure.

It must not be supposed, that in all these counties and towns, the spirit was alike, or that the same unanimity prevailed. In many, the weight of property appeared clearly and strongly for the petitions. In others it was more doubtful. But there were few, in which any direct or successful opposition was made to the measure. So that, explicitly or tacitly, it might be considered as agreeing tolerably well with the sense of those places.

The measure of forming committees, and entering into associations, was a great stumbling block in some of the counties. Many who were heartily disposed to concur in restraining the supposed dangerous influence of the crown, in procuring a reform of the public expenditure, and in restoring the independency of parliament, by cutting off the means of corruption, were, however, apprehensive

of evil, and even of danger from these measures. Associations and committees had produced such recent effects in America, and even in Ireland, that the very terms were become suspicious. The friends of government dexterously applied the odium or terror attending these words to all the purposes of which they were capable; and many, who would not venture directly to encounter the popular rage for reformation, or openly to avow that they were the friends of public extravagance or corruption, covered their opposition by quarrelling with these obnoxious incorporations. The counties of Suffolk, Northumberland, Hereford, and Derby, where the opposite parties were pretty equally balanced, accordingly appointed no committees. In Kent, where the popular side was prevalent, a moderating scheme was proposed. To this the friends of government, along with those who wished for redress, but who were enemies to committees, and did not approve of strong language, jointly adhered, and so far acted as one party. By this means, two petitions for redress were presented from that county; and while a committee was formed, and the scheme of association was fully adopted by the majority, a very numerous and considerable party, either condemned or opposed both measures.

The members of administration, and men in office, were not wholly deficient in their endeavours to prevent the county meetings. But they were generally overborne by the torrent. Nothing could more clearly demonstrate the impetuosity of the spirit which then prevailed, than that the noble lord at the head

of the admiralty, and at the head likewise, personally, of a great body of his numerous friends, could not prevent the measures of a petition and a committee, from being carried in his own native and favourite county; in which he had exerted himself with his known ability in this sort of affairs, and with all the influence of the many great offices he had held for so many years, to form a secure and settled interest. All direct opposition being fruitless, endeavours were used to obtain protests; but though one or two persons of great property and consequence took the lead in this measure, it was not attended with a success at all equal to expectation. Some protests were signed in the counties of Herts, Huntingdon, Norfolk, Sussex, and Surry. These protests did not oppose (that indeed could scarcely be done) the prayer of the petitions; but the protestors were of opinion, that the whole ought to be left to the discretion of parliament, in whose public spirit and integrity, they thought it improper to express, particularly at that time, any sort of distrust.

The petition from the Feb. 8th. county of York was the first presented, and was introduced in the House of Commons by Sir George Saville; who, notwithstanding the pressure of a heavy cold and hoarseness, accompanied it with a speech of considerable length. Under these disadvantages, the novelty and importance of the subject, and perhaps still more, the character of that eminent and revered patriot, produced so profound an attention, silence, and stillness, in every part of the house, as served in a great measure

measure to remedy the occasional defect.

He observed, that he had the honour to represent a very extensive, a very populous, a very mercantile, manufacturing, and a very rich county. That, in such a county, it could not be imagined, but that many private interests might be made objects of parliamentary bounty or support, if either the represented, or representatives, like some others, were more attentive to such matters, than to the great concerns of the nation. He had, however, no private petition to present, or bill to bring in; although in such a country as Yorkshire, there could be no lack of proper objects of improvement, of new bridges, roads, and havens, which might well deserve the consideration of the legislature. He brought a petition, which had swallowed up the consideration of all private objects, and superseded all private petitions. A petition subscribed by eight thousand freeholders and upwards. The people had heard, that a regard to private interest, in that house, was a great enemy to the discharge of public duty. They feel severely the pressure of heavy taxes, and are at the same time told, that the money, which they can so ill spare, is wasted profusely, not only without its producing any good, but that it is applied to the production of many bad effects.

These things, he said, were represented calmly, and with moderation. Nothing was said of the conduct of ministers; it might have been good, or it might have been bad, for ought that appeared in the petition. Never surely were petitioners to parliament, upon any

great public grievance, more cool and dispassionate. They confine themselves, said he, to one object, the expenditure of the public money. But though they made no strictures on the past management of ministers, he could not in candour but acknowledge, that it was pretty plainly hinted or implied, that those who had hitherto managed our public affairs so badly, as to afford ground for the present complaint, were not fitting to be longer entrusted with the management of such important concerns.

He called upon the minister, to speak out like a man, and to declare, whether he meant to countenance and support the petition or not. Such an open and manly declaration of his intentions, would save them much time and trouble, and would better become a man of his quality and power, than any mean arts of ministerial juggling and craft. He made no threats; that petition was not presented by men with swords and muskets. It was a legal, a constitutional petition. The request of the petitioners was so just and reasonable, that they could not but expect it would be granted; but should it be refused—there he would leave a blank; that blank, let the consciences, let the feelings, let the reason of ministers supply. Partial expedients—mock enquiries, would not satisfy. The universality of the sentiments on this subject, he said, was no contemptible proof of their justice. He wished that house to consider, from whom that petition comes. It was first moved in a meeting of six hundred gentlemen, and upwards; in the hall where that petition was conceived, there was more property

perty than within the walls of that house.—He then threw down, with some vehemence, upon the table, a list of the gentlemen's names, and continued—But they are not to abandon their petition, whatever may be its fate in this house; there is a committee appointed to correspond on the subject of the petition with the committees of other counties.—He concluded by likewise throwing on the table a list of the names of the committee.

The minister seemed to shew some degree of vexation and resentment in his answer. He said, that the honourable gentleman needed not to have taken so much pains to convince the house, that the petition ought to be received; nor to have expatiated on so obvious a truth, as that no man, or set of men, would dare to reject it. No man in his senses, who sat in that house, could be ignorant, that the right of petitioning belonged to all British subjects.—He had been called upon to declare, whether he would oppose or forward the object of the petition. The petition was now before the house; it had been read; and it should have his consent to lie on the table for some time, as was usual in such cases, for the perusal of the members. The house, he doubted not, would take it into their serious consideration; and after enquiring into the facts alledged, after examining the merits of the cause, they would freely and impartially decide, according to the best of their judgment; and in such a manner, as to consult the good of the petitioners, without losing sight of that of the country in general. A petition properly introduced, would always, he hoped, in that

house, meet with a fair and candid attention.

With respect to the threats, which, he said, had been broadly hinted by the honourable gentleman, he hoped they could have no influence in that house, nor at all affect the minds of the judges, whether on one way or the other. He had been threatened with unknown but severe consequences, if he should so much as delay granting the expected redress, until an enquiry should be made into the existence, nature, and extent, of the alledged grievances. Upon that, he must observe, that the petition must suffer no small diminution of its supposed value, justice, and importance, from its being accompanied by a prohibition of all enquiry into the validity of the facts on which it was pretended to be founded. At least suspicions were thrown out, that any enquiry which might be undertaken, would be with sinister and partial views. How far that was fair and candid, how far such suppositions, in a case of that kind, were parliamentary, he submitted to the judgment of the house.—He concluded by informing the house, that they must not consider his proceeding in raising the necessary supplies, as any disrespect to the petition. The petition was neither formally nor virtually negatived, although the consideration of it was not preferred to all other business. The supplies had been voted, and it would be necessary, without much longer delay, to enter on the subject of *ways and means*.

Mr. Fox took up the minister's speech, with that fervour, animation, energy, and severity, with which

which he always astonishes and overpowers his hearers. He compared his present language, that the consideration of the petition might very fitly be postponed to that of ways and means for raising the supplies, with, what he called, the generous and magnanimous admiration of ministry, when they could not find words sufficiently to applaud the spirited conduct of the armed associations in Ireland, who refused to grant supplies for more than one half year, until their grievances should be redressed, and the prayer of their petition for a free trade should be granted. He asked if there was one law for the associations in Ireland, and another for those of England? No! there could not. The noble lord was a man of accuracy and consistency. He must therefore mean, whatever may have fallen from him in the heat and hurry of debate, that the associations in England, in imitation of those in Ireland, ought to grant no supplies, until their petition find a proper respect; until its prayer be fully granted.

After indulging this vein of irony, he said, that he was at a loss to conjecture the threats, which the noble lord said had been hinted by the honourable gentleman; thereby intending to fix a stigma on the present and on other petitions. The people are not in arms, they do not menace civil war. The nature of our constitution, (and it is undoubtedly one of its highest perfections) has happily endued them with other powers of redress besides arms. They have legal, constitutional, and peaceable means of

enforcing their petitions. It was to these means the honourable gentleman alluded, when the noble lord would suppose that he threw out threats of another kind. But let not, said he, the mild, though firm voice of liberty, be mistaken for the dismal and discordant accents of blood and slaughter. The evil which the honourable gentleman prefaces, if this or other petitions are spurned with contempt and insolence, is of another, though not of a less formidable nature. The people will lose all confidence in their representatives, all reverence for parliament. The consequences of such a situation need not be pointed out: but let not the contemplation of necessary effects be considered as a denunciation of vengeance.

He could not imagine, he said, that any objection could possibly be made to the petition. But some perhaps might say, "are we sinners above all that went before us, like those on whom the Tower of Siloam fell?" Are we more corrupt than other parliaments, who were never pestered with petitions of this kind? No, said he, I don't suppose you are; but though former parliaments were as bad as you, and you know the severity of that comparison, yet the people did not know it. Now they feel it; they feel the pressure of taxes; and they beg you would not lay your hand so heavily upon them, but be as economical as possible in the expenditure of their money. Let the ministers grant the requests of the people, and the whole glory of so popular a compliance will be entirely theirs. Like charity,
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it will cover the multitude of their past sins. Ireland has given them a foretaste of what they may expect. Their praises have been sounded in loud strains there, for granting, what that people had made good for themselves by their own markets.---He would put the controversy, he said, between the ministry and his side of the house to the same issue, on which the wisest of kings and of men, rested the determination of the dispute between the two women, each of whom claimed the living, and disavowed the dead child. We say to ministry, you misapply the public money; nay, you do worse, you apply it to bad purposes:---Ministry say to us, you want our places; and thus the charge of corruption is given and retorted. But the time is now come to put the sincerity of both to the test, and to know, whose child corruption really is; we challenge ministers to the trial; we call upon them publicly, and strenuously urge them, to sacrifice that disclaimed, but evidently dear and favoured child. If they refuse to abide by this test, no doubt can remain as to the parentage.

There was little debate at the time of presenting the other petitions, which followed this leading petition very fast.

In two days after a petition from the principal merchants, planters, and others, interested in the island of Jamaica, was presented to the house. In a strong and unusually vehement style of complaint, they state the neglect of protection to that island, and the imminent dangers therefrom arising. At the same time that

they represent, that the temporary safety which it had hitherto enjoyed, proceeded merely from the direction of the enemy's force to other objects, and not to any intrinsic means of defence provided by his majesty's ministers, they freely declare their opinion, that the safety of such a possession ought not to have been committed to chance. They further represent, that the island of Jamaica is not inferior in value to any of the dependencies of Great Britain; that a great part even of what appears to be the interior wealth of Great Britain itself, is, in reality, the wealth of Jamaica, which is so intimately interwoven with the internal interest of this kingdom, that it is not easy to distinguish them; that a great part of the trade and navigation, a large proportion of the revenue, and very much of the mercantile and the national credit, and of the value of the landed interest, depend immediately on its preservation; that its defence is therefore an object as important to Great Britain, as any part of Great Britain itself; and that it is an object to be provided for with still greater care and foresight, because its natural means of home defence are infinitely less considerable.

The petitioners declare, that, conscious of their invariable loyalty to the crown, and their unbounded attachment to the prosperity of the whole empire, they are not able to conjecture for what offence, real or pretended, they have so long been put under this prescription; if they had been active by factious clamours, or delusive representations, by conceal-

cealing true, or suggesting false information, in betraying their sovereign and their country into war, they might have the less reason to complain of the neglect by which they have suffered so many distresses, and have been exposed to so many dangers; but it was in the recollection, they said, of the house, that, at an early period of the present unhappy troubles, the body of the West India planters and merchants, did humbly state their apprehensions to parliament, and deprecated the unhappy measures which were then taken; it was the misfortune of the public, as well as theirs, that no attention was then paid to their humble prayers, and that their most dutiful representations were totally neglected.

They proceed to state a number of facts and arguments to shew, that they did not deserve to be thus abandoned, through any failure on their side, in not having purchased for a valuable consideration the protection of the state. On that ground they observe, that besides their trade being almost wholly confined to the mother country, and the general residence of both planters and merchants there, and the produce of their estates being as largely taxed in Great Britain to the common support, as that of any others; they endured other great and heavy burthens, peculiar only to themselves. The assembly of Jamaica had, beyond any former example of liberality, and far beyond their abilities, laid destructive impositions on their estates and property within the island; vast, burthensome, and

even ruinous personal services, were cheerfully given; and thus, under the double weight of taxes and impositions in England and in Jamaica; under heavy personal service in the latter; and under all the fatal, though not unforeseen consequences, of the separation from North America; they had been farther induced, on suggestions from friends of government, to resort in their individual characters to their almost exhausted purses, and had actually made a large private subscription for their own defence. They appeal to a number of facts and dates, to shew their repeated applications, and ineffectual remonstrances, down from the year 1773, to government; and aggravate the neglect or refusal of defence, by the declaration of the secretary at war, that his majesty then commanded more numerous forces by sea and land, than the most formidable monarch of the world had under his orders, when his power alarmed all Europe; they feel, that they are amongst those who are taxed for the maintenance of an army of upwards of 70,000 men in North America; and they presume, that the suppression of no rebellion whatever, can be a more near and urgent concern of any government, than the protection of its loyal and useful subjects. They conclude, by claiming protection as their undoubted right; and declare, that they look back with horror at those dangers, from which, by the sole dispensation of the divine providence, they have escaped, whilst sundry of their fellow-subjects are now obliged to prostrate themselves at

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the foot of the throne of the French king, and to implore the mercy of that monarch, instead of the protection of their natural sovereign.

This long petition, which stated facts with so little management, was subscribed by 75, of the principal planters, merchants, or others, who were immediately interested in the island of Jamaica. It was presented by Mr. Pennant, who in his introductory speech, among a number of pointed charges, of neglect, supineness, or indifference, on the side of the ministry, directly charged the noble lord at the head of affairs, with paying so little attention to the representations of its danger made by the governor and council of that invaluable island, that he had openly confessed in that house that he had never read them. A declaration, he said, for which the noble lord deserved to be impeached.

Both the minister, and the noble lord at the head of the American department, took some part in the subsequent debate; but as the matter was more fully entered into, on Lord Rockingham's motion, upon the same subject, in the House of Lords, we shall defer our recital to that occasion. A sort of a protest, against the petition, signed by about 40 names, afforded room for some sarcasm, and even ridicule, in both houses. It was observed on that subject, that the favourite contractor, and the keeper of the convicts, on board the hulks at Woolwich, were the principals in that production; and that the generality of the other subscribers, instead of coming under the

description of planters or merchants, were either men of no name any where, or were possessed of no property of any consequence in the island of Jamaica. After a strange sort of a loose straggling debate, interrupted by some unusual noise and clamour, it was at length agreed, that the petition should lie upon the table.

It was on the same Feb. 11th. day, that Mr. Burke, pursuant to the notice which he had given before the recess, presented his plan "For the better security of the independence of parliament, and the economical reformation of the civil and other establishments." As the celebrated speech with which he introduced and supported his plan, has been published by authority, has gone through several editions, and must have been seen by most of our readers, we shall only touch upon those leading features, or outlines of the subject, from which some general but comprehensive ideas of its design and objects may be formed.

He laid down the following general principles, as containing those fundamental rules, by which he was determined to raise his superstructure of reform.

That all jurisdictions which furnish more matter of expence, more temptation to oppression, or more means and instruments of corrupt influence, than advantage to justice, or political administration, ought to be abolished.

That all public estates which are more subservient to the purposes of vexing, overawing, and influencing, those who hold under them, and to the expence of percep-

perception and management, than of benefit to the revenue, ought, upon every principle, both of revenue, and of freedom, to be disposed of.

That all offices which bring more charge than proportional advantage to the state; that all offices which may be engrossed on others, uniting and simplifying their duties, ought, in the first case, to be taken away; and in the second to be consolidated.

That all such offices ought to be abolished, as obstruct the prospect of the general superintendant of finance; which destroy his superintendency; which disable him from foreseeing and providing for charges as they may occur; from preventing expence in its origin, checking it in its progress, or securing its application to its proper purposes. A minister under whom expences can be made without his knowledge, can never say what it is that he can spend, or what it is that he can save.

That it is proper to establish an invariable order in all payments; which will prevent partiality; which will give preference to services, not according to the importunity of the demandant, but the rank and order of their utility or their justice.

That it is right to reduce every establishment, and every part of an establishment (as nearly as possible) to certainty, the life of all order and good management.

And lastly, that all subordinate treasuries, as the nurseries of mismanagement, and, as naturally drawing to themselves as much money as they can, keep-

ing it as long as they can, and accounting for it as late as they can, ought to be dissolved. They have a tendency to perplex and distract the public accounts, and to excite a suspicion of government, even beyond the extent of their abuse.

To these principles or rules of internal government and finance, we shall add, as a farther illustration of the subject, and for the better comprehending the nature of this scheme of reform, the statement of its end and object, and of the limits which the author assigned to himself, as drawn from Mr. Burke's introductory speech previous to the recess.

He intended, he said, a regulation, substantial as far as it went. It would give to the public service, two hundred thousand pounds a year. It would cut off a quantity of influence equal to the places of fifty members of parliament. He relied more on a plan for removing the means of corruption, than upon any devices which might be used to prevent its operation, where these means were suffered to exist. Take away, said he, the means of influence, and you render disqualifications unnecessary. Leave them, and no disqualification can ever wholly prevent their operation on parliament.--- His plan, he observed, stood in the way of no other reformation: but, on the contrary, it tended exceedingly to forward all rational attempts towards that great end. It certainly could not make a careless minister an economist. But the best minister would find the use of it; and it would be no small check on the worst. For his main purpose

pose was to correct the present prodigal constitution of the civil executive government of this kingdom; and unless that was done, he was satisfied no minister whatever could possibly introduce the best œconomy into the administration of it.

With respect to his assigned limits; the first, he said, was found in the rules of justice. And therefore, he did not propose to touch what any private man held by a legal tenure.—The second limit was in the rules of equity and mercy. Where offices might be suppressed, which formed the whole maintenance of innocent people, it would be hard, said he, “and hardship is a kind of
“injustice, that they who were
“decoyed into particular situa-
“tions of life, by our fault,
“should be made the sacrifice of
“our penitence. I do not mean
“to starve such people, because
“we have been prodigal in our
“establishments.” The removals, he said, would fall almost wholly on those, who held offices by a tenure, in which they were liable to be, and frequently were, removed merely for accommodating the arrangements of administration; and surely the accommodation of the public, in a great case like the present, was full as material a cause for their removal, as the convenience of any administration, or the displeasure of any minister.

The third sort of limits, he said, were to be found in the service of the state. No one employment, really and substantially useful to the public, and which might not very well be otherwise supplied, was to be retrenched; or to be diminished in its lawful and

customary emoluments. To cut off such service, or such reward, was what he conceived neither politic nor rational in any sense.—The fourth of his limits, was, that the fund for the reward of service or merit, was to be left of sufficient solidity, for its probable purposes.—And the last, that the crown should be left an ample and liberal provision for personal satisfaction; and for as much of magnificence, as was suitable with the burthened state of this country.

He had before observed, that the whole of our grievances were owing to the fatal and overgrown influence of the crown; and that influence itself to our enormous prodigality. That, they moved in a circle; they became reciprocally cause and effect; and the aggregate product of both was swelled to such a degree, that not only our power as a state, but every vital energy, every active principle of our liberty, would be overlaid by it. He knew that influence was thought necessary for government. Possibly, in some degree it might. But he declared, that it was for the sake of government, for the sake of restoring to it that reverence, which was its foundation, that he wished to restrain the exorbitance of its influence. Is not every one sensible how much that influence is raised? Is not every one sensible how much authority is sunk? The reason, he said, was perfectly evident. Government ought to have sufficient force for its functions; but it ought to have no more. It ought not to have force enough to support itself in the neglect, or in the abuse of them. If it has,

has, they must be, as they are, abused and neglected. Men will throw themselves on their power for a justification of their want of order, vigilance, foresight, and all the virtues, and all the qualifications of a statesman. The minister may exist, but the government is gone.

As the whole of this comprehensive scheme of reform, was included in the five bills which were proposed by its author, a recital of their titles will afford some general idea of the principal objects to which it was directed.—

The first was entitled “ A bill, for the better regulation of his majesty’s civil establishments, and of certain public offices; for the limitation of pensions, and the suppression of sundry useless, expensive, and inconvenient places; and for applying the monies saved thereby to the public service.”

The second, “ A bill for the sale of the forest and other crown lands, rents, and hereditaments, with certain exceptions; and for applying the produce thereof to the public service; and for securing, ascertaining, and satisfying, tenant-rights, and common and other rights.”

Third, “ A bill for the more perfectly uniting to the crown the principality of Wales, and the county palatine of Chester, and for the more commodious administration of justice within the same; as also, for abolishing certain offices now appertaining thereto; for quieting dormant claims, ascertaining and securing tenant-rights, and for the sale of forest lands,

“ and other lands, tenements, “ and hereditaments, held by his majesty in right of the said principality, or county palatine of Chester, and for applying the produce thereof to the public service.”

Fourth, “ A bill for uniting to the crown the duchy and county palatine of Lancaster; for the suppression of unnecessary offices, now belonging thereto; for the ascertainment and security of tenant and other rights; and for the sale of all rents, lands, tenements, hereditaments, and forests, within the said duchy and county palatine, or either of them; and for applying the produce thereof to the public service.”

And fifthly, “ A bill for uniting the duchy of Cornwall to the crown; for the suppression of certain unnecessary offices now belonging thereto; for the ascertainment and security of tenant and other rights; and for the sale of certain rents, lands, and tenements, within or belonging to the said duchy; and for applying the produce thereof to the public service.”

On this subject, besides displaying the most intimate and comprehensive knowledge of the origin, history, nature, government, and state of those various jurisdictions, as well as of their respective establishments, and of the numerous interests which were affected by or connected with them, (for all of which he proposed to provide, either equitable and liberal compensations, or perfect indemnification and remedy,) his fertile genius drew such

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materials from ground which seemed sufficiently barren, as enabled him to combine the beauties of descriptive poetry, with the clearest statement of facts, and with all the powers of argument.

He commenced his reform with the royal household; an establishment which he considered as exceedingly abusive in its constitution. He shewed that it was formed upon manners and customs, which had long since expired; and in many respects upon feudal principles. He stated that manners and modes of living had totally changed; that royalty itself, as well as private men, was obliged to give way to the prevalence of that change; but with this very material difference, that private men had got rid of their antient establishments along with the reasons of them; whereas the royal household has lost all that was stately and venerable in the antique manners, without retrenching any thing of the cumbrous charge of a gothic establishment. But when the reason of old establishments was gone, it was absurd to preserve nothing but the burthen of them. He treated several parts of this subject with infinite humour; and by throwing them into various shades of ridicule, increased the display of their absurdity.

His scheme of reduction went in the whole to the following parts—To the treasurer, the comptroller, and the cofferer of the household; the treasurer of the chamber, the master of the household; the whole board of green-cloth, and a vast number of subordinate offices in the department of the steward of the household; to

the whole establishment of the great wardrobe, the removing wardrobe, the jewel office, the robes; the board of works; and took away almost the whole charge of the civil branch of the board of ordnance. All these arrangements taken together, he said, would be found to relieve the nation from a vast weight of influence; and that so far from distressing, that it would rather forward every public service.

His plan likewise extended to the destruction of subordinate treasuries, and of course to the two treasuries, or pay-offices, of the army and navy. He proposed, that these offices should be no longer *banks* or *treasuries*; but mere *offices of administration*; and that all money which was formerly imprested to them, should in future be imprested to the bank of England. He would likewise have the business of the mint, excepting what related to it as a manufactory, transferred to that great corporation. The plan went to the total removal of the subordinate treasury, and office, of the paymaster of the pensions; the payments being in future to be made by the exchequer; the great patent offices of the exchequer to be reduced to fixed salaries, as the present lives and reversions should successively fall; the several places of keepers of the stag hounds, buck hounds, fox hounds, and harriers, to be totally abolished. He also proposed to reform the new office of third secretary of state, commonly called secretary of state for the colonies; the fabrication of which, like that of all other late arrangements, he considered merely as a
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job, the two antient secretaries being supposed now, as heretofore, fully competent to the whole of the public business. He concluded his plan of reduction by proposing the total annihilation of the board of trade, as an office totally useless, answering none of its avowed or supposed purposes, and serving merely to provide eight members for parliament, and thereby to retain their services. We should also observe, that he proposed a limitation of pensions to 60,000*l.* a year; but he did not propose to take away any man's present pension, and thought it more prudent in that respect not to adhere to the letter of the petitions.

To this plan of reduction he subjoined a plan of arrangement. This he professed to be his favourite part of the scheme, as he conceived it would effectually prevent all prodigality in the civil list in future. He proposed to establish a fixed and invariable order in all payments, from which the first lord of the treasury should not be permitted upon any pretence whatever to deviate. For this purpose, he divided the civil list payments into nine classes, putting each class forward according to the importance or justice of the demand, or to the inability of the persons entitled to enforce their pretensions. In the first of these classes were placed the judges; the ministers to foreign courts in the second; tradesmen, who supplied the crown, in the third; domestic servants of the king, and all persons in efficient offices, whose salaries did not exceed 200*l.* a year, in the fourth; the pensions and allowances of the royal family, comprehending of

course the queen, together with the stated allowance of the privy purse, composed the fifth class. The sixth took in those efficient offices of duty, whose salaries might exceed two hundred pounds a year; the whole pension list was included in the seventh; the offices of honour about the king in the eighth; and in the ninth, the salaries and pensions of the first lord of the treasury himself, the chancellor of the exchequer, and the other commissioners of that department. To these arrangements were added some regulations, which would for ever have prevented any civil list debt from again coming on the public.

No small use was made in this speech of the æconomical reform, which Mr. Necker had introduced in the French finances, and the great effects which it had already produced, both as an example and ground of argument, for adopting Mr. Burke's system.

Such was the nature and design of this celebrated plan of reform, which took up the largest part of this very long session. During a long speech of more than three hours, every side of the House shewed equal marks of the most profound attention. Men of all parties, however many of them might afterwards oppose, or disapprove of Mr. Burke's system, could not for the present refrain from bestowing their applause. Nor were his opponents in parliament by any means backward in declaring their admiration, of that amazing fund of knowledge, with respect to every subject of constitutional right, of foreign policy, of domestic or colonial government, and of relative or general

neral commercial interests, of which that gentleman had upon the present as well as former occasions given such eminent proofs.

The minister felt that the House was much struck and affected with what they had heard. He knew that the public loudly called for some plan of reform; and one now appeared, which it would be highly dangerous to try the experiment of rejecting on the first proposal. He therefore agreed to admit the question on the first motion. He, who is usually candid and liberal in his manner of treating his adversaries; and being a man of great abilities and eloquence, seems pleased with talents, even when they press hard upon himself; now passed the highest encomiums on the author of the plan. He likewise assured the House, that no member in it was more zealous for the establishment of a permanent system of economy than he was himself. But, that besides the subjects of the present being so numerous and various as to require some time for comprehension, some of them likewise affected the king's patrimonial income, on which account, he thought the permission of the crown should be first obtained before they proceeded on them. On this ground he proposed to postpone the three bills which related to the crown lands, and to the uniting the principality of Wales, the county palatine of Chester, with the duchy and county palatine of Lancaster, to the crown. Although this distinction was strongly controverted; yet, when it was insisted on as a point of decorum only, it was agreed to

postpone the bills to a future day. In three days after, they were, however, brought in without opposition. The last bill, for uniting the duchy of Cornwall to the crown, was objected to by the surveyor general of the duchy, on account of the minority of the prince of Wales, whose rights were concerned. Although the minister was totally silent on the subject, and that Mr. Burke strongly contended against the principle of the objection, he, however, at length, consented to withdraw that motion for the present. Thus the question for bringing in the bills, passed for that time without any difficulty.

We have seen before the recess, that on the loss of the Earl of Shelburne's first motion, he deferred his second, (which he, however, left during the intermediate time for consideration) to the 8th of February, for which day the lords were then summoned. There was accordingly an exceeding full House on the appointed day, and the noble earl opened the business with a motion to the following purport.

That a committee be appointed, consisting of members of both Houses, (possessing neither employment nor pension, to examine without delay into the public expenditure and the mode of accounting for the same; more particularly into the manner of making all contracts; and at the same time to take into consideration, what saving can be made, consistent with public dignity, justice, and gratitude, by an abolition of old and new created offices, the duties of which have either ceased, or shall on enquiry prove inadequate.

inadequate to the fees, or other emoluments arising therefrom; or by the reduction of such salaries, or other allowances and profits as may appear to be unreasonable; that the same may be applied to lessen the present ruinous expenditure, and to enable us to carry on the present war against the House of Bourbon, with that decision and vigour, which can alone result from national zeal, confidence, and unanimity.

The noble earl took a wide scope both as to argument and matter, in the support of his motion; displaying much and various information, and giving proofs of the industry as well as ability for which he is distinguished. The great point, he said, to which all his wishes tended, and to effect which his motion was chiefly framed, was to annihilate the undue influence, operating upon both houses of parliament, and to establish a constitutional power, instead of an unconstitutional influence. The latter was the curse and bane, and would, if not timely eradicated, prove the destruction of this country; the former, whether described under the name of prerogative, or patronage, or the natural influence of the crown, grew out of the nature of the constitution, and was accordingly congenial to it. That solid, natural, constitutional power, which, in this limited government, formed an essential part of the inherent rights and appendages of royalty, afforded a necessary poize in the ballance of the constitution, which secured the independency of the crown, from being weighed down by the two other branches of the legisla-

ture. The sovereign was indeed endowed with great and high prerogatives, and an extensive natural interest; but these were very properly placed in his hands, not only to afford due weight to government, but to enable him to reward and to fix the attachment, fidelity, zeal, and to call out the active services, of those persons, who were appointed to discharge the several functions of the state. The proper application of these powers, afforded the highest incentives to fidelity, to the utmost exertion of every faculty for the advancement of the public interests, and to the most gallant and noble military services.

But a fatal system, he said, of undue influence, no less pernicious to the crown, than ruinous to the nation, had most unhappily, in this reign, been adopted, and substituted in the place of that wholesome and constitutional power. On this head he expatiated long and with great severity. He said that in consequence of that system, every thing which could excite a generous emulation in public virtue and service, was sunk and lost in the gulph of influence. The gallant veteran, the man of high honour and inflexible integrity, was not only sure of being laid by and neglected, but thought himself happy, if he did not experience repeated mortifications and insults, and could even preserve his character and honour inviolate, from those atrocious attempts to which both were liable. On the other hand, the unworthy, the servile, the base, and the incapable, were those only who rejoiced and triumphed; it was their summer

and season of joy; the means which led to their preferment and favour, being perfectly congenial to the baseness of their own nature, redoubled their enjoyment; whilst the internal conviction, that they could not have arrived at these distinctions under any other possible system of government, afforded a new zest to the relish of their situation.

To annihilate this influence, and to restore to the crown its constitutional power, he declared, were the objects he had in view, and whose attainment formed his most earnest wish. But as long as a heedless prodigal minister, was allowed to dispose annually, without check, control, account, or restraint, of twenty millions of the public money, (which was about the rate of our present expenditure) every hope, every attempt of that sort, would be futile and ridiculous.

He took a wide circuit through the measures and motives that led to the conduct and the consequences of the American war, in order thereby to trace and develop, in all its stages, that influence, and its unhappy effects, which he so strongly charged and condemned. In this course, he stated a number of deceptions and impositions, by which, he said, ministers had led parliament and the nation, step by step, into that ruinous contest, until they were so far involved that there was not a possibility of retreating. He likewise entered into a long, and ably-conducted detail, relative to the state, amount, and mode of contracting of our public debts, the high rate of interest at which we were compelled to borrow, and

the shameful waste of money, which he endeavoured to shew, prevailed in every part of the expenditure.

He supported his motion on the ground of precedent by shewing, that commissions of accounts had almost been regularly passed, from the second year after the revolution, through the reigns of King William and Queen Anne, and the first year of George the First, from which time they were discontinued. And, that although all these acts did not answer every thing which might have been expected from them, they were, however, the cause of detecting and reforming many flagrant abuses, which had crept into the expenditure of the public money; the recalling of improper grants made by the crown; the discovering of several notorious frauds; and of bringing home corruption, particularly in the reign of King William, to several members of the other house.

The Earl of Coventry seconded the motion, and gave several striking instances from his own knowledge of the distresses of the people, the fall of rents, the extraordinary decrease in the value of land, and the failure of farmers, even upon old tenures. He concluded, that one ray of hope broke in to cheer us, in the midst of our public calamities, which was, that a great majority of the nation, and of men of every party and description, seemed to be of opinion, that nothing less than a general reform could save this country; a change of ministry, and an æconomical expenditure of the public money, was the general cry; and he trusted, that if
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the people were sincere, firm, and true to themselves, the salvation of this country might yet be effected.

The lords in administration; or office, opposed the motion more particularly upon the two following grounds, which afforded objections to it, they contended, that were totally insurmountable. The first was the impropriety, and even the incompetency, of one house of parliament to come to any resolution, which went eventually to bind and conclude the proceedings of the other. That house had no more power or authority over the other, than the other had over that. It would therefore be in the highest degree absurd and nugatory, to resolve or vote a matter, which when resolved or voted, could carry no efficacy whatever without their own walls. — The other strong ground of objection was, the impropriety of the interference of that house, and indeed its total incompetency, with respect to the instituting in the first instance of any enquiry, or the attempting to exercise any power of control or reform; in relation to the public expenditure. That was a business solely appertaining to the other house. It was an exclusive inherent privilege, which they never would part with upon any account, directly or indirectly; neither by composition, compromise, or compact. The care and management of the public purse, and the consequent controul of the public expenditure, had for a long series of years, and even of ages, been in the exclusive possession of the commons. Both houses had their peculiar rights and privi-

leges. Time, usage, and acquiescence, had given the lords an exclusive power in matters of judicature; the claim of originating money bills by the other house, had the same authority to support it. If the lords controverted their rights in public matters, the commons would, probably, dispute in turn the power of judicature in the last resort exercised by the peers.

They observed, that contests between both houses ought, at all times and on all occasions, to be carefully provided against and prevented; but much more so in seasons of great difficulty, such as the present confessedly was, when harmony and mutual confidence were become indispensibly necessary to the carrying on of public business, and to the safety of the state. That such disputes had arisen in the beginning of Queen Anne's reign, which produced great heats and disagreements within doors, and much dissatisfaction and discontent without; insomuch that the queen found herself under a necessity of dissolving her parliament, in order to prevent matters from being carried to extremity.

They represented the account-ant bills which had been passed in the reigns of William and Anne, as originating merely in, and being supported only by faction. Insisted, that they were found to answer no good purpose whatever; and to have proved nugatory as to the attainment of any substantial or desirable object. And that accordingly, soon after the accession of the house of Hanover, when that illustrious family came to be firmly established on the throne;

when faction, tumult and sedition were crushed; and the continual fluctuation of councils which perplexed and distracted the two preceding reigns, had given way to steadiness and stability; an end was then deservedly and wisely put, to the continuance or renewal of that, at least, ineffective law, which it had for some time been the fashion to pass annually, for examining, controlling, and stating the public accounts of the kingdom.

A great law lord, highly eminent for his acuteness, learning, and ability, strongly contended, that the proposed or intended reformation implied in the motion, so far as it related to contracts, and the improper expenditure of the public money, was wholly unnecessary, as the powers already in being, were fully competent to the attainment of redress, without any new ones being created for that purpose. In support of this assertion he cited a case within his own knowledge, which happened many years since, when he was attorney-general, at which time he prosecuted a governor to conviction, who had been guilty of some fraud with respect to the cloathing of a regiment. Whatever bargain or contract, he said, was made with government, the law supposed it to be a *bona fide* transaction, and that the crown had full value, and an equitable equivalent; and the law, in every such transaction, gave a power of redress, either by punishing the person who should be detected in defrauding the public, or by allowing the contractor only such a sum, as his services or his commodity deserved. — He farther

stated, that the minister, and every other person acting under the crown, were already, in fact, as responsible for the expenditure of every part of the public money which passed through their hands, as it was possible for the law to render them. They were amenable both to the crown and parliament; to the first in his majesty's courts of law, and to the latter, in their inquisitorial capacity.

Nothing excited so much indignation on that side, as that passage in the motion, which rendered the lords in office, and all those who enjoyed any emolument or pension under the crown, incapable of being members of the proposed committee. But it was more particularly resented, and that with no common degree of warmth, by a noble earl lately come into administration. He declared it was a libel on the whole body of the peerage, as it supposed, that such of their lordships as enjoyed places under government were, from that circumstance, liable to be warped from their duty, and to give corrupt opinions on a question, which it was maintained in argument was intended, and would effect, the salvation of their country. It was, he would maintain, a general and direct libel upon that house, and a particular libel upon every noble lord who stood in the described predicament. It was a libel on himself as an individual; and he affirmed, from his own knowledge, that it was false and unfounded.

Some other lords who were in the same predicament, and who likewise objected to that exclusion in the motion, did not go so far in

in their resentment; and were satisfied to assert their own independence and integrity, notwithstanding any favours they owed to the crown. A noble earl in particular, who had lately been at the head of a commission abroad, of the highest trust, and of, perhaps, the greatest possible importance, and who was then at the head of an office of honour and dignity at home, spoke highly, in the beginning of the debate, in favour of the principle on which the present motion was founded. And while he gave his own fullest approbation to the principle, declared the attempt to be so truly meritorious, as highly to deserve the attention of every noble lord present. He only lamented that the passage in question, should, at this most critical and perilous crisis, exclude any noble lord, from rendering every service he was capable of to his country; and thought it extremely ill judged, at such a season, to cut off the committee from the assistance of some of the first characters and ablest men in the kingdom. From this circumstance, although he most cordially approved of the object which the motion pointed to, he found himself in the disagreeable predicament of not being permitted to give a vote either way; but if this objection were removed, the proposition should meet with his most hearty assent.

The subject of the county meetings, petitions and associations, was the means of introducing much warmth of language and sentiment, severity of censure, and bitterness of observation and reply, in the course of the debate. A noble lord newly come

into administration, having charged the motion with the several defects of informality, absurdity, and inefficacy with respect to its avowed object, passed several severe strictures on the supposed motives and intentions, which led to its being brought forward at the present time. He affirmed, that it was meant to combine the motion with the petitions now before, and daily presenting to the other house; that as the petitions themselves had been promoted by the most unjustifiable and improper means, so the motion was certainly intended to bear a relation to them, in order to embarrass government, and throw an odium on his majesty's confidential advisers. That, if the motion operated at all, it could be only in that way. The petitions and their contents were in general created; and when they seemed to arise spontaneously, and from sentiment, which he believed to be the case in very few instances, they were founded in no better than absurd, impracticable notions of public reformation, and specious theories, calculated to mislead the nation, as being directed to objects, either unattainable, or which, if attained, must undermine the constitution, and finally lead to public confusion. That the motion would produce effects similar to the county petitions if agreed to; it would embroil both houses, impede public business, and tend to anarchy and confusion.

A noble earl, who had likewise lately come into office, having endeavoured to shew the informality, impracticability, and libellous tendency of the motion, proceeded to reprobate, in highly incig-

indignant and passionate terms, the county meetings and petitions. He said they originated merely in factious motives, and in factious motives too of the very worst completion. They tended to usurp the powers of government, and to compel parliament to concessions of the most dangerous and unconstitutional nature; they were set up as another estate, unknown to the constitution. They would, if not timely suppressed, lead to anarchy and public confusion. As yet, they had been cautiously and artfully kept within the verge of the law, though, in fact, they reached to the very brink of rebellion. He denied that they were the sense of the nation at large; and he hoped, whatever malignant spirit gave them birth, that it would be instantly crushed. There was nothing but resolution and firmness, which he was persuaded their lordships would never want, when their rights were attempted to be invaded, necessary to subdue them; and if he had no other reason for opposing the present motion in all its parts, he could find in his own mind a sufficient motive for giving it a negative, from its being so nearly allied in principle and in object, to that factious, dangerous, innovating, and unconstitutional spirit, which had given existence to the county meetings.—He concluded, by declaring he was satisfied, that the present motion was framed in such a manner as must ensure it a negative, in order thereby to throw an odium upon administration, and give an opportunity to its friends and supporters to enter a flaming protest, which, being soon published, and

making its way into the country, would serve to foment and increase that spirit of sedition and disaffection, which both the authors and friends of this motion wished to disseminate through every part of the kingdom.

Such language and charges could not pass without reprehension; but we shall first attend to the means used for removing the objections which were made to the motion upon its own bottom. The lords in opposition expressed their surprize, to hear the point of informality so much laboured; and so long dwelt upon, without the proposal of a remedy, where it might be so easily applied, and without a single argument of any weight being brought against the main object of the motion. The noble framer, they said, had avowedly left it open, in order to afford room for its being rendered palatable to all parties. The principle of the motion, public reformation and national œconomy, formed the only objects of consideration; and it mattered nothing how it might be new framed, altered, and modified, so these were promoted. One simple remedy was obvious and at hand; which would effectually remove that informality upon which so much stress was laid, and that was a matter of no greater difficulty than merely omitting the words “both houses;” and the motion would then run—“That a committee be appointed.” It was a mere matter of form; and upon a question of so great importance; and a business of such evident necessity, such paltry cavils were inexcusable, and even shameful.

With regard to the objection of inter-

interfering with the other house in money matters, they said, that without entering at all into the question as an abstract proposition, and without any occasion for at all measuring the peculiar rights and privileges of either house of parliament, this objection would be as easily done away as the former. The simple measure of a conference would equally remove every difficulty with respect to both. All questions with respect to points of order, or exclusive privilege, would instantly vanish, when both houses agreed in principle, and united in opinion, upon the necessity of a reform. But abstracted from that remedy, no noble lord present would deny, but that house had a right of enquiry in such matters, so far as the disposal of public monies came under their cognizance as a deliberative body; it signified very little which house took up the business, so that the object was obtained; the matter could not be finally settled without the aid of an act of parliament; and in that case, either house had its power of assenting or dissenting to whatever came from the other.

A noble duke on the same side, went still farther on that ground. He insisted, and with great strength of argument and knowledge of the subject endeavoured to demonstrate, that the House of Lords was fully competent to enquire into the expenditure of public money; to examine and controul both its receipt and issue; and to punish delinquents, if any such could be found. He cited examples to shew that they had often exercised those powers; and declared, he never would suffer the petty purposes of a faction to lead

to a surrender of their inherent rights.

The noble duke likewise strongly controverted the position held out on the other side, that the article of exclusion proposed in the motion, was a libel upon the whole body of the peerage, and particularly so upon the servants of the crown. He argued, that the intended exclusion was formed upon the spirit of the English constitution, and upon the whole plan of English jurisprudence. The law, at least the common law of England, always excluded persons from acting in any situation which concerned others, where they might be supposed to act under partiality, influence, or prejudice, or to have any local or native bias on their minds. Such was the case in the constituting of juries, both in civil and criminal matters; such was the case of a judge going the circuit into a country in which he was born or possessed property; and such in a great variety of other instances. Such general legal provisions, and prudential cautions, which went to guard against the weakness, infirmities, the passions, and the vices of mankind at large, to preserve individuals from being exposed to the dangerous trials of necessities and improper temptation, and even to fence in private character from undue suspicion, could never be supposed to convey reflection or imputation against any man, or body of men.

In respect to the declarations of the court lords, relative to the manner of obtaining the petitions, many other lords arose to give the most unqualified contradiction in point of fact, as to several matters which were stated on the other side,

side. The Marquis of Rockingham, in particular, ably vindicated the Yorkshire meeting. He affirmed, that it was neither proposed or promoted, by any party, or faction, or by any particular description of men. It originated in the spontaneous propositions and communications of the independent and honest part of the people of all descriptions, parties, and interests. The meeting at York was too numerous and too independent, to be biased or led, by any influence or power whatever. The freeholders comprized, upon that occasion, within the compass of a single room, possessed landed property to the amount of eight hundred thousand pounds a year; and since that meeting, no less than nine thousand gentlemen, clergy, and freeholders, signed the petition then agreed upon. As a farther proof of the general sentiments of the people of that country, he stated, that the petition from the city of York had been signed by no less than nine hundred and twenty persons; although, at a late warmly contested election for the same city, only nine hundred and twenty-two persons were polled on all sides. Other noblemen vindicated other meetings, which came within their respective knowledge.

With respect to the heavy charges laid against the principle of the petitions, and the motives and designs of the petitioners, particularly by a noble earl in administration, it was replied, that America had resisted, in order to redress her grievances; so had Ireland; so had Scotland; did the noble

lord undertake to say, that the English associators were the only part of his majesty's subjects whose petitions, in the first instance, were to be branded with the odious epithets of treasonable and rebellious? Was every other part of the British dominions to be listened to? And was the seat of empire alone to be treated with contempt and foul language?—Were fifty thousand armed Irish associators, to have their grievances redressed, as dutiful, loyal, and obedient subjects? And was the county meetings of the people of England, unarmed, unassociated, unembodied, without either slaves, or any other weapon, offensive or defensive, to be charged with being on the brink of treason and rebellion?—Had not the lord lieutenant of Ireland, in a public act, in which he represented the person of the sovereign, publicly thanked the Irish associators, though armed against law? And what judgment can the world pass on a man, who as *governor, or lord lieutenant of an Irish county, conveyed the thanks of that parliament, to the associators, thus illegally armed, of that county over which he presided, and who now, as an Englishman, should stand up, and charge the English county meetings with every species of public criminality short of actual rebellion?

It was observed, by another noble duke on the same side, that the noble lord in administration, was ever ready to construe every thing into rebellion, which carried the least appearance of opposition to the unconstitutional influence of

* Earl of Hillsborough.

the crown; and had been peculiarly fortunate in predicting those very rebellions, or acts of resistance, which, in respect of America, he had been so instrumental in exciting.

A noble viscount on the same side, justified the principle of the petitions, and said, that parliament having, through the enormous influence of the crown, abandoned the care and protection of the people, it was at length become necessary that the people themselves should look to their own preservation. And, he congratulated his country, on the approaching appearance of being emancipated, through the virtue and firmness of the people, from a system of government, and a mal-administration of public affairs, hitherto unprecedented in the annals of England.

Some occasional, but very interesting matter, was introduced in this day's debate. A noble marquis, who had once, for some short time, been at the head of affairs, having, in the course of a long and exceedingly pointed speech, gone over, besides a variety of new ground, some part of that which he had opened on the first day of the session, directly charged the general amount, of our past and present discontents, disorders, misfortunes, and dangers, to a new, unconstitutional, and despotic system, adopted at the commencement of the present reign, and which consisted in governing this country, under the forms of law, through the influence of the crown.—He had no sooner, he said, perceived this system, than he set his face against it, and had now, for upwards of seventeen years, both

during the short time he was in office, and out, constantly endeavoured to defeat its intended effects.—Every thing within and without, he said, whether in cabinet, parliament, or elsewhere, carried about it the most evident and unequivocal marks of this system; the whole œconomy of executive government, in all its branches, whether professional, deliberative, or official, proclaimed it. Its numerous supporters have appeared publicly in print, and by a variety of means, through books, pamphlets, and news-papers, have openly avowed, and defended it without reserve. This was the origin of all our national misfortunes. He was ready, he said, to avow, in his place, that as the measures contained the fullest testimony of the principle which called them into being, so they bore every internal and external evidence of their dangerous tendency.

He said the principle of despotism had so long appeared, and seemed so uniformly to pervade all our public acts, that he believed it unnecessary to point out particular instances; he should therefore content himself with alluding only to such parts of the system, as applied more directly to the measures pursued respecting America, and the East India company. There it was, he said, that the plan of extending the influence of the crown, already become enormous and truly alarming, blazed forth in all its odious colours; and there it was that that influence, under the impositious pretence of asserting the rights of parliament, was employed to vest the patronage or unlimited sovereignty of all America

rica in the crown. The same use was made of this influence over the East India company; and after the first attempt had brought bankruptcy on that company, the second finally vested the patronage of it in the crown for ever.

The plan, he said, was deeply laid; the independent part of the people were led into the snare by the specious pretences of designing and artful men.—The company were described to be wallowing in riches; the directors, and their servants abroad, were said to be infinitely venal, unprincipled, corrupt, and oppressive. It was urged, that in the possession of such immense revenues and profits, territorial and commercial, that the company ought to be compelled to contribute to the exigencies of the state, and to bear part of the burthens, in common with their fellow-subjects. The idea was specious, flattering, carried the appearance of justice, and immediately interested the parties in its favour, on whom the imposition was intended to be passed. But the whole, he said, was a ministerial trick, a state juggle, to throw dust in the eyes of the people. It was patronage, a further extension of court influence, which was at the bottom of all this, however varnished over with specious appearances of public reformation, general justice, and an equitable distribution of taxes and burthens to be borne by the several respective parts of the empire. It was not the sum of 400,000 l. a year that was the great object; it was the aggrandizement of the crown that set this political machine in motion. The sequel

proved it, he said, beyond the possibility of doubt or uncertainty. The company in a few years became bankrupt; and it was reserved for the present administration to complete, what they had so happily begun, and so steadily pursued. They relinquished the revenue with cheerfulness, but they took care to get the patronage in exchange. If any proof, he said, were wanting to shew, that neither revenue, nor a desire to alleviate the public burthens, formed the true cause; it was now fully sufficient to observe, that no one effectual measure had been taken to promote reformation in India; for it was impossible for oppression, public peculation, or any other evil, said to have prevailed in India, at the time that government first broke in upon the affairs of that company, to have risen higher, or to have proved more operative and extensive, than they have done since that period. A very striking instance of which, he said, was then depending in the courts below, in the case of the late Lord Pigot, who had been sacrificed to the private cabals of those, who, if not encouraged by government, were most certainly protected and countenanced by it. This was the consequence of the interference of the crown; and as to the pretence of a revenue, it was, he said, needless to observe, that no one part of the conduct of the present administration, or of the system they acted under, furnished even the colour of an argument, that they, who had upon all occasions so shamefully wasted and mis-spent the public treasure, entertained a single idea of relieving the people,

ple, whom, in every other instance, they had so heavily burthened and oppressed.

The noble marquis applied a similar train of reasoning to the support of this doctrine with respect to the American measures. He declared without reserve, that it was, what he called, the same traitorous principle, that produced the American war, and the long train of evils which have flowed from it; and he was persuaded, besides that great object, that in the course of some of the events which fell out in America, one great spur which induced ministers to rush blindly on, was in expectation of being gratified, and of gratifying their friends and supporters, with expected confiscations of the lands and properties of those who took up arms against government; and should they now persist in turning a deaf ear to the voice of the people of this country, and thereby force them into measures of resistance, he should likewise be convinced, that one motive among others would be, a prospect of confiscations nearer home, and the proscription of the lives and fortunes of those who should stand forth the friends of their country, and of, as yet, its unrivalled constitution.

How far, and whether at all, these political opinions may be tinged with the colour of party, are questions on which we are not to form any public opinion; but the authority from which they proceed, and still more, the magnitude of the objects to which they relate, bestow on them an appearance of so much importance, that we deemed it fitting, if not necessary, to preserve them to the pub-

lic; referring their validity to the explanations of time, and to the decision of a more temperate season.

The business of this day was likewise particularly distinguished, from the part taken, and the circumstances attending it, by the Marquis of Carmarthen. This young nobleman had possessed a place of high honour and emolument, at the head of the queen's household, and was also lord lieutenant of the north riding of the county of York. Private business had prevented his attending the great meeting at York; but he sent a letter a few days after to the committee, approving in general of their proceedings, but making some objection to the scheme of association, and to the proposed committees of correspondence. Although this conduct could not but excite observation, and perhaps surprize, nothing consequent to it appeared, until a few days preceding the motion now before us, when he voluntarily resigned his office at court.

In the present debate, the noble marquis thought proper to explain, and to assign the motives of his conduct in both instances. He said, he gave his full assent to the motion, as he thought it the only means of preserving this country from inevitable ruin, by promoting union among all ranks and descriptions of men, and of course restoring energy and confidence to government.—He declared, that he liked and applauded the principle of the petitions; they breathed the same spirit with the present motion. And he stated the particulars of his conduct with respect to the York meeting.

He

He then said, that he had a few days since resigned a place, the holding of which he should ever esteem one of the greatest honours of his life. Why had he resigned it? Because his duty to his sovereign and his country, and a regard for his own honour, would not permit him longer to retain it. He could no longer give his support to a ministry, which had, after a series of repeated trials, proved themselves pusillanimous, incapable, and corrupt; who had brought the nation to the brink of destruction, and still persisted to plunge it deeper into misery, calamity, and danger. They were the curse of this country, and, he feared, they would prove its ruin. One of them from his deserved ignominy, and the other from his criminal indolence, incapability, and neglect. The first, in a season, when talents and abilities were most wanted, having driven almost every man under those descriptions from the service, by insult and bad treatment.

He said, that while he remained in place, he did not think it decent to oppose government. He could not in conscience absent himself from his duty in parliament at so momentous a crisis; the only method therefore which presented itself to him, in order to get rid of the embarrassment, was to resign. But what had been the consequence of this moderate conduct? That of dismissing him, on that very morning, from an office he held under the crown, the lord lieutenancy of the north-riding of the county of York. He did not pretend to say who it was that advised that measure: but let it come from whom it may, he despised

the mean resentment which gave it birth; he laughed at the folly, but he felt the injustice and intended insult as he ought.

As some passages in this speech were supposed to allude, if not to point directly, to the first lord of the admiralty then present, the matter was zealously taken up by a young earl, who entered into a warm and cordial vindication of his friend; which, from the nature of the subject, could not however go any farther, than assertion, denial, or opinion. But, although the matter was a good deal agitated, and the noble earl immediately concerned, thought it necessary to enter personally into the discussion, no satisfaction whatever could be obtained from the noble marquis. And though he was called up several times, instead of retracting any part of what he had advanced, or even softening it by explanation, he rather strengthened and enforced it, by entering more fully into particulars. He still said, that the best men, men of the highest professional merit, were either driven totally from the service by the noble minister, or were deterred from accepting any command under his direction. Every man who accepted of a command, he said, accepted it under the conditions of a double peril; that of being employed and deceived; and that of being certain, that those who deceived him, would be the first, as they were the most powerful, in effecting his disgrace. He should not, he said, enter into detail, or quote names, as he believed it totally unnecessary to descend to particulars; for every person who had been employed

employed stood almost in the same predicament;—he believed other commanders declined the service, from their not deeming either their characters or persons safe in certain hands;—and that from what had already happened, he was entitled to say; that no man of ability, or who regarded his honour, could prudently serve in the navy under its present administration.

After long, various, important, and very interesting debates, the question was at length put, upon a motion modified from the original to the following purport. To appoint a committee, consisting of lords possessing neither place nor pension, to examine, without delay, into the public expenditure, and the mode of accounting for the same.—This motion was rejected upon a division, by a majority of 101 lords, including 20 proxies, to 55 lords; including only five proxies.

Great as this majority was, the opposition shewed such a strength upon this division, as they had not done for several years before; which, along with some other concurrent circumstances, would have been considered, in a season of less permanency than the present, as holding out alarming, if not ominous symptoms.

The rejection of this motion, brought out (as had been predicted during the debate by a noble lord in administration) a protest of no small length; and abundantly fraught with argumentative matter, relative to the public expenditure, which did not by

any means seem calculated to afford much satisfaction to those people, who felt themselves heavily pressed by the burthens of the state. In this piece, the noble protestors seem to pay some particular attention to an objection made to the motion, as if it meant to abridge the rights of monarchy, and to make the crown dependant upon the parliament.—To this they reply as follows—“ If
“ the objection means to insinuate, that corruption is necessary to government, we shall leave that principle to confute itself by its own apparent iniquity. That this motion is intended to diminish the constitutional power of the crown, we deny. The constitutional power of the crown we are no less solicitous to preserve, than we are to annihilate its unconstitutional influence. The prerogative rightly understood, not touched, or intended to be touched by this motion, will support the crown in all the splendour which the king’s personal dignity requires, and with all the authority and vigour necessary to give due effect to the executive powers of government.”

The protest was signed by 33 lords. The Marquis of Carmarthen subscribed to the whole, excepting one article; and the Earl of Radnor protested without assenting reasons. The Earl of Pembroke’s name now appeared for the first time on the side of opposition.

C H A P. VI.

Colonel Barre gives notice of his intended propositions relative to a committee of accounts. Scheme approved of by the minister. Sir George Saville's motion, for an account of patent places and salaries, agreed to. Second motion, for an account of pensions, during pleasure or otherwise, opposed. Debate broken off by the illness of the speaker. Resumed in the following week. Amendment, moved by the minister. Long debates. Minister's amendment carried, on an exceedingly close division. Jamaica petition presented in the House of Lords, and the subject strongly enforced, by the Marquis of Rockingham. Thanks of the lords and commons to Admiral Sir George Rodney, for his late eminent services. Attempt by the opposition, in both houses, to obtain some mark of royal favour for that commander. Scheme, for a commission of accounts, announced by the minister, in the House of Commons. Strictures on that business. Mr. Burke's establishment bill read a first and second time without opposition; debate, and division, relative only to time, on its committal. Motion by the Earl of Shelburne, relative to the removal of the Marquis of Carmarthen, and the Earl of Pembroke, from the lieutenancy of their respective counties. Question, much agitated. Motion rejected on a division.

IN a few days after the disclosure of Mr. Burke's scheme of reform, Colonel Barre gave notice Feb. 14th. of his intention to move for a committee of accounts, as supplemental to, and an useful enlargement of that plan. He considered the appointment of such a committee, as affording the nearest and the most easy, if not the most effectual means, for correcting the evils arising from the present mode of voting great sums of the public money without estimate, and for, in some degree, remedying the procrastinating forms, and the dilatory course of conducting business, which prevailed in the exchequer; and by which it was at present rendered totally inadequate to its purposes. He hoped great advantages, he said, from a committee consisting only of a few

men; for though he knew that the minister's strength in the house, would virtually rest their nomination with him; yet he depended much, that the smallness of their number, and a consciousness that the eyes of the public were fully fixed upon them, would operate powerfully upon their conduct.

As the views of the minister could not yet be penetrated, the full and open approbation which he gave to this proposal, could not but excite some surprize on all sides. He saw the temper of the nation was such, that something must be done to gratify the people, and he quickly perceived, that as the adoption of the present measure, would carry a fair appearance of intended examination and enquiry into the present great objects of complaint and grievance, and hold out a prospect,

pect, however remote, of redress, so it might be happily substituted for some other proposed measures of reform, which would be exceedingly troublesome in their progress, and could not be finally disposed of without much difficulty; nor probably without some loss to government, whether by absolute concession, or by admitting some new restrictions and powers of controul, with respect to the administration of the public finance and expenditure. At any rate, the first operation of the proposed measure would be to gain time, which, in the present circumstances, was every thing; the fervor of the people would thereby be allayed; and their views being drawn off to a distant object, might be entirely worn away, and even the subject forgotten, before the result of the enquiry could be known. In the mean time, it could require no extraordinary sagacity, to modify the business in such a manner, as would effectually prevent its extending any farther than was wished and intended.

The minister accordingly applauded the proposal highly; and only wondered, that a measure of such obvious utility had not been thought of sooner; he considered this as the most essential ground of reform that could be proposed, and expected that it would have been taken up before. For himself, he wished to hear the propositions of gentlemen from every side of the house; and he assured them, that no man in it would be more ready to adopt any plan that appeared calculated for the promotion of œconomy, and for reducing the public expence to

order and limit. He acknowledged, that the expenditure of the public money should be brought as much as possible under check and controul; and that the present course of exchequer, was inimical to a speedy and effectual controul; that system was unequal to the present extent of business; and created delays and inconveniences, which tended to obstruct, instead of expediting the national service. The people, he said, ought to be satisfied with respect to the expenditure; it was their right; they expected it; and, for his own part, there was nothing he wished more, than that the utmost clearness and precision should be found in the public accounts. — He concluded by declaring, that he thought a commission of accounts, would afford the most eligible means of checking the public expence; that a committee, composed of a small number of gentlemen, rendered permanent, and sitting through the year, would be capable of rendering solid service to the country; and that he wished to see so salutary, and indeed so necessary a measure adopted.

The opposition, on their side, congratulated and applauded the minister; but although they acknowledged the candour and fairness which he had shewn in adopting the proposed idea, one gentleman of great discernment observed, that he could by no means go along with him in the opinion, that a better, or a more ready mode of accounting to that house for the expenditure of public monies, might not be devised, and reduced to practice, than that of appointing commissioners of ac-

counts. They were however much pleased, at the point now unexpectedly gained; and the gentleman who had introduced the business gave notice, that he would prepare and bring in propositions for the purpose.

On the following day, Sir George Saville moved, That an account of all places held by patent from the crown, with the amount of the salaries annexed to them, and a list of the persons at present holding them, should be laid before the house. By this account, he said, the house, and of course his constituents, would be enabled to judge, of the services done to the state in return for the salaries paid by it; and then it would be in the judgement of the house to decide, what offices were efficient and necessary, and the number that were merely sinecures, and their emoluments a burthen to the people, without any return of service.

The motion being agreed to, he moved, That an account of all subsisting pensions, granted by the crown, during pleasure or otherwise; specifying the amount of such pensions respectively, and the times when, and the persons to whom, such pensions were granted, should be laid before the house. He observed, that his honourable friend, Mr. Burke, with that liberality peculiar to his nature, had foregone, in his plan, an enquiry into subjects of that sort; but however laudable the motives of tenderness upon which he acted certainly were, the people being roused by their feelings and necessities to a close examination of the state of their own affairs, and into the causes of those evils

which they experienced, demanded a more strict and rigid mode of conduct. That the enquiry proposed by his motion formed a principal object, not only with his constituents, but with the county meetings in general; and was necessarily become a part of the plan for affording satisfaction to the people which he thought himself bound to adopt. Whether it answered their expectation, in the whole, in part, or not at all, was not the question; the enquiry, and consequent knowledge of the fact, would afford the satisfaction which he desired.

A strong and determined opposition to this motion was immediately apparent; but the debate was broken off by the sudden illness of the speaker, and the business lay over to the following week. On its revival, the minister moved an amendment, restricting the account to those pensions only which were paid at the exchequer; but this he afterwards enlarged, to the giving the general amount of all pensions, but without any specification of names, or particularity of sums, excepting in the first instance.

The proposed amendment brought out very long, and exceedingly warm debates; in the course of which the minister had the mortification of discovering much matter of apprehension and alarm; and of meeting such an opposition as he had never before encountered. He grounded his opposition to the motion, in the first instance, on a principle of delicacy. To expose the necessities of ancient and noble families, whose fortunes were too narrow for the support

support of their rank, to the prying eye of malignant curiosity, he said, would be not only wanton, but cruel. To expose the man who had a pension, to the envy and detraction of him who had none, and by whom he was therefore hated; to hold him up as an object for the gratification of private malice and the malevolence of party, merely as a price for the favour conferred on him by the crown, would surely be a proceeding, in its nature, equally odious and contemptible. Yet these were the certain effects which must proceed from an indiscriminate disclosure of the pension list; along with, he said, the furnishing out matter for a feast to newspaper and party writers, to be by them dressed up in their own manner for the entertainment of the public, at the expence of the noblest, perhaps the worthiest and most deserving members of the state. Such were the ill effects, and the noble lord declared himself incapable of discovering any good, which the motion, if carried, would inevitably produce.

The minister farther said, that he had very sufficient reasons for believing, that the true state of the pension list was very little known and understood. That all was not, properly speaking, pension, that appeared on that list. Several large salaries were, in exchequer language, classed under that denomination; and accordingly swelled the payments in that list, to which they did not properly belong. And if these were deducted, along with the four shillings in the pound tax on places and pensions, the remaining pension list would be found not to ex-

ceed 50,000*l.* a year; which would be 10,000*l.* a year less, than Mr. Burke, in his plan of reform, thought reasonable to be allotted to that article of public expence. He therefore thought, that the county meetings must be very ill informed, when they made the supposed excess in that department a leading article in their list of grievances. And he was certain, that if the people of England only knew, that all that could be gotten by exposing the names of several honourable persons on the pension list, would amount to no more, under the most rigid œconomy, than the saving of a few thousand pounds a year, their hearts would revolt at the idea of such a motion.

He concluded by drawing a distinction, between the money granted expressly to government for the other public services of the state, and that allotted to the support of the civil list establishment. The first was to be specifically applied; and the proper officers were answerable for the disposal, as well as accountable for the amount. But the money granted to the king for his civil list, was granted freely and without controul; it was then his personal property; was liable to no restriction whatever; and was as fully under his direction, and as entirely at his disposal, as the rents of a private estate could be to the owner.

The minister's principle of delicacy was laughed at on the other side. Pensions granted for honourable service, they said, were marks of honour, and not of disgrace. Nor did those granted for supporting the rank of antient and noble families, whose poverty proceeded

from the fault of their ancestors, and not their own, convey the smallest degree of reproach. Poverty was no disgrace, where it was not brought on by personal vice or folly. As little did the people wish to suppress such liberality, or to retrench the means of it, when properly and honourably applied, in the crown. Ireland afforded a living proof within their knowledge, that such notions of supposed delicacy were entirely ideal and unfounded. The holders of pensions in that country were to the full as proud and as delicate, as those under the same circumstances in this. Yet the pension list in that kingdom was every second year laid before parliament, and published in all their newspapers, without its producing any degree of that disgrace and uneasiness to individuals, and without opening any of those sources of detraction and malevolence, of which the minister now pretends to be so apprehensive. Not a single lord or lady, however ancient their families, or however proud of their rank, whether English or Irish, was ever yet known to throw up or to refuse a pension, upon the account of that publication.

The noble lord, they said, had endeavoured, with his usual art, but with uncommon industry, to render, by the ministerial juggle of his calculations, and by shewing it through the wrong end of the perspective, the object of the motion so apparently diminutive, as to be unworthy the attention of the people, and the consideration of parliament. But even taking it, they said, upon his own word, and supposing for a moment his representation to be as fair, as it was

directly calculated to impose and mislead, although it would be acknowledged, that forty or fifty thousand pounds a year, was not simply, and immediately in itself, an object of great national attention, yet, as every thing great must be done by detail to become so, it was ridiculous to contend, that such, and lesser sums, were not fit objects to be attended to, and included, in any scheme which took in a reform of the national expenditure.

But money, they said, was only a secondary consideration, whether with the petitioners, or with themselves. The first and great object of both, was the destruction of that undue and corrupt influence, which was the fatal source of all our evils, calamities, dangers, and of the greater part of that ruinous expence, under which the nation was sinking. If by cutting off forty or fifty thousand pounds a year from the means of that corruption, forty or fifty voters could be cut off from that impenetrable parliamentary phalanx, on whom no reason, argument, or affection for their country, was ever capable of making an impression, nor of deterring from an adherence to the minister of the day, whoever he may be, and in whatever predicament he might stand, it would be gaining an object of no small importance; and prove, in its effect, the saving of infinitely greater sums. Had such savings taken place in time, America would still have been a part of our strength and glory.

They treated sarcastically the liberality and candour, with which, they said, the noble minister had so generously offered to gratify parliament

parliament with an account of those pensions, which were regularly paid at the public offices of the exchequer; a degree of information which every man in the kingdom, whether native or foreigner, might, by a proper application, obtain to as full an extent, as it was possessed by the noble lord himself. But it happened unluckily that this liberality was thrown away, as the offer did not at all reach to the objects intended by the people, or proposed by the mover of the present motion. Their enquiries were directed to pensions of another nature than those that were paid at public offices. They were directed to temporary pensions; to pensions during pleasure; to pensions for the purpose of parliamentary corruption. So unqualified were the charges upon this ground, that a gentleman declared as a fact, founded upon authority, he said, which he could not doubt, that the minister, at the close of every session, had a settlement of such pensions to make; that a private list of names, with the several sums apportioned to their respective services or merits, was then produced; and that as soon as the money was paid, the paper was immediately burnt, and no memorial of the transaction preserved.

This occasioned a call on the opposition from one of the law officers to come forward with their proofs, to name and point out the delinquents; but not to throw about charges of such a nature at random, if they were not able to support and establish them. To this it was replied, that the learned gentleman well knew, that they could not possibly possess the species of evidence, which the rules of that house rendered necessary, in order

to fix such specific charges. The great object of the motion was to obtain that very evidence which is now demanded. This the minister absolutely refuses to grant; and at the very instant that they see he withholds the means, his advocates boldly challenge us to bring forward our proofs.

The comparison drawn by the minister between the civil list revenues, and the rents of a private estate, was not at all allowed to hold. Various parts of that vast establishment, the opposition said, were applied to great national purposes; to those of public dignity and utility, as well as to the support and splendor of the crown. Parliament had a right, and was in the practice, of enquiring and seeing into the appropriation of that money. If it were otherwise, and that great revenue to be considered merely as personal property, the whole of it might be drawn off from its original purposes, and applied to those of the most dangerous nature. The position was therefore to be totally exploded, as equally fallacious and dangerous.

It was not a little remarkable, that almost the whole weight of this very long debate lay upon the minister; who, excepting the assistance of some of the crown lawyers, was left alone to endure the heat and brunt of the day. He was of course so exceedingly hard pushed, that he was frequently forced to shift or abandon his ground; whilst every change of position, afforded some new opening for the severities of his antagonists. In these circumstances, which were aggravated by the nature of the contest, and the apparent doubtfulness of the issue, it

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is not to be wondered at, if he could not perfectly preserve his equanimity of temper; and if he could not even entirely refrain from shewing some appearances of vexation and peevishness.

The question being at length put, at half an hour after one o'clock in the morning, the minister's amendments were carried, and but just carried, upon a division, by a majority of two only; the numbers being 188 to 186.

Sir George Saville then declared, that as the motion, in its present state, was totally changed from that which he had proposed, and was rendered utterly incapable of obtaining that information for the people, which it was both his wish and his duty to lay before them, he should therefore give the matter entirely up, and should no longer give himself or his friends any trouble, by fruitlessly opposing ministers in any point which they were determined to carry.

This was, however, an extraordinary division. But the loss of the question was the more vexatious to the opposition, as they conceived they had strength in town fully sufficient to have carried it; and even attributed the disappointment to the accidental absence of some particular friends. On former occasions this would have been matter of triumph; but they were grown more difficult since their late increase of strength; and complained bitterly, that volunteer troops can never be brought to pay that strict attention to duty, which is practised by trained and disciplined bands, who have been long habituated to the punctual observance of a regular command.

The popular prints, however,

triumphed, not only in the closeness of the division, but in an assertion which they repeatedly echoed, that not a single English gentleman, however he might afterwards vote, had opened his lips on the side of the minister, in the course of so long a debate. It was made no less a matter of exultation, that of the knights of the shire, or representatives of English and Welsh counties, who were then present, only eleven supported the minister by their votes; while no less than fifty-seven voted for Sir George Saville's original motion. Such, and so powerful, was the effect of that spirit which was now prevalent.

It was on the same day of Sir George Saville's motion, that the Marquis of Rockingham brought the Jamaica business forward in the House of Lords; where he presented a petition similar to that, and subscribed by the same names, which we have already seen a subject of animadversion in the House of Commons. He went over the whole ground of complaint, and, in a speech of considerable length, supported and enforced the several matters of charge, in a manner which shewed a very full knowledge of his subject; in doing which, he endeavoured particularly to establish the following points:—The great importance and inestimable value of the island—The fatal consequences, with respect to all our remaining American and West Indian possessions, which must be the immediate and inevitable result, of its becoming the property of the enemy, but more especially of France—The criminal conduct of ministers in neglecting all proper and rational provision,

provision, for the security and protection of so inestimable a possession—And, the actual and imminent internal and external dangers, to which the island has at several different times been subjected, through that neglect.

On the last ground, he particularly insisted, and endeavoured to demonstrate, as well by a letter from Governor Dalling, as by other authorities, that scarcely a hope could have been formed of saving the island, if D'Estaing had bent his force thither, at the time that, so fortunately to this country, he directed his course to Georgia. So that the preservation of one of the most valuable appendages to the crown of Great Britain, rested upon the error, blindness, or folly of the enemy. He farther urged, that this conduct could not even be so far palliated, as to attribute it to mere negligence or forgetfulness; supposing that either could be admitted as any palliation. For that so early as the year 1773, and repeatedly since, ministers had been warned, by petitions and applications from the island, of the dangers, both within and from without, to which it was exposed; and of which no other notice was taken in the first instance, than the drawing away, for the unhappy purposes of the American war, one half of the very weak military force; (amounting to 300 men) which had been before assigned for its defence. Nor had any thing effectual been since done.

On the other side, the protest (of which we have before taken notice) was brought forward, and read by Lord Onslow as part of his speech, in order to shew, that the petition should not be considered

as the sense of the island, but merely as containing the sentiments of those persons by whom it was subscribed. He contended, that the protestors, though not so numerous, possessed property equal, if not superior, to the petitioners; from whence he argued that their opinions were of equal weight and importance.

This assertion drew up the Marquis of Rockingham, who having moved that the names of the petitioners should be read, observed, that he believed most of them were known to their lordships; it was now in the noble lord's power who had read the protest, to bring the matter to an immediate issue; he had only to pass the names of the protestors in counterview before them, and the business would be settled; it would be at once seen on which side the questions of property and respectability lay.

The noble lord, however, declined to read the names of the protestors; but insisted on his general positions; that the petitioners, although many of them were respectable, did not possess half the property of the island; that one third of the merchants and planters, had not signed either the petition or protest; and it was fairly to be concluded, that those who had not signed the former, did not approve of its contents.

The Marquis rejoined, that the motives for declining to read the names of the protestors were easily understood. The noble lord was tender of some names; and did not wish to bring certain characters forward, which had figured in that transaction. After some observations on these, and drawing a strong contrast between the state of character,

character, property, and respectability on both sides, he commented, upon what he called rather a ludicrous passage in the protest; by which it is held out as a motive, for their objecting to a petition for protection to parliament, that it was the interest of the merchants and planters to stand well with government.

The first lord of the admiralty acknowledged, that the merchants and planters who signed the petition, were, in every instance, as worthy and as respectable a body of men, as any in this, or in any other kingdom; but that there was not a single fact stated in the petition, nor alledged in its support, which he would not be ready and prepared, one by one, at a proper time, to disprove. This brought out some altercation between him and the noble marquis; in which, besides a difference of opinion with respect to circumstances of danger and protection, several assertions and contradictions took place as to facts and dates. The petition was ordered to lie on the table for the perusal and consideration of the lords; under the avowed intention of the Marquis of Rockingham, to make it the foundation of a future motion, for the protection and security of the island of Jamaica; an intention which the measures adopted by government, about this time, rendered unnecessary.

On the last day of February, the minister in the House of Commons moved, that the thanks of that house should be given to Admiral Sir George Rodney, for the late signal and important services he had rendered his king and country. The motion was seconded by

Mr. Thomas Townshend, warmly supported by the opposition, and unanimously agreed to by the house. A similar motion was made on the following day in the House of Lords by the Earl of Sandwich, seconded by the Marquis of Rockingham, and agreed to in the same manner.

But the opposition wished for some more substantial return, than a mere vote of thanks, for the essential services performed by that brave commander; and accordingly warmly contended in both houses, that while the impression of service was recent and warm, they should proceed a step further; and apply for some mark of royal favour, which, in case of any sinister accident, or future misfortune, might afford to him some security, against his being again neglected, and his services forgotten.

This, they said, was the more necessary, as that admiral had in the last war received the thanks of both houses for the important services which he then performed; and yet he was afterwards most shamefully laid by and neglected, without any provision being made for him suitable to his rank and high character; so that honour was almost the only harvest which he reaped. It was likewise, they said, the more necessary, as it was understood that he was destined with an inferior force to the protection of our West India islands; and that nobody was ignorant, in case of misfortune or loss, with what dexterity the present ministers could shift the blame from themselves, however culpable, upon the shoulders of their commander. In such a case, Sir George Rodney

ney must expect the same fate, which, they said, every other officer, who ventured to act under their direction, had already experienced.

The post of Lieutenant General of the Marines, which had been instituted as a reward for extraordinary merit and service, and which had unusually continued vacant, ever since the resignation of Sir Hugh Palliser, was the immediate object which the opposition had in view, in favour of Sir George Rodney; but this was mentioned only as matter of conversation, or proposal to the ministers, as they would not seem to prescribe to the crown by any specification. Nor did they wish to push the business to an address in the House of Commons, (where only, consistently with forms, it could be done) if they could obtain a satisfactory promise from the minister on the subject. This, however, not appearing to them to be immediately done, Mr. Mar sham framed a motion for an address, that his majesty would be graciously pleased to bestow some high post of honour on Admiral Sir George Brydges Rodney, for his late signal services.

The minister declared the greatest personal regard for the absent commander, as well as the fullest sense of his great merits, services, and high naval character; nor was any gentleman in the house more willing that he should be most amply rewarded. But he observed, that it would not only be unprecedented to follow a vote of thanks with an immediate address for a reward; but that so coupling the two matters, would in future subject the house to very great difficulty, and

establish a precedent which they would hereafter have cause to repent. He therefore wished the motion was withdrawn, as it would be exceedingly irksome to him to oppose it; which yet he must otherwise be under a necessity of doing, merely for the sake of parliamentary precedent.

As the minister likewise assured the house, that he was far from thinking the place of lieutenant-general of the marines, by any means more than equal to the admiral's high deserts, the justness of his reasoning, and the clearness of his declarations, afforded such conviction and satisfaction on the other side, that the motion was withdrawn; but under the declared presumption, that something was intended, and would be effectually done, in favour of the admiral. It may be difficult to determine, whether the two great naval commanders in the House of Commons, (Admiral Keppel, and Lord Howe) did greater honour to themselves, or to Sir George Rodney, by the liberal, clear, and unreserved approbation and applause, which they bestowed upon his conduct and services.

The ground taken by the Marquis of Rockingham and other lords on that side, was, an endeavour to obtain from the marine minister, by stating the propriety and expediency of the measure, some assurance, that either the vacant place, or some equivalent mark of royal favour and reward, was intended to be bestowed on the absent admiral; the disarranged state of whose private affairs, afforded motives which were strongly urged in both houses, for its not being merely honorary.

But

But this, the noble lord at the head of the admiralty absolutely refused. He said, it was the peculiar province of the crown to distinguish and reward those who had served it ably and faithfully; that it would be presumption in him to undertake or say, what his majesty might or might not, or ought to do; that it would be a direct invasion of his prerogative to prescribe to him on such an occasion; that graces and favours, such as those described, were the proper gift of the sovereign; that he never wished that house to entrench on this exclusive right; and it was well known to be one of the leading characteristics of his majesty's reign, to reward such of his subjects as seemed worthy of his favour and protection.

On the following March 2d. day, the minister surprised, at least, one side of the house, by opening his scheme for the appointment of a *Commission of Accounts*. He observed, that the amount, the increase, and the manner of conducting the public expenditure, had of late afforded continual topics of debate, conversation, and complaint; and that it had even been proposed to withhold the supplies for those parts of the public service, for which estimates were not previously produced. With respect to that matter, he must repeat what he had often said before, that while we were engaged in a widely extended and expensive war, it would be impossible, in many instances, from the very nature of the services, to lay previous estimates before the house. The extent, peculiar nature, and circumstances of the war, were likewise to ac-

count for the enormity of the expence.

He wished, however, as heartily as any one gentleman in that house, to give the public the fullest satisfaction, that the money was duly applied to their service; and he equally wished, that some method could be devised for stating and settling the public accounts in such a manner, that the numerous balances upon each head of expence, might be brought forward more speedily, and in consequence be the sooner applied to the public service. Various methods had been hinted at for effecting this purpose; the method he should propose, would be to bring in a bill for appointing a commission of accounts. He thought a commission would have many advantages over a committee of accounts; as it might be strengthened with powers, with which the house was not capable of investing the latter; particularly the calling for papers of all sorts, and the examining witnesses upon oath. That former commissions of this nature had proved nugatory, he said, was easily to be accounted for, and as easily to be remedied. The fault lay partly in the cause, and partly in the form and extent of their jurisdiction. They had merely been authorized with a retrospective view; he meant to carry the present idea much farther. He intended that the bill should expressly authorize the commissioners, not only to enquire into the accounts of the past expenditure, but into the current accounts; and farther direct them, to consult, prepare, and report to the house, what should upon due examination and consultation appear to them to be a more easy and speedy mode of keeping

keeping the public accounts, and settling them so, that their true state might from time to time, as near as possible, be laid before the House when called for, and the various balances in hand be immediately brought forward, and applied to the service of the ensuing year.

The minister observed, that when he had readily promised his assistance upon this subject some time before, to an honourable member on the other side, who had called upon him for it; notwithstanding some ironical compliments, he could easily perceive that his sincerity was called in question, and that his promise or concurrence was only considered as a parliamentary trick. The only return, he then determined to make, was to seize the earliest opportunity of affording indisputable proof to the house, that his offer of assistance included his real sentiments, and that no man wished more than he did himself, for some effectual means of expediting the public accounts. An honourable gentleman had likewise at that time thrown out, that it would appear from the sort of committee that was appointed, whether he was sincere, or whether the whole enquiry was to be a farce and a mockery. He should not consider how far this insinuation affected the honour of that house, which was to appoint the committee; but he would now convince them of his own sincerity. To put the matter therefore totally out of doubt, and to obviate the various objections which would be made, whatever side of the house the members of the committee were drawn from, he should make it a provision in his intended bill,

that the commissioners be respectable, intelligent, and independent gentlemen, who were not members of either house of parliament.

Colonel Barre, who had first introduced or proposed the business, complained of this unexpected, and, as he understood it, extraordinary procedure. The history of parliament, he said, could not afford an instance of a similar transaction. His scheme was founded on a wish to serve the public; on a wish to check the profusion of those who managed the public expenditure; the strong arm of the minister had wrested it out of his hands, and had put an end to his labours. He had called upon the noble lord to know whether he would assist him or not, for two reasons; the one, that he knew nothing effectual could be done in opposition to his power; the other, that he knew it would be impossible, without the aid of his authority, to penetrate into the arcana of many matters which loudly demanded investigation. This was the assistance, which he required from the minister; and he was not without hope, that he would have interested him in the enquiry, by making him a party in the business. But the noble lord, instead of giving assistance, makes himself at once the principal; and without once, he said, consulting or advising with him; without any comparison of scheme, or communication of design, comes out now with a plan of his own, at the very instant that he had brought his to the point aimed at.

His complaint, he said, was not the effect of disappointment.

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If the object he pursued was obtained, he was indifferent to what hand the benefit was owing. But he contended, that the plans were essentially different; and the one made not to supply, but to counteract the other.

The opposition in general, cried shame on this manoeuvre. They said it was unfair and indecent; and that if it was not an absolute violation of established parliamentary rules, according to the dead letter of recorded precedents, it, however, militated entirely against their spirit; and that it was totally subversive of that liberality of conduct, and propriety of behaviour, which it was so necessary and becoming for gentlemen to observe, both in that house and without, in their commerce with each other. The various strictures passed upon the plan, will appear in their place.

Mr. Burke's establishment bill, having been read the first time on the 23d of February, the author proposed the following Tuesday for the second reading. On this much altercation arose; the minister charging the minority with precipitating a measure not sufficiently considered; they on the other hand accusing him of an intention of delaying all reformation until the supplies were granted, and then precipitately proroguing parliament, without any redress to so many grievances. The minister was called on to declare, whether he would oppose it on the second reading, or let it go to a committee. After great apparent irresolution, he declared that he did not intend to oppose the bill in that stage.

The bill being read the second time without opposition, just after the minister had announced the plan for his commission of accounts, Mr. Burke moved that it might be committed for the following day. This was opposed, on the ground, that as it was necessary all bills, and more especially those of great moment, should be proceeded through with caution and circumspection, so the usage of parliament was, on that account, against the sending of bills directly from the second reading to a committee. If this was the rule in other cases, how much more necessary was it with respect to a bill of such magnitude, which took in such a variety of objects, and in the event of which so great a number of individuals were interested, as the present, to proceed with the greatest caution; and to afford time for fully examining its parts, and duly considering and weighing its general and particular consequences, before it was referred to a committee. An amendment was accordingly moved, by which the following Wednesday was to be substituted, in the place of the ensuing day.

This was directly charged on the other side to the procrastinating views of the minister. It was not to be supposed, they said, that the whole of the bill was to be immediately considered; its parts were to be taken and treated separately; and their number, rendered it necessary (if any thing serious was intended to be done) to lose no time in their proceeding. The first part to be investigated in the committee was the
simple

simple question, whether the office of third secretary of state, otherwise secretary of state for the American colonies, was not an office altogether useless, and as such ought to be abolished? Surely this was not a question that required such depth of thinking, as that there had not been already full time for its consideration.

The language which the minister now held with respect to the bill of reform, did not seem much to correspond with that he had used at the first motion for the bill. He probably thought he had gone too far. He coldly observed, that as the bill consisted of a variety of allegations, and was in fact a farrago of incidents, he supposed it would not be thought unreasonable, when it came before the committee, if he should then call for evidence in support of those facts, on which the propositions were founded, as well as a clear account of the value of the savings to be made.

Mr. Burke treated with ridicule the idea of the noble lord, in requiring a kind of proof, which from its nature he, at the same time, knew was impossible to be given. I assert, said he, that the third secretary of state is useless, and how am I to prove it but by the notoriety of the fact? Will the deputy, the clerks, or even the fire-lighter come to prove it? Did the noble lord mean, that he was to bring such evidence as was necessary to determine questions of private property in a court of justice, in order to prove all those places to be useless which he proposed to abolish? And was he also to bring similar evidence to prove, that the savings from

those reductions would amount precisely, without even the usual exception for errors, to the exact sum which he had supposed or stated? The idea is too ridiculous. It will be more manly and becoming in the noble lord, at once to avow his antipathy to every species and degree of public reform.

The question being put at 12 o'clock at night, in a very full house, Lord Beauchamp's amendment to the motion, for substituting the words "Wednesday next," in the place of "to-morrow," was carried upon a division by a majority of 35; the numbers being, for the amendment 230, to 195 who supported the original motion. The parties seemed willing to make a previous trial of their strength in these questions, before they came to the main points; and the numbers in the minority, on a mere matter of time, was a thing very alarming to ministry.

We have already observed, that the Earl of Pembroke had, for the first time, voted in the opposition. This conduct was soon followed by the removal of that nobleman from his office of lord lieutenant of the county of Wilts. So remarkable a concurrence of incident, and coming so close upon that which related to the Marquis of Caermarthen, could not but excite notice and observation both within doors and without; and the matter was taken up by the Earl of Shelburne as an object of parliamentary enquiry, who accordingly summoned the lords upon the occasion.

That nobleman opened the business by March 6th.
stating,

flating, that the trouble he had given them on that day, was for purposes that equally concerned the honour, dignity, and independency of parliament, and the preservation and support of the constitution. It was to enquire into the cause of two noble lords near him being dismissed their employments, to whom no charge of delinquency could possibly be made, nor even was pretended; nor could any cause be assigned but this suggestion, that one noble lord had declared the side he should take on a question agitated in that house; and the other noble lord had absolutely voted on it. These were the only crimes they had committed; and for the exercise of this common freedom, inherent in the constitution, and belonging to every member of either house of parliament, they were disgraced in the face of their country.

The noble earl pointed out and enforced, with his usual sharpness and energy, the supposed dangerous tendency of this mode of proceeding; more particularly at a time like the present, when, as he said, every body felt and confessed that the influence of the crown was carried to such an extreme, as affected every department, from the minister to the lowest officer of excise. He then entered into a detail of the rise and power of the lords lieutenants of counties; and endeavoured to shew, that the powers of that great office were, from its first institution, in a very considerable degree independant of the crown; and that it was always considered as preserving a sort of balance, between the rights of the people and the power of the prerogative. He ob-

served, that the conduct of the court with respect to these two noblemen was the more seriously alarming, as the several laws relative to the militia, which had been passed since the year 1762, had thrown that originally constitutional means of national defence, almost totally into the hands of the crown; so that being thus warped from the proper nature and design of the institution, there was scarcely anything left, but the public spirit and independency of the lords lieutenants of the counties, to prevent its becoming a mere state engine of corruption; and its being even converted into a machine for the subversion of that constitution which it had been created to preserve.

From the militia, the noble earl passed by an easy transition to the state and government of the army; a ground, on which his early military knowledge and service afforded no small advantage. He particularly reprobated, with a soldierly vehemence, a regulation lately adopted in that school of war, called *occasional rank*; this he represented, as being equally scandalous in the practice, ruinous to the service in the effect, and humiliating and degrading to the army in its principle. Nothing, he said, could operate so directly and effectually towards breaking the heart of a soldier, and damping all military spirit and ardour. Indeed the Duke of Richmond and he seemed to want words sufficiently to express their detestation of this novel, and, as they described it, abominable practice. The whole order of things was reversed by it. All rank was trampled upon; all subordination

was at an end. The high spirit of honour which characterizes a soldier; the emulation of rank, and the eagerness for fame, which include his very existence, must all perish before it.

The noble earl said, that although their frequency, within the knowledge he supposed of all the lords, seemed to render it unnecessary to cite any instances of the abuse, and that he would rather avoid descending to particulars, yet, that it might not be thought he dealt merely in declamation, he would ask, what pretensions a Mr. Fullarton had to be raised at once to the rank of a lieutenant-colonel, and to be appointed commandant of a regiment? That gentleman had never held any rank, nor ever been in the army before; he had been clerk to the noble lord now present in office, when on his late embassy in France; where perhaps he might have acquitted himself very well with his pen, but never was acquainted with the use of the sword; yet this clerk in office, this *commis*, contrary to all military establishments, contrary to all the spirit of the army, was now a lieutenant-colonel, and had the superiority in command over Lord Harrington, a young nobleman of the most active and enterprising spirit, who had fought his way, inch by inch, to command, and whose high rank and great family connections served him in no other respect, than to render his services to his country the more conspicuous.

Such promotions, it was said, so contrary to the military rules of every other country in Europe, as well as of this, was sufficient to drive every man of honour and

spirit from the service, to disseminate dangerous discontents, jealousy, and ill-will throughout the whole army, and to deter our young nobility and gentry of weight and fortune, from following the natural bent of their genius, in attempting to serve their country. For who would devote his time, his fortune, or his life, to a service, where he saw a clerk from behind his desk, suddenly raised by ministerial caprice, and put over the heads of more than a thousand officers; many of whom were of long and tried service, of established merit in their profession, and had been bred up to the art of war from their earliest youth.

The Earl of Shelburne closed a speech of considerable length, full of matter and of energy, with a motion to the following purport:—Whereas the Marquis of Carmarthen was dismissed from his employment of the lieutenancy of the East riding of the county of York, on the morning of that day when his opinion to support with his vote a motion that was made in the house on the 8th of February last was well known; and whereas the Earl of Pembroke was likewise dismissed from his lieutenancy of the county of Wilts, soon after he gave his vote on the same question, which office of lieutenant has been at all times important, but most peculiarly so under the present constitution of the militia. And whereas no cause has been suggested or communicated to either of the said noble lords for such dismissal, this house therefore hath every ground to believe, that the same had reference to their conduct in parliament.

And it was therefore moved,
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that an humble address he presented to his majesty, to desire he will be graciously pleased to acquaint this house, whether he has been advised, and by whom, to dismiss the said two noble lords, or either of them, from their said employments, for their conduct in parliament.

The Marquis of Carmarthen observed, that the motion was of such a nature, that he could not in delicacy support it with his vote; but that he nevertheless heartily approved of it, as he hoped it would afford the means of enabling him to satisfy his enquiring county, as to the cause of his being displaced from acting as their lord lieutenant; for he trusted he should now hear from the mouth of some of the king's confidential servants, the reason of his being dismissed from that office. He flattered himself, that his removal was not occasioned by any abuse of the power annexed to his office; and he was happy in finding that he had not given any offence to the people of the county of York, either as lieutenant, or by the vote he had given; for he had received several letters from many of the most respectable gentlemen in that county, containing a full approbation of his conduct in parliament.

The Earl of Pembroke explained the nature of his dismission, which he attributed entirely to advice; as at that audience, at which he resigned the office of lord of the bed-chamber, he had experienced the same gracious reception from his sovereign which he had ever been wont to do. He observed, that his family had been lord lieutenants of the county of Wilts. ever since the office had been first

known in England; and he was happy to find that his conduct had been such upon all occasions, as to meet the full approbation of his county.

That nobleman, who had served early; long; and with credit in the last war, joined in reprobating, in terms of exceeding severity, the late promotions, as well as the innovations in general which were introduced in the government of the army. He said, that he detested from his heart the means made use of to obtain rank, contrary to the established rules of service; and he affirmed, that the army in which such things were permitted, must either moulder away so as to be worth nothing, or else become a dangerous engine in the hands of government.

The discretion of the crown in the appointment and removal of its officers, was the principal ground of argument taken on the other side in opposition to the motion. That the crown was fully endued with this power would not be denied; and any attempt to circumscribe it, must be considered as a direct and violent entrenchment on the royal prerogative. The proposed address would therefore, not militate less with the principles of right, than with all the rules of propriety, and of respect to his majesty; nor indeed could the measure be supported upon any better ground of precedent, than what was drawn from the conduct of the long parliament. A conduct which no lord on any side of the house could wish to pursue.

That the power of the crown might in some instances be imprudently exercised, was allowed. Every power, however modified,

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or to whoever intrusted, was liable to abuse. But they denied that to be the case in the present instance. There was nothing that distinguished the removals in question, from a successive stream of precedents, flowing down, from the revolution to the present day, through times which were deemed the most favourable to liberty. The two noble lords, they said, held their offices merely through the favour of the crown, and could therefore have no right to complain when it was withdrawn; they suffered no injury, for they lost nothing which they could call their own. Was this then sufficient ground for a motion, which went to annihilate one of the first and the most necessary prerogatives of the crown, that of choosing its own servants.

A great law lord endeavoured with his usual ability to shew, the various inconveniences and mischiefs which must arise, from its being once established as a principle of acting, that the royal will was subject to parliamentary controul and examination, upon every exercise, which prudence and reason might dictate, of those powers which the constitution had vested in the crown, of promoting or removing its own officers. He contended, that it would not only be subversive of the royal prerogative, destructive of all public service, order, and subordination, and personally degrading to the sovereign, but that it would involve parliament itself in continual and inextricable difficulties. If such a precedent was once established, the whole time of the house would be taken up with complaints, appeals, and

addresses; and they would at length become so numerous and perplexed, that they never could be able to see their way through them. He seemed, however, not much better satisfied with respect to the right, than to the expedience and propriety, of parliament at all interfering in such matters as touched upon the royal prerogative.

The learned lord likewise called for the evidence to support the charge. No manner of proof, he said, had been laid before their lordships, nor had any attempt even been made to prove, that the dismissal of the noble marquis, or of the noble earl, proceeded from any vote they had given in that house; consequently, till some fact was stated, or proof made, it could not be decent to approach the throne on the subject; but would on the contrary, in his opinion, be highly improper, and even disrespectful.

The lords in opposition acknowledged in the clearest terms, that the unlimited, unrestrained discretion of the crown, in a choice of persons to fill the offices of the state, was an inherent, indisputable prerogative, vested in it, for the best and wisest purposes; but it was a prerogative or right, the exercise of which, as well as of every other power or right the crown enjoyed, was subject to the controul and animadversion of parliament. It was, like them, exercised by council and advice; and if improperly exercised, as in other instances, subjected the advisers to enquiry; and if it appeared upon that enquiry, that the cause was not such as to justify the advice, sub-

jected them to censure, to removal, or to punishment.—This was what was meant by a discretionary power being vested in the crown; it was neither more nor less. There was an unsound discretion, as well as a sound discretion; in its proper sense, it meant no more than a power or ability to act, which was after subject to the controul and discussion of parliament. But whenever that power was stretched beyond its due limits, when it was wantonly and intentionally abused, it immediately changed its nature; it was then no longer discretionary, it became arbitrary and tyrannical.

The Duke of Richmond, in contradiction to some of the assertions made, and doctrines now laid down, quoted the debates of that house in the year 1733, and the spirited protest then entered, upon the crown's dismissing Lord Cobham and the Duke of Bolton from their places. This he hoped would strike the lords as a precedent fully satisfactory, for the right of parliament to regulate the abuse of discretion in the crown; and he hoped the circumstance of the late Earl of Bathurst, being at the head of the peers who signed that protest, would have its due effect on the Lord President of the council, (then present) in inducing him to support the sentiments of his noble father. The duke appealed, with respect to the late promotions in the army, to the law lords, and to the bench of bishops; asking the learned lord on the wool-sack, and the right reverend prelate, at the head of that bench, how they would approve

of having silk gowns, and the dignities of the church, conferred upon men every way unfitted, by habit, education, or learning, for such stations; men totally ignorant both of law and of gospel?

On this occasion, the Marquis of Rockingham entered as deeply into the abuses relative to the militia, as the military lords did into those of the army. He endeavoured to shew, that the tendency and effect of all the laws which had for several years been passed relative to that body, went directly to draw it daily nearer and nearer, to the model and condition of a standing army. He stated its original nature, with the motives and design of its institution; and then endeavoured to shew how it had been warped to purposes entirely different. And, after several masterly observations on the subject, declared, that under such circumstances, if the lieutenants of counties were to be dismissed for their conduct in parliament, and for differing in political opinions with the ministers for the time being, the only difference he could make between a standing army, and a militia so constituted and governed, was, that (for several reasons which he specified) he would give a preference to the former.

It was remarked, that the smallest answer was not made by the court lords, to the numerous charges which were made on the other side, with respect to the government both of the army and the militia. Excepting it should be considered as such, that a noble lord in office, who had been lately ambassador in Paris, spoke
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a few words in vindication of the promotion of his late secretary, Colonel Fullarton; who he said was a gentleman of such known and tried character, that he could venture to answer for his supporting the character of a soldier with spirit and propriety; that he had liberally offered to raise a regiment; and that the state of public affairs rendered it necessary to encourage such zeal for his majesty's service.

The attention of the house was much drawn by the Duke of Devonshire's speaking for the first time, in public, upon this question. This he did with a firmness and facility, which seldom accompanies a first essay in parliament; and with a moderation, and an air of sincerity, which seemed to gain the hearts of those without the bar, while an universal silence reigned within. He said he had hitherto been silent on all the political questions on which he had voted, because speaking in public was not agreeable to his temper. But he observed, that such was now the deplorable situation of his country, that he should think himself base, degenerate, and unworthy the name

and character of a man who had its interest at heart, if he remained any longer without an express and unequivocal declaration of his sentiments. He supported the motion, approved the county meetings and associations, and strongly condemned the conduct of administration.

He concluded by renouncing all party motives, and party views. He had nothing to hope for but the peace, prosperity and welfare of his native country. He could have no temptation to encourage domestic broils or civil confusion. He had a considerable stake to lose, and he was interested as an Englishman, for the preservation of the constitution, and the invaluable rights, liberties, and privileges derived from it.

The question being put at 11 o'clock, the motion was rejected on a division, by a majority of 92, including 26 proxies, to 39, including 8 proxies. The Duke of Richmond, who held the Duke of Leinster's proxy, refused to give it; as a mark, undoubtedly, of his disapprobation of that mode of voting.

C H A P. VII.

Order of the day for going into a committee on Mr. Burke's establishment bill. Question of competency started. Debated. Opposition insist, that the decision of that question should take place of the order of the day. Question for the order of the day, carried, upon a very close division. Debates in the committee on the first clause of the establishment bill, for abolishing the office of third secretary of state. Clause rejected, after very long debates, upon a division, by a very small majority. Long debates in the committee, on a subsequent day, upon that clause of the establishment bill, for abolishing the board of trade. Question for abolishing that board, carried upon a division. Difference between the speaker and the minister. Mr. Fullarton's complaint of the Earl of Shelburne. Issue of that affair in Hyde Park. Notice given by Sir James Lowther, of an intended motion, for preserving the freedom of debate in parliament. Subject considerably agitated. Warmly resented without doors. Addresses of congratulation to the Earl of Shelburne on his recovery. Danger to which Mr. Fox and he had been exposed, attributed to their zeal in the service of their country. Contractors bill brought in by Sir Philip Jennings Clerke, and carried through the House of Commons without a division. Great debates on the clause in Mr. Burke's establishment bill, for abolishing the offices of treasurer of the chamber, and others. Question, on the first member of the clause, lost upon a division. Succeeding questions rejected. Debates on the minister's motion for giving notice to the East India company, of the paying off their capital stock at the end of three years. Previous question moved, and lost on a division. Motion against receiving the report of the new taxes, until the petitions of the people were considered, rejected upon a division by a great majority. Earl of Effingham's motion in the House of Lords, for a list of places, pensions, &c. held by members of that house, rejected upon a division.

IN two days after the disposal of the question relative to the Marquis of Carmarthen and the Earl of Pembroke, the order of March 8th. the day for going into a committee on Mr. Burke's establishment bill, being called for in the House of Commons, a gentleman who has long possessed an office, which, especially during the present war, has been generally considered as being by much the most lucrative of the state, started an unexpected question, upon the incompetence of

the house to enter into any discussion whatever, relative to the king's civil list revenue or establishment.

This gentleman, who had hitherto spoken rather ambiguously with regard to that plan of reform, after expressing now his highest approbation of some parts of it, condemned, in terms equally explicit, those which reached in any degree to the civil list; as well as the interference of parliament at all in that expenditure. He said, that for his own part, he had ever considered, and ever should, that

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the civil list revenue was as much and as fully his majesty's, as any determinable estate, enjoyed by any person present, was his immediate property. That revenue had been settled on his majesty, at his accession, for life; which was an interest no power on earth could deprive him of without manifest injustice; consequently, that part of the honourable gentleman's bill, which went to the controul of the civil list, and to an appropriation of the supposed savings to arise from the reform, was an attempt no less contrary to precedent than to justice. It would not only, in its consequences, degrade the sovereign, but it would reduce him to the state of a precarious pensioner; whose uncertain stipend, lessened at will, would be at all times liable to still further reduction. And to what purpose was this violence and injustice to be offered?—to lessen the supposed influence of the crown. He had heard a great deal of the influence of the crown; but he believed that influence was never less known or felt, than during the present reign; and this he could speak from experience.

He declared, that he had neither consulted the noble minister, nor any other person within or without the house upon the subject. It was his own opinion, and he was determined to avow it, without any expectation or wish of support, further than what it might be entitled to on its own intrinsic merit. He was apprehensive that he was rather disorderly, as the order of the day for going into a committee, stood in the way; but it was a subject on which he wished to take the sense of the house; and

he applied to the chair for direction, in what manner to bring it forward.

Although it was contended on the other side, that the principle of the bill was already fully admitted, as well by the message from the throne, which included the royal consent, in what related to its particular interests, as by its being referred, without opposition, from the second reading, to a committee; yet it was not thought fitting to spend much time on that ground; but to take much stronger, and directly to combat the doctrine itself, without regard to the mode of bringing it forward.

It was maintained, by a great variety of arguments, that the sovereign, in this country, did not possess any part of his revenue, as a private or distinct property. That the crown held no public right, or public property, but as a trust, for the benefit of the people. It could in truth gain or lose nothing; because it enjoyed all it possessed as a favour, and for the attainment of certain defined or implied purposes; which purposes were understood, to be good government, and the well being of the state. The prerogatives of the crown, the highest and most transcendent parts of its power, were created by, and ought of course to be exercised for the benefit of, the people, who created and conferred them. It was therefore to the last degree absurd, to represent as the private rights or property of an individual, those which were granted and held for no other end than the general good of the community; and every right the crown enjoyed, being a delegated right, was consequently subject to examination,

nation, correction, and controul. It was particularly, of the very essence of that house, to enquire, to regulate, and to controul; and whenever it was called for properly by the occasion, and that they suspended, concealed, denied, or refused to exercise that right and duty, then, every object of their meeting and deliberation was at an end; and they were no longer the servants of the public, or the representatives of the people who had sent them there.

The ministers were by no means disposed to enter into any discussion of this subject; and notwithstanding the connection between the gentleman who had moved the business and them, it was soon seen that he had acted totally independent of their opinion and liking, in thus bringing forward the question of competence at so critical a season. For although they highly approved of, and openly applauded the doctrine, yet they did not by any means choose to expose a question of such importance, and which might be so advantageously reserved until a proper opportunity offered, to the risk of an irrevocable decision, in the present state of things without doors, and of temper, which that state of things had produced, within. Nor would the alternative of its being carried in their favour, (a matter, however, of great doubt) be at all more desirable. On the contrary, it would have seemed fraught with great danger. For as the establishment by a vote of the incompetence of parliament, to superintend, or interfere, in the civil list expenditure, would amount to a virtual, if not direct rejection, of the general prayer of

the petitions, the possible consequences of such a measure, seemed of too serious a nature, to be then thought of without a pause.

They accordingly endeavoured to get rid of the question as easily as possible, without at all bringing it to any decision. With much applause therefore of the doctrine laid down in the proposition, and many compliments to its framer, they, however, declared their averseness to the meeting of abstract questions, and must therefore oppose the discharging the order of the day, and the bringing forward of the present into discussion. They asserted that it could be considered in no other light than that of a mere abstract question, which no man was bound to resolve. That they never could think of discussing such a question, unless it clearly arose from the immediate business before the house. That no person could say that was the case in the present instance. The principle contained in the proposition militated clearly against the principle on which several clauses of the bill were founded; the matter of both would come then fairly and naturally before them, when they went into the committee, and came to consider the several clauses. Gentlemen then, who disapproved of any clause, would oppose it on such grounds as appeared to them the most sure and conclusive; some on the ground, that the office proposed to be abolished was not an useless one; others, that proofs of the allegations contained in the bill were necessary; and a third description perhaps, that parliament had no right to interfere in the civil list expenditure, on any other account, than that of notorious abuse.

abuse. The first law officer of the crown in that house, declared, that he was averse to the discussion of the question, for he could fairly assure them, that if it should be put, he did not know whether he should give it a negative, or an affirmative.

The opposition instantly perceived the dilemma, in which this proposition had involved the ministers, and at once determined that they should not get easily out of it. Mr. Fox first seized the occasion, and in a speech full of satire and irony, as well as of strong sense, highly complimented the right honourable framer of the proposition, for the open, direct, and manly language which he had held. He had delivered his sentiments with that firmness and candour which so uniformly characterized his conduct in that house. He thanked him most cordially, for the opportunity which it afforded to both parties to come to an issue. It would spare much time, and save infinite trouble. It militated directly against the bill on the table; for certainly, if that house was not competent to enquire into, or controul the civil list expenditure, the bill was founded in the most glaring injustice. But while he gave credit for the direct open manner in which the honourable gentleman had declared and supported his opinion, he must also declare, that it involved doctrines of a most alarming nature; and which appeared to him to be subversive of the first principles of the constitution. He therefore sincerely hoped, that before the house proceeded further, they would consent to let in this proposition; and proceed to discuss it; for it would be e-

qually nugatory and ridiculous, to go into the committee on the bill, until the sense of the house was taken upon that question. It must be first got rid of, before any one clause in the bill could be taken into consideration. He could not at the same time help declaring, that if it should be resolved and determined, that parliament had not a right to interfere, to reform, to arrange, and, if necessary, to resume the grants they had made to the crown for public purposes; in short, to see to the proper application of the monies they had granted; there was at once an end of the liberties of this country. Give princes and their ministers, said he, the exclusive right of disposing of any considerable part of the public treasures, and our liberties, from that instant, are gone for ever.

He denied that the question was abstract, as those who had a mind to get rid of it were pleased to assert. The proposition, as connected with the bill, was no abstract question, because it amounted to a direct and specific denial of its principle, which was a thorough reform in the whole of the civil list expenditure. There was no ground for the other apprehension, that the people might be misled by the declaration. How misled? Nothing could be a more clear rejection of the petitions, than the supposition of the principle in question, fairly proposed by one gentleman, and highly applauded by those who would fain postpone it. The petitioners say, that useless and sinecure places ought to be abolished; that exorbitant salaries and perquisites ought to be reduced. Where did those evils originate? In the expenditure

ture of the civil list. Where was the reform recommended, to operate? Most clearly, where the evil existed. But the proposition holds that no reform can there operate. It was then evident, that if the proposition should appear to be the sense of a majority of that house, it would comprehend, one or other of these two answers to the petitions; that, your petitions are ill-founded, and no reform is necessary; or, that though they are well founded, our hands are so tied up, that we are incapable of affording you redress.—He declared, that if the proposition should be agreed to, by a majority of that house, he should consider his toils and labours as at an end; and that as his presence there could be of no farther use or consequence, he never again should enter it.

Mr. Burke, Mr. Townshend, General Conway, Mr. Dunning, and other distinguished members of opposition, took and supported nearly the same ground; diversified according to the character and genius of the several speakers.

Mr. Rigby, who introduced the business, was astonished at what he called the unaccountable misinterpretation of words, or perversion of sense, which prevailed on the other side, in the interpretation which was put upon his proposition. He declared with energy, that he would not readily resign the first place, to any man, who should profess to entertain a more warm and steady zeal for the liberties of his country, than himself; and that it was with no small degree of surprize and emotion, he heard sentiments imputed to him, tending to the overthrow of the constitution. He appealed to all

who heard him, whether he had uttered a syllable, which the most fertile imagination could so interpret. No man revered the rights of the constitution more, or would go farther in maintaining the rights of the people, within that house, where only, in his opinion, so long as parliament existed, they could be constitutionally defended. He maintained the right of the people to petition every branch of the legislature; but it was in that house only, that their voice could be fairly known and acknowledged; and from thence only it could be surely and safely collected.—He still adhered firmly to his original opinion, and to the proposition founded upon it; and notwithstanding the difficulty in which the question involved administration, supported the opposition in their intention of bringing it to a decision; declaring, that as he would not be bullied out of his proposition by one side of the house, so he was resolved not to be flattered or cajoled out of it by the other.

The friends of administration endeavoured all they could to soften, and in some measure to explain away, the apparent sense and meaning, or at least that in which it had been first understood, of the proposition. Nor did they only attempt to rescue it from the sense put upon it by their adversaries; but likewise from some part of that, which had in the beginning drawn forth applause on their own side. They insisted, that it did not by any means involve in it a denial of the right to reform abuses; but that it only asserted, that it would be unjust to interfere in the civil list expenditure, without proper proof of abuse, previ-

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ous to the interference. And this maxim, they said, was supported by the constitution; admitting the right to censure, in the strongest manner in which it had been established or supposed on the other side. But as the purport of the proposition had already been misconceived or misrepresented within doors, there could be no doubt, that it would be much more misconceived, and misrepresented, out of doors. And they could not help saying and thinking, that the eagerness shewn to bring the right honourable gentleman's proposition under discussion, could proceed from no other motive, than that if the house should agree to it, it might furnish grounds for spreading false rumours, and creating popular delusion.

This change of ground, produced some awkward situations and circumstances, which afforded room for laughter and sarcasm on the other side. As to limiting the right of controul, to the previous proof of abuse, it was said to be ridiculous. How was the abuse to be discovered or proved, but by examination and enquiry? If parliament was competent to the correction of an abuse, they must be competent to the means of its discovery. To talk of any power of controul, without that of enquiry, or of enquiry without that of controul, was too absurd to deserve an answer. The supposed injustice of enquiry, before the proof of abuse, was, if possible, more so; and could be only equalled by the supposition, that although a man ought to be punished for the commission of a crime; yet it would be unjust to try him, until his guilt was proved.

The question now before the house, and on which both parties were to bring forward their utmost force, was, whether, according to the order of the day, it should be resolved into a committee on Mr. Burke's bill, or whether they should first enter into a discussion of, and decide upon, Mr. Rigby's proposition. The question being put about nine o'clock, the resolution for the order of the day was carried, by a majority of six only, the numbers being 205, to 199. This division was marked by the singular circumstance, of Mr. Rigby's voting in the minority, and in opposition to all his friends in administration.

The first clause in the bill, and consequently the first question before the committee, was that for abolishing the office of third secretary of state, otherwise secretary for the colonies; which was afterwards modified to the simple description of one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state.

Much of the ground, which we have formerly had occasion pretty accurately to mark out, on the applications of the crown to parliament, for the discharge of the civil list debts, and for an addition of revenue to that establishment, and which we have since likewise seen not unfrequently trodden upon other occasions, was now again gone over by both parties; and its principal positions strongly and warmly disputed. The tenure by which the crown held the civil list revenue, was again agitated; the friends of administration considering it as a life estate; as exclusive and private property. The right of parliament to interfere at all, and in any case, in its disposal or expenditure,

expenditure, was rather doubtfully spoken of by the most guarded and temperate, who paid some attention to the tenderness and difficulty of the ground; but others, particularly some in high office, absolutely denied it, without qualification or reserve. But if the right of interference were admitted, the ministers contended, that it must be in cases of gross abuse, previously and incontrovertibly proved. When that was once done, that house was undoubtedly competent to point out to the sovereign, the proper mode of removing and correcting them; but that mode was not by passing a law of resumption; an extremity, which if at all resorted to, it should only be in some case of the last necessity, when all other means had been tried, and had been found ineffectual.

But even supposing that it were right and fit for parliament to interfere upon motives of public economy, another question would arise, whether the object to be attained, namely the saving proposed, was of that magnitude to justify the house, not only in an innovation, but in the suppression of an useful and necessary office. For in the contemplation of the committee, it must be deemed an useful and necessary office, until the contrary was clearly proved. They were not to estimate the office that was proposed to be abolished, merely upon its own intrinsic value; but they were likewise to consider what the measure of abolishment led to. The clause before them, formed but a part, and a very small part indeed, of the multifarious bill to which it belonged. But if the propriety of this clause should be established,

the same principle would reach to every other part of the bill; and its effects would be extended to all the branches of the royal household, and even disturb the domestic arrangements within the palace.

But considering the clause merely upon its own proper ground, and supposing the bill to be formed on the sentiments contained in the petitions, would any gentleman venture to declare that the office was a sinecure; that it was attended with exorbitant fees, perquisites, or emoluments; that it was a heavy, expensive establishment; or, that it was a source of much influence in that house. It perhaps would be said, that it was useless and unnecessary. If that ground is taken, let the gentlemen on the other side bring forward their evidence; let them demonstrate to the committee that it is so; but let not assertion pass for proof, nor mere opinion for argument. It will then be incumbent upon them to establish the right, as well as the expediency of interfering, and of resuming the grant made to the sovereign on his accession; a grant which he received as an equivalent for that ample revenue, to which he was entitled, from the instant of his being proclaimed king of this country; and they will still be called upon to shew, that the reform is not only just and necessary, but that the mode proposed, is the only one, or the best, which could possibly be carried into execution.

They expected, they said, to hear it observed, that the abolishing of the office in question would be no innovation, as it was only of modern date, and of a few years standing; but to provide against this

this they stated, that there had been a third secretary of state, so early as the reign of Edward the VIth. and that even in the late reign, (which it was now become so much the fashion invidiously to hold out as the object of all praise, and as the purest model of all public and political virtue) that office had subsisted for several years; so that, in fact, it was not a new office, but an old one, recently revived. But independent of that, whether the office was old or new, there was an objection of much greater weight to the proposed clause; for if it was carried, it would give rise to a most alarming and dangerous precedent; it would establish it as a maxim, that the legislature were the only proper judges of the detailed exercise of the executive power. A principle which would affect every establishment already made, or which might be hereafter made; and at the same time, that it divested the crown of one of its most valuable rights and prerogatives, would disable it from discharging the duties vested in it by the constitution, by taking away the right and exercise of judgment, with respect to the manner in which it could most faithfully and effectually discharge those duties.

The mover of the bill, and those who supported him, in answer to what had been advanced, of the impropriety and injustice of interference or punishment, without previous proof of the abuse, drew a line of distinction between the judicial and legislative capacity of parliament. In the former, they were undoubtedly to proceed, in all cases, upon legal evidence. In the latter, they were totally dis-

charged from that attention. They were then in the exercise of judgment, upon the general view and state of public affairs; and they not only had a right, but it was their duty, to frame such regulations as they judged necessary, with respect to the better government of the country, whether with regard to the present security, or to the future preservation of the constitution. It was even a jest to suppose that parliament had not a right of interference and controul, with respect to that most sacred of all things, private property, when it concerned the public benefit, or even convenience. Was there a week during their sitting in which this right was not exercised? Was there a turnpike bill, a street bill, an inland navigation, or a private road bill, in which this interference and controul were not predominant? or in which private right, pleasure, or convenience, was not obliged to give way to public use?

But they reprobated, in terms of unusual indignation, that doctrine held out, in this enlightened age, and in the face of a British parliament, that the civil list revenue, (in which all the purposes of the politics, law, order, and good oeconomy, of the state are involved) was to be considered as a personal estate, and as mere private property, whilst parliament was wholly incompetent to the superintendence and controul of the expenditure. This doctrine, said Mr. Burke, is not even toryism. It is the abstract principle of jacobitism itself. The tory scheme indeed holds monarchy high, not only as the perfection of government, but as the sole mode of it
which

which can possibly be good; and therefore it prefers the very despotism and tyranny of kings, to any plan, or any administration of a commonwealth. But this doctrine, grossly erroneous as it is, still proceeds upon principles of government, and on grounds of public good. But jacobitism, supposes the administration of the state a matter of private property, to be held and transmitted as an inheritance; and the unhappy adherents to that cause, always argued it as a descent of an estate, according to the rules and maxims of private jurisprudence. But if this principle of jacobitism be absurd with regard to government itself, it must be equally absurd with regard to any revenue possessed by government. Correctly speaking, government as such, can have no property. The whole is a trust. But the property of the subject is no trust. It is that, for the security of which, trusts were made; and this trust of government, and all its revenue, among the rest. Property was not made by government, but government by and for it. The one is primary and self-existent; the other is secondary and derivative. He contended therefore, that all such estates being trusts, it makes very little difference, whether they are for years, or life, or hereditary. It alters their tenure, but not their nature. They are all objects of public cognizance, whenever they become abusive or inconvenient enough to call for inspection and reformation.

And shall the servant, the creature of the people, said they, be represented by treasonable subjects,

by false and pretended friends, as claiming an inherent, self-created original, and a divine right, in the voluntary grants of that people for whose good he received it, and for whose good it may be resumed? This is the highest pinnacle of despotism; nor can it ever rise higher. It is establishing that odious and detestable principle, which experience has already shewn to be totally subversive of all that is generous, liberal, great, noble, or excellent, in the human nature and character, namely, that the people are made for kings, instead of their being made for the people.

The opposition were exceedingly vehement, and seemed to bear every thing before them, on this ground. Indeed, almost all the eloquence, powers of argument, and force of language, on that side of the house, were particularly directed to it. The boldest of the ministerial phalanx, they said, had shrunk back, and were afraid to meet the question, when every endeavour was used to bring it fairly and nakedly into discussion; and yet they now venture covertly to adopt and support the principle. Mr. Fox exclaimed, with his usual fervor and animation, Good God! had he been asleep? how had he been lost to himself? to what little purpose had his education, his knowledge, and his experience, been attained, if it was a doctrine established in that house, that the king was to be uncontrouled in his civil list. Did men know what they were asserting, when they held such language? Were they so blind as really to see no danger in it? Were they so ignorant, or so totally lost to the will of others, as

to maintain a doctrine which went to the dissolution of the compact between the king and the people? Did not the very nature of the trust delegated to the sovereign, render his accounts subject to the inspection of parliament? Had not such inspection been the uniform practice of parliament? How fared it with James the Second? Was not that unhappy king, who preferred a wretched pension from the crown of France, to the government of a great empire according to its laws and constitution, deprived of his whole revenue by parliament?

The opposition further urged, that the historical facts stated on the other side, to shew that an office similar to that now in question had formerly existed, was nothing more, they said, to the purpose, than the bringing of proofs which were not intended, that the uselessness of the office being discovered upon trial, it was therefore discontinued. It would be a matter of little consequence now, that a dozen secretaries had been employed through the folly or caprice of any of our ancient princes; if that sort of argument went to any thing, it would be to the revival of all the useless and dangerous offices, which the wisdom of past kings, or the integrity of former parliaments, had been applied to abolish. The point before the committee, was merely the question of utility, or inutility, with respect to that office. It would be sufficient to observe on that subject, that this country had raised itself to the highest pitch of power and national glory, and that her colonies had risen to a degree of wealth, power, and population,

unknown in the history of any other mother country under the sun, when we employed no more than two secretaries of state; and that every feature in that picture of complete human felicity was instantly reversed upon the appointment of a third. Through that appointment, we not only lost those very colonies, but they were converted into our bitter enemies; along with the loss of our colonies and commerce, we had suffered such degrees of disgrace and degradation, in the eyes of all Europe, as this country never before experienced; and through the same cause, we were plunged in the present contest with our powerful and hereditary enemies, which tended to our inevitable ruin. Was any thing more necessary to shew, that this office was at least totally useless; and that if not originally mischievous in its nature, it had however proved fatally ruinous in its effect?

They concluded by observing, that it would appear to a stranger, from the arguments used by the friends of administration, that they were endeavouring to deprive the king of the money allotted for his privy purse, or to curtail the means of his personal pleasures, amusements, or satisfaction. Could any person be so blind as not to see, or any member of that house so ignorant as not to know, that the objects were totally different? That the proposed reform went to that great part of the civil list establishment, which being dedicated to public purposes, was consequently liable to public reform; and in which the sovereign acting only as trustee for the people, could.

could have no other personal interest, than that which was so constantly denied, of supporting an undue and corrupt influence. But at any rate, that revenue, like all others, must be affected by the exigencies of the times, and proportioned to the ability of the public, by which it was granted and paid. It would be too ridiculous to suppose otherwise. At the accession of his majesty, when a large revenue was granted to him for life, the nation was great, flourishing, and glorious beyond example. The liberality of the grant, was suited to the felicity of the time. The smallest notice was not then given, of the fatal designs which were in embryo, or of the ruinous measures that were to be pursued. It was so impossible to have foreseen the subsequent public losses and calamities of his reign, that they could not have been conceived even in thought. The loss of America, and of our West India islands, was never suggested, even in a dream, to the wildest visionary. That great revenue must partake of the nature of all human establishments. The superstructure can have no greater stability, than the foundation on which it was raised. Even supposing, what can never be admitted, that the granters had no power of revocation or recall, still the revenue must depend upon their ability to pay it. To suppose that the establishments of the sovereign would not be affected by the public distresses and calamities, by the loss of dominion, and the subtraction of wealth and power from the state, was such an absurdity as not to deserve answer or notice. It was scarcely less than

treason to royalty, even to suppose that the sovereign would not willingly participate in the evil, as well as in the good fortune of his people. Was it possible that those sycophants, those false pretended friends, who held out that doctrine, and would represent the king as not wishing to lighten the burthens, or relieve the distresses of his subjects, were ignorant of the incurable wound which they would thereby inflict on the royal name and character?

At a quarter before three o'clock in the morning, the committee divided, when the office of third secretary of state was preferred by a majority of seven only; the numbers being 201, in support of the clause of reform, to 208, by whom it was opposed. Such was the issue, of one of the longest and hardest fought days, that perhaps ever was known in an English House of Commons; nor was the labour greater than the ability, or than the parliamentary skill and generalship displayed on both sides. The ministers finding the torrent strong against them within and without doors, rather opposed their adversaries indirectly, and with efforts to gain time, than with many arguments to the abstract state of the question; and in this point they shewed great patience and dexterity. They even took advantage from their present weakness. The low state of the minister's majorities, was brought as an argument to prove that the influence of the crown was not increased; and one gentleman in office threw out, that if the noble lord was not better supported, it would be in vain for him to attempt any longer to carry on the public
business.

business. On the other side, the present state of divisions was attributed to the temper and sense of the people without doors; and they universally and heartily subscribed to the latter proposition.

The abolition of the board of trade, was the next clause of Mr. Burke's Bill which came under the consideration of the committee. The great object of debate was, on one side to shew its utility, and on the other, to prove it totally inefficient, useless, and when at any time active, either mischievous or ridiculous, but of late dwindled into a mere sinecure office, which answered no other purpose whatever, than that of providing eight members for that house, and securing their votes and services to the minister, at an income or pension of a thousand pounds a year each. The first ground was taken up very much at large, with a very laborious detail, and great knowledge of the history of the office, by a gentleman who sat at that board. The opposite ground was taken by the framer of the bill; who besides supporting it with his usual strength of argument, threw out such an infinity of wit, satire, and ridicule upon the subject, as to excite a very unusual degree of pleasantry in the house. The main line of his argument was to shew, that when the business of trade and plantations had been managed by a committee of council without salaries, it had been attended by persons of greater rank, weight, and ability, and that business of far more difficulty and delicacy was better dispatched, and with more expedition and satisfaction, than since

the appointment of the board of trade; and this position he supported with comparisons of affairs, times, anecdotes of persons, and with references to the council books, which gave great liveliness and interest to this debate.

The question was not called, until a quarter past two o'clock in the morning; when the clause for abolishing the board of trade was carried in the affirmative by a majority of eight; the numbers being, in support of the question 207, to 199 who voted for the support and continuance of the establishment.

Such was the first of the great defeats received by administration, and which so much distinguished the present session from all others of late years. A defeat of such a nature, as would in any other period have proved fatal to any administration. Some members of the opposition, endeavoured to persuade the lords of trade to withdraw before the division; on the ground of indecency, in their voting on a question in which they were so immediately and personally concerned. If this had been agreed to, it would have about doubled their majority. But the question was too trying, and the season too critical, to make such a sacrifice to delicacy or punctilio; and the conduct of the American secretary, on the late division in his own case, was a sufficient precedent for the present, to keep the refusal in countenance.

It was in this debate first discovered, or at least first publicly known, that the speaker, and administration, were not upon good terms. Mr. Fox having called on the speaker, for his private opi-

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nion as a member, and his professional as a great lawyer, on the question of competency in parliament with respect to the controul of the civil list revenue, Sir Fletcher Norton, after stating several causes which rendered him extremely averse to the giving of any opinion in that house, except in his official capacity, likewise observed, that a private opinion which he had formerly given on a great law question in that house, and which he thought himself professionally called upon to give, (supposed to allude to a clause in the royal marriage bill) as well as in compliance with the apparent desire, and seeming wish of the house, not only subjected him to a misinterpretation of his conduct, but he had also the misfortune to find, had given great offence in a quarter, where he certainly did not intend or wish to give any.

He afterwards observed, that the noble lord at the head of affairs, had long withdrawn all friendship and confidence from him. That from the time of his reporting the sense of that house at the bar of the other, on occasion of presenting the money bill, for the discharge of the civil list debts, and the increase of its revenue, all appearances even of friendship, confidence, and good will, had ceased on the side of the noble lord. He was still at a loss even to guess, what just cause of offence he had then given. What he had done upon that occasion was, to the best of his judgment, only in discharge of his duty. If he had acted wrong, it arose from error, not from design; and whatever others might think of his conduct, he had the satisfaction,

of its having been unanimously approved of by that house. — He hinted at injury in a recent transaction, from which the minister and he must from thence forward stand upon the most unequivocal terms. He declared that he was not a friend to the noble lord, and that he had repeated and convincing proofs, that the noble lord was not his friend. The time was not yet arrived, he said, when it would be proper to make the circumstances of the transaction public. But if the noble lord did not do him justice, he would state the particulars to the house; and he would submit to them, how far he was bound to remain in a situation, where a performance of the duties annexed to it, subjected him to gross and flagrant injury.

The minister equally pleaded ignorance and innocence, accompanied with no small degree of surprize at the charge. Enquiry, explanation, and talking the subject over, instead of mollifying matters, only served to blow them up to a flame; and at length induced the speaker to depart from his preceding avowed intention, of reserving for future contingencies, his disclosure of the cause of complaint.

He accordingly stated, that upon the death of the late speaker, he had been strongly solicited by the then minister (Duke of Grafton) to accept of his present honourable situation, before he could bring himself to a compliance. That besides his sense of the great weight of the important duties which he was to discharge in his present office, there were other very cogent motives which operated to this reluctance. It could

neither

neither be deemed arrogance or vanity in him to say, when his character at the bar, his standing, and his general pretensions were considered, that he was then at the head of his profession as a common lawyer. The honours of his profession were accordingly open to him; and he was determined not to relinquish his claim to these upon any account whatever. The nobleman then at the head of administration wished to remove this objection; and prevailed on a gentleman, then present, and in high office, to negotiate the business. The terms concluded upon were, that until he could be provided for in the way of his profession, (that stipulation taking place of all others, and consequently, that whenever an opportunity offered, the way should be kept open for his return to Westminster Hall) he should hold the sinecure office of lord chief justice in Eyre, which he now possessed, as an equivalent, and compensation, for the advantages he had given up, and the duties which he was to undertake.

But notwithstanding this compact, he had lately discovered, to his infinite surprize, that a negotiation was in train, between the noble minister then present, and the chief judge of one of the courts, by which the latter was to retire on a pension, for the purpose of appointing another person (a law officer then likewise present) to supply his place, and to the utter subversion of his own claim. He scarcely complained less of the conduct and behaviour of the minister, upon his personal application to him on the

subject, than he did of the supposed injury of the transaction. He assured the committee, that he never meant to challenge their attention, upon any subject merely personal to himself; but thinking at all times, that nothing should be kept more pure and unpolluted, than the fountains of justice, he could not but feel when any measure was adopted, under whatever pretext, that might afford even colour for a suspicion of their being corrupted; or that any improper means were resorted to, for rendering the courts of justice subservient to party, and to factious views; he therefore thought it a duty highly incumbent upon him, to take notice of the present transaction. He concluded by asserting, that money had been proposed to be given and received, to bring about the arrangement he had mentioned; and pledged himself to the house, that at a proper time, he would undertake to prove it to their satisfaction.

The gentleman in office, who had been alluded to by the speaker, with respect to the original transaction, acknowledged, that he had been prevailed upon by the noble duke, then at the head of public affairs, to deliver the message in question; and that the particulars appeared to him to have been now fairly stated; but as far as he could charge his memory at this distance of time, he had never understood, that any of those particulars came regularly or properly to the knowledge of the noble lord now at the head of administration.

The minister declared, that he did not look upon himself responsible

sponsible for any promise which might have been made by his predecessors in office. He did not question the account given by the right honourable gentleman, of the considerations on which he had accepted of the chair in that house; but he could fairly answer, that he neither knew of the transaction at the time, nor looked upon himself as bound, when he did come into office, by any such promise. With respect to the speaker's assertion, of a negotiation, such as he had described, being on foot, and of money being proposed to be given and received, he must dissent totally from it as to the point of fact. He assured him, that he had been grossly misinformed; and as he was himself accused of being one of the acting parties, he was entitled to say, that no such negotiation was on foot, as that which had been stated.

This brought out much warm altercation, which run into assertion and direct contradiction, between the speaker and the minister; and which gave rise to such a scene, and with such personages, as never had been exhibited there at any former time. The first law officer of the crown in that house, who had been alluded to as a principal party in the negotiation, disclaimed the imputation with great spirit; and in a speech fraught with his usual sharp and pointed eloquence, threw out no small share of severity, in a peculiar strain of sarcasm, and ironical satire, upon the complaint and conduct of the speaker.

Although this affair made a considerable noise at the time,

yet it soon died away; and produced no other effect, than that of affording a new ground of argument to the opposition, that the alarming influence which they charged to the crown, had not only pervaded, but disturbed the due order and œconomy, of every department, of whatever nature, in the state. In the mean time, that law arrangement, which was now charged to a supposed negotiation, not found, or admitted to exist, took place not long after in the same degree and effect, which the completion of such a negotiation could have been expected to produce.

We have lately seen the severe strictures that were passed in the House of Lords, on the appointment of Mr. Fullarton, to the rank of lieutenant colonel in the army, and to the command of an intended new regiment. Some terms and expressions which were used on that occasion, having given great offence to the gentleman in question, he thought proper to call the subject up in his place, as a member of the House of Commons, before he entered upon measures of a more summary and decisive nature for the obtaining of satisfaction.

He accordingly took notice in that House, that 20th. his character, and his conduct in offering to raise a regiment, had been reflected upon by a noble earl in the other; a matter which had given him the greater uneasiness, as he was puzzled how to act, in order to wipe away the imputation. He rose therefore to explain the motives of his conduct, and bespoke the patience of the house, as he felt his honour wounded,

wounded, and had ardently wished for an opportunity of removing the bad impressions of his conduct, to which the place where the reflections were thrown out, was likely to give occasion. That the reflections, as he understood, were extremely gross; the noble earl, terming him a clerk, and in the most contemptuous manner remarking, that a clerk ought not to be trusted with a regiment; at the same time adding to that remark, other insinuations, as false as they were illiberal.

He then proceeded in a stile of personal invective against a noble earl by name, which called up Mr. Fox to order, who exclaimed against the unparliamentary conduct, of thus stating what was said in the other house, and of thus mentioning peers by name, in that; a practice, not to be endured, and contrary to every rule of parliament. After stating the impossibility of their knowing, whether the words alluded to were really spoken, he proceeded to argue the impropriety, of considering what was said in debate as a private and personal attack. On that ground, he must once for all declare, that if such a custom prevailed, the freedom of debate must cease; and he contended, that the most essential of all the rights of parliament would be lost, if it were once admitted as a principle, that a personal affront was intended to gentlemen, whenever their names and public conduct were mentioned in debate.

The minister, (who had himself smarted, particularly during the present session, under the severities of the noble earl, whose name was now in question) ad-

mitted, that it was certainly wrong, in either house, to introduce the name of any member of the other. There were some occasions, however, which would justify it, and he thought the present case one of them. After high compliments and praise to Mr. Fullarton, and insinuating, that he had gained great honour by the spirit with which he had felt and resented the injury, even supposing that he had erred in the means of justification; he, however, recommended to him, to treat all personal attacks with indifference and contempt. To give efficacy to this advice by example, he informed the gentleman in a friendly manner, of his own conduct in such situations. Noble lords in another place, he said, were very apt to be personal, and they very often made free with himself. Among other names, one of them had lately called him *a thing*. The appellation, however contemptuously meant, was certainly truly applied; for he undoubtedly was *a thing*. But the noble lord had put an addition to it; he said he was *a thing called a minister*. A moment's consideration convinced him that this ought not to be regarded as an affront, because a moment's consideration reminded him, that the noble lord who had dubbed him *a thing called a minister*, had not the smallest objection to become that very *thing* himself.

This advice and example, had not their effect. Much altercation continued; strong words were still used; and Mr. Fullarton defended himself by observing, that the noble earl had attacked him by

name. He, however, vindicated his warmth by informing the house, that the earl in question had asserted, that he and his regiment, would be as ready to draw their swords against the liberties of their country as against its foes.

The matter did not end there. In consequence of a message from Colonel Fullarton, and delivered by the Earl of Balcarras, the Earl of Shelburne, accompanied by Lord Frederic Cavendish, as his second, gave them a meeting in Hyde Park. The earl being wounded by his antagonist's second shot, with great generosity of spirit, fired his own pistol notwithstanding in the air. But something being afterwards hinted of a declaration that he had intended nothing personal, he replied, the affair had taken another train, and that was no place for explanation; at the same time telling his adversary, that if he felt any resentment, he found himself, notwithstanding his wound, able to go on. But Mr. Fullarton disclaimed the idea, and hoped that he could not be thought capable of harbouring such a sentiment. — We are not fond of dwelling on the circumstances of these unhappy personal contests, which had arisen from the violent and disordered state of the times; further, than their connection with parliamentary history, renders absolutely necessary.

This matter, which March 22d. happened in Hyde Park early in the morning, was brought forward in the House of Commons, on the afternoon of the same day, by Sir James Lowther. He observed, that this

manner of fighting duels, in consequence of parliamentary business, or of expressions dropped in debate in either house, seemed growing into such a custom, that it behoved them to interpose their authority, before it acquired the force of a settled habit; otherwise, that there must be an end of all freedom of debate, and consequently of all business in parliament. He therefore hoped, that the house would exert itself in such a manner, as to render the two recent instances the last of the kind. If free debate was to be interpreted into personal attack, and questions of a public nature, which came before either house, were to be decided by the sword, the British parliament would be at once reduced to the condition of a polish diet. In such circumstances, he thought it would be better for the members totally to give up all ideas of parliamentary discussion, to abandon the senate, and resort at once to the field; where, without farther trouble, they might have recourse to arms, as the sole arbiter of political difference of opinion.

Mr. Fullarton's friends, besides passing the highest eulogiums on that gentleman's character, hinted the impropriety or indelicacy of entering at all into the matter in his absence; Sir James Lowther replied, that as it was the last day of their sitting before the Easter recess, and he knew the house had still much necessary business before it, he had no intention of proceeding any farther then upon the subject; but he considered the freedom of debate, as so immediately involving the very existence of parliament, that he

he should move, immediately after the holidays, that the honourable gentleman might attend in his place, in order that the matter might then be taken into consideration. This notice, or intention, not meeting with approbation, and it being objected, that such an order would convey some mark of censure on Mr. Fullarton's conduct; Sir James Lowther concluded by declaring, that he was indifferent in what manner the business was brought on, but that he certainly would bring it forward, in some form or other, at the time he had mentioned; and he wished that the gentleman's friends who were now present would inform him of his intention, as well as of the day which would be in future fixed, that he might have an opportunity of attending in his place.

Some other gentlemen in opposition, went farther and more particularly into the matter, than Sir James Lowther. They contended, that the words spoken by the noble earl, were in the strictest sense parliamentary language. That the honourable gentleman seemed to have confounded public debate with private conversation. They drew the line of distinction between both. In the latter, the object was the happiness and satisfaction of all present; it was there the duty of every one to be upon his guard, and to take care, that he let no expression slip, which might either give offence to any individual, or disturb the harmony of the whole. In public debate, the case was widely and essentially different. The very means and end of public debate, were free

discussion, and an open unreserved mode of agitating every subject, to which the question under debate had reference. Without that free discussion, the question could not be agitated at all.

A gentleman high in office, acknowledged the necessity of preserving the freedom of debate; that public measures, and public men, were fit objects of discussion; and that if any check was put to the unreserved agitation of such topics, parliament would be of no use, and might as well be abolished. But how far it was warrantable in the discussion of public matters, and in the allusion to public men, to throw out reflections of an invidious nature, and to treat them contemptuously, was another question; and respecting which, every gentleman must draw his own line, and would act accordingly. He wished therefore, that the proposed enquiry into an unfortunate affair, should be entirely dropped. That, and every other matter like it, should be suffered to rest undisturbed, and be buried in total oblivion. He was happy to hear, that both parties were safe, and that no affair of the sort, could terminate more to the honour of those concerned. Why then should they interfere with, or revive it? No means, nor no authority, could prevent gentlemen, who felt, or who thought, their honour injured, from seeking and obtaining redress in the customary mode.—In talking of the two recent affairs, he said, they were matters which every man must lament, but which no man, nor no set of men, were able to put a stop to. Out of this great evil, however,

he thought some little good would ensue; and that was, it would teach gentlemen, to confine themselves within proper limits; and though it might not, and he hoped it would not, abridge the freedom of debate, he hoped it would make men speak in parliament with better manners.

Although he immediately declared that he intended no personality, whether to the absent or present, by the remark which he had now made, and acknowledged his own faultiness in that very respect, yet it called up Mr. Fox, who thought himself glanced at. He observed, that as the right honourable gentleman was apt to speak in a loose and careless way, he might, perhaps, have had no particular meaning in what he had said; but that as the words seemed to point to him, he was, however, under a necessity of taking notice of them. He had advanced, that, "he hoped what had happened that morning, and what had happened before of a similar sort, would keep gentlemen within proper limits, and at least teach them better manners." He begged for one to say, that what had happened to himself had not taught him better manners; nor should it ever restrain him within any other limits, than those which he had chalked out for himself. With regard to the noble earl, who had been concerned in the affair of that morning, he did not believe it would teach him better manners, and for this reason, that he was sure his noble friend had not gone beyond proper limits in what he had said. As a proof of which, he was determined, that when

the new levies came under consideration, he would then object to that particular regiment, which his noble friend had objected to; and that on the very same ground which he had taken, viz. because the person appointed to the command of it, did not appear to him to be a fit person to hold the command.

This affair happening so soon after that of Mr. Fox, and being attributed to the same causes and motives, occasioned no small degree of warmth, both in language and sentiment, without doors. Both the noble earl, and that gentleman, were considered as martyrs in the cause of their country. And it was openly said, without the smallest appearance of covert or disguise, that when an abandoned and malignant administration were driven to the last and desperate resource, of employing that part of the united kingdom, which was generally inimical to the constitution, and to all the rights and liberties of the people, in order to curb the freedom of debate in parliament, and to single and pick off those tried supporters and assertors of both, who were neither to be bought or terrified, it was highly time, and absolutely necessary, for Englishmen to unite and associate, as well in defence of their common rights, as for affording effectual protection to those lords and gentlemen, who hazarded all things in the service of their country. The public addresses of congratulation from the cities of London and Westminster, from some of the county meetings which happened near the time, and from the committees of association

clation in others, to the Earl of Shelburne upon his recovery, all held out the idea, in language more or less forcible, that his life had been endangered, for the faithful and spirited discharge of his public duty as a peer of parliament. Some took in, his opposing the undue influence of the crown, and supporting the interests of his country; and one county, at least, past a vote of censure, declaring the late attacks upon Mr. Fox and that nobleman to be highly reprehensible.

The past failures which he had so repeatedly experienced, were not able to overcome the constancy of Sir Philip Jennings Clerke, or to prevent his bringing in another contractors bill, in the present session. The present state of things was too favourable to such a measure, and the minds of the ministers too much occupied, with matters still more immediately trying and critical, to admit of any essential opposition. To be beaten in the House of Commons a second time, and on another bill, might be ruinous; and the defence of the contractors would have been far more disagreeable to most of the court members, than that of the civil offices. The bill was accordingly read the third time and passed, (without a division in any part of its progress) on that day, on which Col. Fullarton had made his complaint in the House of Commons.

On the same day, (March 20th) the clause in Mr. Burke's bill, for abolishing the offices of treasurer of the chamber, treasurer of the household, cofferer, and the number of subordinate places appertaining to them, was brought for-

ward in the committee. This brought out long debates. The one side, seeming to regard with a kind of religious horror, every approach towards an interference with any part of the arrangements or management of the royal household; which they represented, not only as a most alarming and dangerous innovation in the constitution, but as a direct insult, and a kind of sacrilege with respect to the person and dignity of the monarch. Here at least, said they, a manifest destruction presents itself on the very principles of the references themselves. This is not matter of public arrangement. This is not the regulation of office. It is an intrusion into the king's own household. It is breaking the fences which are respected and held sacred even in private families. These officers are the king's domestic servants. The state has nothing to do with them. The king indeed is a public person; but he is a man too; and if his dignity only serves to expose him to insults that would be intolerable to a private person, the monarch and the monarchy are not only a pageant, but a downright mockery; and to make a person a king, is to make him, not the greatest, but the meanest and most miserable part of society. This bill, they said, they considered from the beginning, as a systematic attack on the constitution; and every part, as it was developed, proved more and more clearly the tendency of the scheme. The question was not therefore on the utility of the employments; (on that they did not much rely) it was on the power of taking them away—which if it may be done by parliament,

liament, the king has nothing, hardly his person, that he can call his own. On this head, they entered largely on the schemes of supplying the household by contract; which they reprobated, as mean, degrading, and vexatious; and compared rather to the mode of feeding of poor in workhouses and hospitals, than to the splendour and magnificence of a great court, in the richest country in the world.

On the other hand, the mover of the bill, and the rest of the opposition asserted, that the idea of supposed insult and indignity to the sovereign, was too absurd to deserve an answer. Nothing was to be touched, that could either affect the personal satisfaction and pleasures of the sovereign, or abridge the splendour and magnificence of the throne. They asked, whether our enemy, the French monarch, had suffered any loss of reputation, any degree of degradation, either in the eyes and opinion of his own subjects, or of the rest of Europe, by the prodigious reform which he had so cheerfully made in his own household and expence. He adopted that scheme of aconemy, in order to wage a great and vigorous war, with vast objects of policy in view, against this country, without oppressing and burthening his people. Are we not to profit by so immediate and striking an example?

In answer to the household being the king's own; they said, that parliament in all ages had considered it in a different light, of which they gave many examples, in the reigns of the Edwards, Henries, and in that of James the

first, and others. That if the household could not be reformed by law, no effectual part of the intended reform could take place; as it was full of offices, by which the influence proposed to be reduced, was chiefly supported. The court, constituted as it is, said they, is the very strong-hold of that influence. The king is not degraded by being furnished by contract. He is so furnished already in many things, though in the worst way; the late Prince of Wales, his majesty's father, was so furnished. Even now, when the court intends any thing worthy of its state, it is so supplied; nor is there any thing more mean, by being supplied at large, and on one great scale, than in small and pitiful details; on the contrary, there is something more princely in it. With regard to the king's living in a state of dependence on the people, the mover said, it was the very circumstance of his dignity; that which constituted him a king: and, instead of a disgrace, was the highest honour a man could arrive at.

Some, who wished to be considered as moderate men, acknowledged the proposed reform to be a matter of such necessity, as must absolutely be adopted; but they did not approve of the mode of procuring it. It was taken, they said, at the wrong end. It should come from the crown, and not originate in parliament. The only precedents, they said, for such an interference, were to be found in times too dangerous, to admit of the example being copied; they were only to be found in the unfortunate reigns of Edward the second,

cond, and of Richard the second. This ground was not, however, much occupied.

The bill had been so framed, that questions arose upon the several offices of the household severally. The treasurer of the chamber stood first. The framer of the bill observed, that from the turn of the debate, he apprehended this would be the last procedure on any part of it. In the treasurer of the chamber consisted the very pith and marrow of his plan, so far as it was endeavoured to be reduced out of theory into practice; it was the very first office of the household which he had fixed upon; it led the way, and involved all the rest; and as the remaining clauses of his bill, for the most part, turned upon the abolition of the board of ordnance, the board of works, the mint, and other boards and offices, which were arranged under the denomination of household; he was under a necessity of abandoning the whole, if the present doctrine was established, that the household was to be considered as sacred, and not to be touched in any one part. That finding the objections of many gentlemen to the contract scheme (extremely weak, as he conceived them, in reason) strongly adhered to, he would, contrary to his own clearest opinion, for practicability give up that point; though it impaired the unity and consistence of his whole plan, and prevented the reform of upwards of an hundred offices, many of them considerable, as well as several other great advantages. But he repeated, that if the present question was carried against him, he should consider his bill as gone; and concluded by declaring, that he would not conti-

nue to keep his weak and disordered frame and constitution on the torture, by fighting his bill through the house, inch by inch, clause by clause, and line by line; he would leave it to the people to go on with it as they liked; and they would judge by the issue, how far their petitions were likely to procure redress for the grievances they complained of.

As the court side wished to keep the subject-matter of the bill as long as possible in agitation, and thereby keep the public hope and expectation to the last in suspense, they affected greatly to resent this declaration; which they described as being highly dictatorial, and as conveying a kind of menace to the committee. They argued, that it could be no cause of surprise, that in a bill, which took in so great an extent and diversity of matter as the present, some of the parts should be highly exceptionable, and others equally laudable. That the same principle did not apply generally to the whole of the present bill; that on the contrary, it was composed of a number of different parts and clauses, each of which turned upon some separate and important point, and had each therefore a separate principle. That it was not denied, but that many of the principles were highly laudable, and might probably be adopted with advantage; but it was not from thence to be inferred, that the improper, the absurd, or the impracticable, were to be equally received and adopted. It was surely then, a strange, and an unfair conclusion, that the refusal of the present, or of any other exceptionable clause, was to be considered

sidered as a rejection of the whole bill.

The question being put, after one o'clock in the morning, on the first member of the clause, for abolishing the office of treasurer of the chamber, it was lost upon a division, by, the now, considerable majority, of 211, to 158. The minority upon this division, were publicly thanked by several of the county meetings. This fall of numbers was accounted for by some late manœuvres of the court; by which some of the country gentlemen who had usually adhered to it, but who had on the popularity of this bill gone from it, now returned; and a second change became manifest in several others.

Mr. Burke then declared his total indifference as to what became of the rest of the bill. He was, however, roused into his wonted activity by his friend Mr. Fox, who urged the expediency of going through with the bill to the very last; however little more they got for the people, than what they had already gained, it still would be worth the striving for. The mere abolition of the board of trade, even if nothing farther was done, he insisted, was worth the struggle; for as he was determined, and he hoped his honourable friend would join with him, in renewing the bill from session to session, until its purposes were obtained, so they would have seven less of the enemy to fight against on the next encounter. The succeeding members of the clause were accordingly gone through, and each received a negative without a division.

On the day following this debate, the minister informed the house, that the East India com-

pany not having made such proposals for the renewal of their charter, as he had deemed satisfactory, he should accordingly move the house, for the speaker to give them the three years notice ordained by act of parliament, previous to the dissolution of their charter, that the capital stock or debt, of 4,200,000*l.* which the public owed to the company, should be fully paid, on the 5th of April 1783, agreeable to the power of redemption included in the said act.

Mr. Fox, and Mr. Burke, opposed the measure with wonderful fervour and animation. The first asked the minister, whether he was not content with having lost America? Or was he determined, before he quitted his present situation, to reduce the British empire to the confines of this island? Could he point out a single good, which his motion was capable of producing? Was he blind and insensible to the evil and danger with which it was fraught? Why issue an impotent threat, which he neither intended, nor was capable of carrying into execution? It was ridiculous, it was dangerous to threaten, when men dared not to perform what they threatened. Did he wish to behold the scenes of anarchy, confusion, distress and ruin, which his idle threat might probably produce in the company's affairs and possessions in India? Did he think that house, would at this time of day, under the immediate pressure and bitter experience of past rashness and misconduct, wantonly hazard the ample revenues, the resources of power and wealth, which this country derived, from the trade and commerce of the East India company? Supposing even that

that the noble lord was capable of carrying his threat into execution, and really intended it, was he ignorant of the heavy loss which the nation must sustain, in the mere article of paying off the capital, in the present state of the funds? Did he not know, that although the 4,200,000 l. carried only three per cent. yet that he must pay it at par? and that the three per cents being down at sixty in the market, the public must necessarily lose a clear forty per cent. on every hundred pound they paid off? If a new company was the object of his speculation, did he not know that the trade must then be open? that he was disabled by law from rendering it exclusive? and that the present company would still retain their possessions, strong-holds, and so many other of their present superior powers and advantages in the country, as must speedily ruin the new adventurers, if any could be found mad enough to become such.

Mr. Burke seemed unable to find words, to fill up the reprobation which he wished to bestow on the proposal. He said it was more worthy of revellers intoxicated by liquor, than of statesmen in a sober senate. He rejected the narrow idea of bargaining with the East India company, as if we were treating with an enemy; and upon the wretched principle, that whatever was not squeezed out in the bargain, was to be considered as so much lost. He threw the speculation of a new company into every point of ridicule. He was sure the minister never seriously intended it. The thing could not be, as every man of business, and acquainted with our affairs, must

know and feel. He declared, that if it were possible to adopt it, it would turn out a new Mississippi scheme; and that it was worthy only, of such an unprincipled, abandoned, bubble projector as Law. He did not doubt but in this country, there would be found men weak and mad enough to bite at such a bubble; but he asserted, that it would burst with utter ruin to the adventurers. He reminded the house, that they had lost thirteen colonies, by the rapacity of the minister, in endeavouring to obtain a great revenue from America; and he warned them not to throw the East after the West, by being again led into another revenue chase. That this would prove as idle as the former; for that no money, at least no immediate supply, could be derived from those territorial possessions; which were a constant bait to the avarice of the court, and perhaps of the public.

The minister denied that his motion was a threat or a menace. It was meant merely as putting in a legal claim in behalf of the public, to the reversion of a right which undoubtedly belonged to them; and at that moment of time, when it was especially necessary that the claim should be formally made. Gentlemen did not seem to recollect, that by the lapse only of a few days, with respect to the notice, the company would necessarily gain, and the public unavoidably lose, a year's possession of those advantages, which, by the stipulations of the law that founded the agreement, were to revert to the latter at the conclusion of three years; leaving it in the option of the public, on receiving proper satisfaction from the

the company, to grant, by a new charter, a renewal of their lease. This was all that the motion tended to. It precluded no propositions which might hereafter be made by the company, nor it laid no restraint on parliament from accepting of any which it approved. It merely went to prevent a year of the public right to the reversion of the company's trade from slipping away without any compensation.

In answer to those gentlemen on the other side, who said that the company would laugh at the notice, because they must know that it could not be seriously intended; he should in the first place observe, that it would be the East India company's own fault, if the notice was carried into execution. But he would not have these gentlemen carry away the idea, that if the present company broke up and divided their stock, the public would, as a necessary consequence, lose the revenues arising from the trade, or from the territorial acquisitions in India. He trusted there were means of securing both the one and the other. He did not wish to break with the present company; he did not desire to drive them to a dissolution; but the company ought not to imagine that the public lay at their mercy. The public had a right to look for great resources from the company, and from the territorial acquisitions in India. The company, as it was now established, he acknowledged, was the best medium of drawing home the revenues from the Indies; but if the company were so unreasonable and so thoughtless, as not to come to a fair bargain with the public, a new company might be formed,

and such measures adopted, as would prevent or remedy the evils threatened to the revenue.

Mr. Burke having moved the previous question on the minister's motion, it was rejected on a division, by a majority of 142, to 68. The main question being then put, for the speaker to give notice to the East India company, of the payment in three years of their capital stock, it was carried without a division.

On the last day of sitting before the recess, upon bringing up the report from the committee of ways and means, of the new and very heavy taxes, which were then to be laid on, a faint, and perhaps ill-judged attempt, was made by a few gentlemen in opposition, to defer receiving the report, until the petitions of the people of England were heard, and their grievances redressed. A motion was accordingly framed, for postponing the report, until the 7th of April; and notwithstanding the appearance of the house, and other infallible indications of the event, was unaccountably pushed to a division; when it was rejected by a majority of 145, to 37.

During these scenes of continued and doubtful warfare in the House of Commons, some tacit cessation of hostility seemed to prevail in that of the Lords; the only public question that was brought forward, being a motion of the Earl of Ellingham, on the 10th of March, for a list of all places, pensions, and employments, whether for a term of years, for life, during pleasure, or good behaviour, held by the members of that house. It would not have been easy to have found any new ground of de-
bate

bate upon this subject. Much of the ground taken upon a former motion of the Earl of Shelburne's, which excluded lords who held places or pensions under government, from sitting in the proposed committee of accounts, was now trodden again by both parties. The same injurious censure was now said to be thrown upon the honour of the house by the present motion, which had been before charged to the former, in supposing that places, pensions, or emoluments, could possibly influence the public

conduct of any of its noble members. And arguments similar to those which we have already seen, were used on the other side, to shew the futility or absurdity of that idea. In the course of the debate, some resolutions which were passed on the constitution of the Scotch peerage, excited some degree of warmth; nor did even the right reverend bench of bishops, pass entirely scot-free.—The motion was rejected upon a division, by a majority of 51 to 24.

C H A P. VIII.

Army estimates. Debates on the subject of the new corps. Division. Question carried. Consideration of the petitions. Great debates in the committee. Part taken by the Speaker. Amendment to the motion, proposed and agreed to. Mr. Dunning's amended motion, carried, upon a division, in a very full house. Second motion, agreed to. Third motion, by Mr. T. Pitt, agreed to. House resumed. Mr. Fox's motion, for immediately receiving the report from the committee, opposed, but carried. Resolutions, reported, received, and confirmed by the House. Mr. Dunning's motion (on a following day) in the committee, for securing the independence of parliament, agreed to. Second motion, for disqualifying persons holding certain offices, from sitting in that house, carried, upon a division, by a majority of two only. Mr. Creeve's bill, for excluding revenue officers from voting on the election of members of parliament, rejected, on a division. Great debates in the House of Lords, upon the second reading of the contractors bill. The bill rejected, upon a division, by a considerable majority. Protest. Consequences of the Speaker's illness. Postponed motion of Mr. Dunning's, for an address, to prevent dissolving the parliament, or proroguing the present session, until proper measures should be taken for correcting the evils complained of in the petitions of the people, brings out long debates; but is rejected by a considerable majority, in an exceedingly full house. Disorder upon Mr. Fox's rising to speak, after the division. Nature of his speech. Reply, by the minister. Great debates upon the clause in Mr. Burke's establishment bill, for abolishing the office of the Great Wardrobe, &c. Clause rejected upon a division. Succeeding clause, for abolishing the Board of Works, rejected upon a division. Debates upon the minister's bill for a commission of accounts. Close division upon a question in the committee. Bill at length passed. Debates on Colonel Barre's motions, relative to the extraordinaries of the army. First motion rejected, upon a division, by a great majority. Succeeding resolutions rejected. General Conway's

Conway's bill, for restoring peace with America, disposed of, upon a division, by a motion for the order of the day. Motion tending to an enquiry, into any requisition made by the civil magistrate, for the attendance of the military, upon the late meeting of the electors of Westminster. Various clauses of Mr. Burke's establishment bill, rejected, upon, or without divisions. Recorder of London's motion in behalf of the petitioners, rejected upon a division. Mr. Dunning's motion, in the committee of the whole house on the consideration of the petitions, for reporting their own two resolutions of the 10th of April, set aside, by a motion for the chairman to quit the chair, which was carried upon a division. Meeting of the Protestant association in St. George's Fields. Subsequent riots, mischiefs, and conflagrations. Resolutions, conduct, and adjournment of both houses. Lord George Gordon committed to the Tower. Speech from the throne, on the meeting of parliament after the late disorders. Addresses. Resolutions in the House of Commons, for quieting the minds of well meaning, but ill-informed persons. Bill passes the House of Commons, for the security of the Protestant religion. Is laid by in the House of Lords. Speech from the throne. Adjournment.

April 5th. **O**N the second day after the recess, the army estimates being laid before the House of Commons, and a motion made for their reference to a committee, much warm debate, as had been expected, and in some degree announced, arose upon the subject of the new levies, and of the innovations with respect to rank and promotion, which were charged by the opposition to have taken place in the army.

Sir Philip Jennings Clerke, first brought forward the business of the Cinque Ports regiment, which the minister, as Lord Warden of those ports, had raised, in a great measure, if not entirely, at his own expence; and to the command of which his son, who had not before held any military command, was appointed. This regiment was covered, as well by the circumstances which attended its being raised, as by the declaration of Colonel North himself, in his place, and in his first parliamen-

tary speech, (a circumstance which always draws a particular degree of complacency and attention from the house) that he neither received any pay, nor was entitled to any future rank, so that the trouble and expence, along with the honour and pleasure of serving his country in a time of difficulty and danger, was all that he could possibly derive from the command. But what particularly saved this corps and appointment from farther animadversion, was, its being stated by the minister himself, to be only a regiment of what is called *fencible* men; a term before unknown in the military affairs of England, but which is applied in Scotland to a species of militia, (particularly the loyal clans of Argyleshire, who were originally retained by government as a check upon their disaffected neighbours) whose terms of enlistment extend no farther than to the immediate defence of their country.

But the debate was kept up afterwards, with respect to other
new

new raised corps, and with no common degree of animation and spirit, by the principal men in opposition. Disclaiming in strong terms all national prejudices, they readily acknowledged, that Scotland produced as brave and as able officers as any in the world; but whilst this was freely and cheerfully admitted, they absolutely denied, and said it did not admit of a question, that either that, or any other country in the universe, had ever exceeded England in the production of such men. But they abhorred all odious comparative discussions of the merits of the brave. Their object, they said, was strongly to condemn that illiberal, unconstitutional, and dangerous partiality, shewn by the present ministers, to one part of the united kingdom, in prejudice to the other. This, they asserted, was carried to a pitch of enormity, unparalleled in the history of any other country, excepting that of a conquered and suspected people. It was likewise the more particularly dangerous, they said; as the natives of that country, being debarred by their own peculiar constitution of many of those rights and immunities at home, which were inherent to Englishmen; were not only disposed to make light of privileges of which they knew not the value, but were likewise apt, and naturally enough, to regard them with rather a jealous and malignant eye. And it was besides a matter of such public notoriety, as could not escape the notice of the most heedless observer, that the natives of that country had, with very few exceptions indeed, been violently attached during the

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present reign, to the support of every measure of the court and ministers, however dangerous in their nature, desperate in their design, or ruinous in their tendency. Could any thing then be more alarming to the people of this country, than to see the sword placed almost exclusively in the hands of men, who were avowedly so inimical to their constitutional rights, and public liberties? It was likewise, in a narrower view of the question, the more unreasonable in the practice, and the more pernicious in the effect; as it was peculiarly characteristic, they said, of the natives of that part of the united kingdom, to be more subjected to local attachments, and to violent national, and other prejudices, than perhaps any other people upon the face of the earth; insomuch, that it was a fact known to all military men, that no English officer could live in any regiment the majority of which was Scotch; whereas, on the other hand, no Scotch gentleman ever found any difficulty, or felt the smallest uneasiness, in living in a regiment, mostly, or almost wholly English.

They entered into a recital of facts, to support the charge of an unjust partiality in point of military promotion. However invidious this task might appear, they felt it their duty, they said, without the smallest degree of personal prejudice, to state the facts to the house. Our first nobility, English gentlemen of the most ancient and illustrious families; families particularly attached to the constitution, and to revolution principles; and whose own possessions rendered them deeply in

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terested

interested in the security and prosperity of their country; were refused the favour of raising regiments for its defence, upon the same terms which were accepted from unknown men; from clerks in office, and *commis*. Among other names brought forward as instances upon this charge, were those of the Earl of Derby, and of his brother the late Major Stanley. What rewards, they asked, had such distinguished officers as the Colonels Meadows and Musgrave received, for their eminent services? None other, than wounds, and constitutions broken and ruined, in climates unfavourable to the human species! Was either of them offered a new regiment? Or would either of them have declined the offer? The Earl of Harrington, who had dedicated his life and fortune to the service of his country, and who had painfully earned in the field every step of his rank, was now sent to the West Indies, and destined to obey the commands of a man, who was the other day a half-pay subaltern. Would that nobleman, or would his brother, Major Stanhope, have refused to raise regiments, on the conditions which were annexed with them to men who had never seen any service? On the contrary, Major Stanhope had made the proposal, and was rejected; he also had a particular natural interest in the county of Derby, which now affords the head quarters for the enlisting and forming of a regiment, by a man whose name was never before heard of in the county. For, they said, to render the farce more truly ridiculous on the side of ministers, or as if they meant to burlesque

every rule of military order and decorum, as well as every idea of general propriety, these new men were allowed, to the ruin of the recruiting service, to raise their regiments in the heart of England; instead of their being sent on that business, as was naturally to be expected, to the part of the united kingdom, where their interests and connections might be supposed to lie. So that, by this new and unparalleled management, they were, in fact, English regiments totally commanded by Scotch officers; as if this country had not produced men, who were qualified for the conduct of its own forces.

They did not wish, they said, to restrain the gentlemen of that country from their full share of military rank and command; they even threw no personal blame on those who were gratified with more. Their object of reprobation was, the undue preference given by ministers, to one part of the united kingdom in prejudice to the other. They detested all partiality. They would equally oppose and condemn, a southern as a northern, an English or Irish, as a Scotch partiality. The thing was in itself odious, wherever it was found, or however applied. In the present state of public affairs, it was highly dangerous and might be fatal. They wished and our situation most urgently demanded, that the three kingdoms should be actuated by one heart, and their force concentrated in one common arm. But this could never be obtained or hoped for, whilst government itself was the sower of discord and dissension, by the partial and unjust

distribution of those favours, with the disposal of which, for purposes widely different, it had been entrusted by the constitution.

The nature of the subject confined the debate on the other side, in a great degree, to a general denial of the alledged partiality, and to a qualification or justification of the particular articles of charge. The secretary at war contended, that various noblemen and others, who had never been in service before, had raised regiments in the last war, and had been appointed to their command. Being called upon to specify, he particularly mentioned General Frazer, and Gen. Morris. He produced a long list of promotions in order to shew, that the charge of partiality in favour of Scotch officers was unfounded. In regard to Colonel Fullarton, (whose corps formed the great object of contention) after passing the highest encomiums on the private character, and public spirit of that gentleman, and particularly applauding the liberality of his offer to government, he contended, that when gentlemen of active minds, and of enterprising spirits, made a tender of their abilities, and directed them to particular services of the first importance, it would be indefensible in government to have refused their offers; and more especially so, when the conditions on which they tendered their regiments, were much cheaper to the public than those of others.

The noble American Secretary took the same ground, and spoke in the highest terms of Colonel Fullarton's conduct and character. He said, that he had been actuated

merely by pure spirit and zeal on this occasion; as, to his knowledge, he had given up a much more lucrative employment, in order to serve his country in this arduous and critical moment. No insult or injury had been offered to the service by accepting of his offer to raise a regiment. It was wanted for a special purpose on a sudden; a very gallant and advantageous offer was made, and at that time there were no other offers, so that other men could not be preferred. Hints were also thrown out, that some particulars had come to his knowledge, which ought to give him a preference in the service, to which he was particularly destined.

A general officer, on the other side, observed, that the appointment of Lieut. Gen. Frazer to a high command in the last war, was not a military, but a political measure. That the idea was a very wise one; and the effect of the measure equalled the wisdom of the design. It was intended to wear away the inveterate prejudices, which several of the northern clans of Scotland had entertained against government; and it not only effectually rooted out those antient animosities, but it converted the most disaffected and dangerous of those people, into excellent regiments of hardy soldiers, who instead of being internal enemies, fought bravely in our service abroad.

Another general officer, of high military rank and reputation; who has not been engaged in any active service during the present war, and who once filled a very high civil department of the state, declared, that he should not oppose

the estimate in the gross, as he had no objection to some of the new corps: but he must oppose that particular corps, the command of which was given to a gentleman, who had no military skill, and no military rank. For though he highly esteemed the private character of Mr. Fullarton, he must think it an injury to the army that he should have the command of a regular regiment, when there were so many veteran majors, who had the joint pretensions, of wounds, experience, and service, to plead for preference. The military gentlemen on that side, (who were those only that spoke at all upon the subject) observed in general, that it must be a strange object of enterprize, which a regiment of raw recruits, headed by a leader totally inexperienced in martial matters, were deemed the fittest instruments for carrying through with effect.

The reason given by the secretary at war for the appointment of the new colonel, viz. his active and enterprising spirit, was reprobated on the other side in rather severe terms. It was said to be a direct libel on the whole British army; it was no less than saying, that the men, who at present composed the army, were deficient in those qualities of enterprize and spirit; and were accordingly incapable through that defect, notwithstanding their military skill and experience, of undertaking the particular service for which that gentleman was destined and qualified.—It was likewise replied to the American secretary, that it was singular he should rise in vindication of a gentleman who had not been at-

tacked, and say nothing in defence of ministers, against whom the whole strength of the debate had gone.—The reason, indeed, he gave for the appointment was, they said, curious. No other offers, he said, were then made—was that a reason for accepting this? No other offers for that particular provision could be made, as the nature of the service was only known to the gentleman in question.

The question before the committee, was, whether the sums allotted in the estimates for the raising and support of the new corps should be agreed to. The question being respectively put on Col. Holroyd's dragoons, and Col. Humberstone's corps, was agreed to without a division. But with respect to Col. Fullarton's corps, the committee divided, when the question was carried for granting the sum proposed in the estimate, by a majority of 102 to 66.

But the succeeding April 6th. day, was to distinguish the present session from every other since the revolution; and was likewise to lay the ground for those subsequent events, which brought out so much immediate bitterness of reproach, relative to the fluctuation of conduct or principle in no small number of members of the House of Commons, and which have finally affixed a charge, at least, of inconsistency, which will not soon be worn off, upon the character of that parliament. That day was destined, by a previous order, to the taking into consideration the petitions of the people of England; amounting to about forty in number; and

and conveying their sentiments and names in such an immense quantity of parchment, as seemed rather calculated to bury than to cover the speaker's table.

The business was opened, and the subject delineated by Mr. Dunning. It seems almost needless to add, that the arrangement was clear, and the representation strong and accurate. He observed, that independent of all other great public objects recommended by the petitions to the care and attention of parliament, and which, according to the different ideas of the various classes of petitioners, were of a various nature, there was, however, one great fundamental point on which they all hinged. This was, the setting limits to the increased, dangerous, and unconstitutional influence of the crown, and an economical expenditure of the public money. For although these seemed to be separate objects; yet they might be fairly consolidated into one great principle. For instance, if the public money was faithfully applied, and frugally expended, that would, in its effect, reduce the undue influence of the crown; if, on the other hand, that influence was restrained within its natural and constitutional bounds, it would immediately restore the lost energy of parliament, and once more give efficacy to the exercise of that great power, of seeing to the disposal, and controuling the expenditure of the public money, with which the constitution had particularly invested that house.

He took a short but accurate view of the several questions which had hitherto been agitated upon the subject, with a critical

investigation of the different grounds on which they were supported and opposed. Mr. Burke's scheme of reform, held the first place in this course of examination; which he described, with respect to the labour and difficulty of the task, the number and magnitude of the various and complicated objects which it embraced, and the heterogeneous and discordant nature of that chaos of matter, which he had separated, reduced, and by a new arrangement combined in such admirable light and order, as one of the first efforts of human ability and genius; and as equally affording an instance of uncommon zeal, unrivalled industry, and of invincible perseverance. He observed, that this scheme was partly upon the plan of the petitions; that if it did not embrace every thing that was described or pointed to in the petitions, it contained nothing that was not consonant to their letter and spirit; nor did it exclude or determine against a syllable of their contents. — The history which he gave of the original reception of that scheme; of the progress of the establishment bill, and of the various opposition which it encountered, unto the late defeat, which he considered as its final catastrophe, was highly curious, interesting, and full of keen political observation.

With respect to the first article, Mr. Dunning drew a distinction, (not very honourable to those whom it affected) between the genuine sentiments of the house, when acting from their own immediate feelings and perceptions, and the impressions afterwards made upon them from without. To

the first he attributed the universal applause and the high eulogiums, which Mr. Burke's propositions received on their being first opened to the house. The temper and disposition which afterwards appeared, he was convinced originated out of that house; and would never otherwise have prevailed within its walls.

For after such general approbation, the bill was let down softly. First, it contained some matter worthy of approbation, then, it was doubtful; at last, it was fundamentally wrong and dangerous.

He observed, that in the course of the very important contest on different parts of the establishment bill, notwithstanding the dexterity used on the other side, some matters of great public concern were brought unwillingly out; and which indeed were the cause for his entering at present upon the subject. Particularly, in the discussion of the first clause of that bill, for abolishing the office of a third secretary of state, two fundamental points were brought into controversy. It had been affirmed, that the influence of the crown was not too great. It had been asserted, that the influence of the crown, even such as it was stated to be in argument, was constitutional and necessary: and it had also been asserted, that the other point insisted on in the petitions, the enquiry into the expenditure of the Civil List Revenue, was a business not competent to that house. After taking notice how the minister shrunk from the contest, when it was strenuously endeavoured on his side, to bring the question forward to abide the deci-

sion of the house; he observed that the clause was, however, lost, under pretence that the office was not useless, or if it was, that no evidence of its being useless appeared.

The next clause, he said, relative to the abolition of the board of trade, was opposed on the same ostensible ground of its not being useless. The minister, however, besides the ostensible ground, maintained both the other doctrines, that the influence of the crown was not too much, and that parliament had no right to controul the Civil List Expenditure; but the house was not to be drove.—The house revolted, and the clause for abolishing the board of trade was carried by a small majority.

The next clause of the establishment bill, Mr. Dunning observed, was openly opposed on principle; and that principle supported, in one shape or other, by a great majority of that house. The king's household was deemed sacred; it was not to be touched; a distinction was made by some of those who gave the minister that majority: useless places which related to the functions of the state, they held, might be abolished; but the king's revenue for the support of his household, was his own personal revenue, with which parliament neither had, nor could have anything to do.—That decision he considered as giving the death-wound to his friend's bill.

The next attempt, he observed, made in pursuance of the petitions, or in compliance with the wishes of the people, was that by Col. Barré; for instituting a committee of accounts. But the noble minister, he said, after freely promising

erising his full assistance to the measure, well foreseeing, that it would bring out many things extremely irksome and unpleasant to himself, defeated the design, by running a race with his honourable friend for the bill, and snatching it out of his hands, where it had been placed, by the unanimous voice and approbation of that house. He heavily censured the manoeuvre of the minister in this business, both as it respected him in the character of a gentleman, and in that of his public capacity; nor did he less condemn his substituted bill for a commission of accounts, which he described as being totally unprofitable, if not worse.

Two other efforts, he observed, were made towards answering one of the principal objects of the petitioners, by lessening the influence of the crown in that house. The one was Sir George Saville's motion for the production of the pension list; which was excellently calculated for answering that purpose; but which he had the mortification of seeing defeated like the foregoing. The other was Sir Philip Jennings Clerke's bill for the exclusion of contractors; which had the good fortune of being carried through that house.

Thus, the whole of what had been obtained, in consequence of that pile of parchment before them, containing the sentiments, the prayers, and the petitions of above one hundred thousand electors, and through such laudable efforts, such late and frequent discussion, and so many arduous struggles within the house, amounted only to a single clause in the establishment bill, which standing naked, as it did, could be

considered of little or no importance; to the minister's runaway bill, which was as direct an insult to that house, as it was a bare-faced mockery of their constituents; and to the contractor's bill, which the friends of administration predict will still miscarry; or if that hope should fail, openly boast, that such means are contrived as will defeat all its purposes. Such, he said, was the manner in which the dutiful petitions of the people of England had hitherto been treated.

He then stated, that as every other means had failed of producing any effect adequate to the prayer of the petitions, he thought it his duty, and it was the duty of the house, to take some determinate measure, by which the people might know, without equivocation, what they had to trust to, and whether their petitions were adopted or rejected. To bring both the points contested between the petitioners and ministers fairly to issue, he should frame two propositions, abstracted from the petitions on the table, and take the sense of the committee upon them. He meant, that they should be short, and as simple as possible, so as to draw forth a direct affirmative or negative.

He then moved his first proposition, "That the influence of the crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished." —He supported his motion principally upon the public notoriety of the fact; and disclaimed seeking for that kind of explicit proofs, which, as they were necessary, were likewise easily obtained in other cases; but which, in this being impracticable, it was of course ridiculous to require. The

question, he said, must be decided by the consciences of those, who as a jury were called upon to determine, what was or was not within their knowledge.—He observed, however, as a collateral circumstance of evidence, that nothing less than the most alarming and corrupt influence, could induce a number of gentlemen in that house, to support the minister by their votes in those measures within doors, which they condemned and reprobated without. That this was the case, and within his own immediate knowledge, he declared upon his honour; and added, that though he was not himself very squeamish, nor over-delicate, in giving his opinion upon the measures of administration, he had never indulged himself in throwing upon them such severe epithets, as had fallen in his presence from the mouths of members abroad, who, notwithstanding, supported them within those walls; nor was the number small, for, but that the task would be too invidious, he could mention no less than fifty members of that house, who had held that language and conduct.

On the other hand, the ministers and their friends contended, that the resolution now moved was clearly an abstract proposition.—The learned gentleman had declared, that he would not inform the house what further measures he intended to graft upon his intended resolutions; this afforded to them all the properties, and even the exact definition of an abstract question. There were, to be sure, instances in the records of parliament, in which abstract questions were moved and agreed to;

but they were very improper examples to be followed; and in general, even in those cases, they related to some previous proceedings in the house, some disputed point, some subject of controversy under discussion, in which the sense of the house was particularly called for. When this happened not to be the case, the person who proposed to the house to vote an abstract question, having a prospective view to measures which were to be engrafted in it, was bound by the nature of the requisition, to explain what those measures were intended to be; otherwise, one of those two things might happen, either that the house should vote an abstract question to no manner of purpose, or that after having agreed to the leading proposition, they might, notwithstanding, be under a necessity of rejecting the measure to be engrafted on it, although that measure might well bear a strong seeming relation to the antecedent resolution; a circumstance which would throw a disgraceful appearance of inconsistency and absurdity upon their proceedings.

The proposed resolution, they said, came fully within these predicaments. It was purely abstract, as not being connected with any one measure whatever; it pointed to no remedy, nor was it apparently designed to avert any evil. Many gentlemen in that house might possibly think, that the influence of the crown was really increasing; others, that it was increased; and some, perhaps, that it ought to be diminished. These, though their ignorance of what was to follow, might vote for the abstract proposition simply as it stood;

flood; and yet might afterwards totally disapprove of the measure with which the learned gentleman intended to follow it up; whereas, if the measure of correction had accompanied the fact of abuse, they would, from a knowledge of its tendency, have rejected the question in the abstract.

They objected to the total want of evidence to support the facts; and could for themselves answer that they were wholly unfounded. The slightest view of the state of public affairs would directly overthrow the whole supposition. Was it a time, when America was lost! it was feared irretrievably lost! when that loss was succeeded by a war with France, and another with Spain; was it a time, after so long a series of disappointments, untoward events, ill success and losses, and all the unpopular consequences incident to such a state of things, to suppose that the influence of the crown was increased? The people were heavily burthened; they foresaw an increase of those burthens daily approaching; they felt the loss of America; they were disappointed and out of temper: in such circumstances to talk of the influence of the crown, was absurd and preposterous.

It was besides argued to be unfair and unjust with respect to the present administration. It would appear, they said, if the present resolution was adopted, at least to the people without doors, that this influence had originated, and was daily increasing, under the present administration. This implied a censure of so severe a nature, as called for the most sound and substantial proof before it should be

admitted, much less established by a vote of parliament. For if any such influence existed at all, it must have existed before the present ministers were born; but the charge was not accompanied or supported by a single argument, which could distinguish this administration even from any other during the present reign.

They farther urged, that the present mode of carrying on the government of this country had continued the same exactly from the revolution downwards; and unless some proof were shewn that an influence, whatever that might be, existed at present, different from that which was supposed to exist in former times, the present vote would be replete with danger to the constitution; for it would tend to alter that system of government, which had been established by our forefathers; and which had been approved of, continued, and confirmed, by several succeeding generations.

The assertion, as to the reprobation of the measures of ministers without doors, by those who had supported them within, was bitterly retorted. The fact itself seemed to be doubted, as much as propriety would admit of; and a court lord, after every possible degree of execration of such men, if they really existed, called upon them to quit his side of the house, and to go over to the other, emphatically crying out, "Go, you worst of men, be your hearts and motives ever so corrupt, preserve some appearance of principle and decency, and support those principles in public, which you approve of, and secretly avow, in private."

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The speaker, on this day, took a decided part in support of the motion. He observed, that however irksome it was to him to take any part in their debates, and however cautious he was, and ought to be, of obtruding his own private opinions on the house, there were cases, and he considered the present as one of them, in which it would be criminal in him to remain silent. The question before them, he said, was of infinite consequence to that house, and to the people at large; both were under the greatest obligation to the learned gentleman who had brought it under discussion; and however it might be determined, he was happy in the opportunity which it afforded him of discharging his duty, as a member of that house, both to his constituents, and to his country in general.

He denied that the question was in any degree abstract; it was a question of fact. What were the facts? It desired the house to resolve in the first instance, that the influence of the crown was increased; who would doubt the truth of that fact?—That it is increasing; could any man doubt of that either? He believed not. If there was any such person present, he was sure that he was not himself that person. He had seen so many instances of both since he had the honour of a seat in that house, as sufficiently justified him in saying, that the influence of the crown had increased, and was increasing. The petitions on the table averred the fact; it was the duty of that house to say whether it was or was not so. It was an allegation which called for no proofs; it did not indeed admit of

any. It could only be known to the members of that house, and they were the only persons competent to resolve it; for such were the circumstances of the affair, that if it were even proved by evidence, they only could know whether the evidence was true or false. They were bound as jurors, by the conviction arising in their own minds, and were obliged to determine accordingly.

He appealed to the feelings and experience of gentlemen who heard him, if the influence of the crown had not increased, was not daily increasing, and whether it was not the duty of that house to limit it? He professed himself a friend to the legal constitutional prerogatives of the crown; but he contended that these afforded the only legitimate influence, which it could have, or ought to exercise; and asked, whether it was not a very vain and idle thing to limit or mete out the prerogatives of the crown, while they permitted another, and much more dangerous, because a concealed influence, to operate in their stead.

He further observed, that the species of government established in this country, under its true and proper definition of a monarchy limited by law, he was free to say, required no other assistance for the exercise of its functions, than what it derived from the constitution and the laws. That the powers vested in the executive part of government, and in his opinion wisely placed there, were ample and sufficient for all the purposes of good government, and without any further aid, were much too ample for the purposes of bad government; and he thought himself bound

bound as an honest man to declare, that the influence of the crown had increased far beyond the ideas of a monarchy strictly limited in its nature and extent.

Such doctrines and opinions, coming from such an authority, could not but produce some considerable effect. The speaker likewise observed to the committee, that it might possibly be very galling to them to be informed of their duty by the petitioners? but they should recollect that it was entirely their own fault. He was sorry, in one sense, to see those petitions before them; because he was of opinion, that the house, conscious of its own duty, should have prevented the necessity. What the petitioners now demanded, should have originated within their own walls; and then, what now would bear too much the appearance of compulsion, would have been received with gratitude on the one side, and conferred with credit and a good grace on the other. But at any rate they were to consider, that they were then sitting as the representatives of the people, and solely for their advantage and benefit; and that they in duty stood pledged to that people, who were their creators, for the faithful discharge of their trust.

The Lord Advocate of Scotland, in order to obtain a negative to the motion, proposed to strengthen the proposition in such a manner, as, he thought, must of necessity occasion its rejection. He accordingly moved as an amendment the following words, “That it is now necessary to declare,” an amendment which the opposition (undoubtedly from a sense of their strength) readily, and perhaps

unexpectedly agreed to. The amended question then stood thus,—That it is the opinion of this committee, that it is now necessary to declare, that the influence of the crown is increased, increasing, and ought to be diminished.

The committee divided about 12 o'clock, when the motion so amended was carried by a majority of 18; the numbers being 233, who supported Mr. Dunning's proposition, to 215, who voted with administration against it. Thus the minister, a second time in this session, found himself in a minority.

Mr. Dunning then moved his second proposition, “That it is
“ competent to this house to ex-
“ mine into, and to correct abuses
“ in the expenditure of the civil
“ list revenues, as well as in
“ every other branch of the pub-
“ lic revenue, whenever it shall
“ seem expedient to the wisdom
“ of this house so to do.”

Although the minister requested that the committee would not proceed any farther that night, the question was notwithstanding put, and carried without a division. But the new majority, after the vexation of so many years labour in the ineffective efforts of a minority, were now determined to make the most of the advantages afforded by their new situation. Mr. T. Pitt accordingly (who had taken a most active and spirited part in the debates of the day) moved the following resolution, That it is the opinion of this committee, “that it is the duty
“ of this house to provide, as far
“ as may be, an immediate and
“ effectual redress of the abuses
“ com-

“ complained of in the petitions
 “ presented to this house, from
 “ the different counties, cities,
 “ and towns in this kingdom.”

The minister again intreated and implored, but with no better success than before, that the committee would not proceed any farther for that night. No ground of argument being taken against, nor opposition whatever made to this conclusive motion, it was carried in the affirmative without an apparent dissent.

The business was not, however, yet over. The house being resumed, Mr. Fox moved, that the resolutions should be immediately reported. This was opposed by the minister, with all the force he yet retained, as being unusual, violent, and arbitrary. But the torrent was too strong to be resisted. The resolutions were severally reported and received; and, after being read a first and second time, were agreed to, and confirmed by the house, without a division.

Such was the complete and decisive victory gained, in behalf of the petitions by the opposition, on that extraordinary and memorable day. The exultation and triumph on one side of the house, was only equalled by the evident depression and dismay which prevailed on the side of administration. Indeed the appearance of things was sufficient to strike the boldest with dismay; nor does it seem, that any proposition could have been brought fairly before the house on that night, which, in the spirit that then prevailed, would not have been carried against the ministers. When the nature and the tendency of the questions are

considered, and the manner in which they were carried, is attentively viewed, scarcely any thing more important seems to have been so proposed and carried since the revolution. The system of the court was shaken to its foundations. Without doors, the joy and triumph in most parts of England, as well in most of the counties that did not petition, as in those that did, was great and general; and though not displayed in the same manner, would not perhaps have been exceeded, on occasion of the most decisive victory over a foreign enemy.

It can be no matter of surprize, that under the pressure of such circumstances, and pushed without mercy on all sides as he was, the minister should in some instances be thrown off his guard so much, as to shew strong marks of indignation and resentment; more especially when keen personal reproach was superadded to the general sense of misfortune. This effect was particularly produced by the severity of some strictures thrown out by Mr. Thomas Pitt; who observed, that there could not be a more indubitable proof of the enormous and destructive influence of the crown, than that noble lord afforded in the possession of his present office, after so many years of loss, misfortune, and calamity, as had already marked the fatal course of his administration. He asked, whether that noble lord had not lost America? Whether he had not squandered many millions of the public money, and wasted rivers of blood of the subjects of Great Britain. And yet, though the whole country with one voice cried
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out against him, and execrated his American war, the noble lord still held his place. Could this possibly be ascribed to any other cause than to the overgrown influence of the crown, along with that daring exertion of it, which sets the voice and the interests of the people at naught. The noble lord, he said, had sunk and degraded the honour of Great Britain; the name of an Englishman was now no longer a matter to be proud of; the time had been when it was the envy of all the world: it had been the introduction to universal respect, but the noble lord had contrived to sink it almost beneath contempt. He had rendered his countrymen and their country despicable in the eyes of every other power.—It must have required more than a common stock of philosophy to remain unmoved, under such a weight of invective, and under charges of such a nature.

April 10th. On the next day of business, the house being in a committee on the subject of the petitions, Mr. Dunning, in pursuance of his plan, moved a resolution to the following purport, That in order to secure the independence of parliament, and to obviate all suspicions of its purity, that within seven days after the meeting of parliament, every session, there be laid before that house, by the proper officer, an account of all monies paid out of the civil list, or any part of the public revenue, to or for the use, or in trust, for any member of parliament, since the last recess, by every person who shall have paid the same.

This motion was but faintly

opposed; the principal grounds of argument being, that the commons passing resolutions, which were in fact tests, might occasion some difference with the other house; and the old doctrine, of the indelicacy of supposing, that men of honour and character could be biassed in their public opinions and votes, by the consideration of any paltry emoluments. These were however overruled, and the resolution carried without difficulty.

Mr. Dunning then moved, That the persons holding the offices of treasurer of the chamber, treasurer of the household, cofferer of the household, comptroller of the household, master of the household, clerks of the green cloth, with all their deputies, be rendered incompatible with a seat in that house.—Thus avowedly endeavouring to remedy, so far as it could now be done, the failure of that clause in Mr. Burke's establishment bill, which went to the total abolition of those very offices. This motion was warmly opposed, and brought out some considerable debate, in which the propriety of place bills, with the several qualifications and exceptions to the principle, were much and ingeniously agitated. It was, however, more strenuously opposed in act, in the struggle of an exceedingly close division, than even in argument. The question being called for at a late hour, the motion was carried, in a very full house, by a majority of two only; the numbers upon a division, being 215, to 213. This was the minister's third minority. However, he seemed to gather strength.

Thus far, the new majority had kept their ground. Experience, however,

however, soon taught them, that they could only hold it on certain questions, and in certain seasons.

The first check they received was on the second reading of Mr. Crewe's bill, for excluding revenue officers from voting on the election of members of parliament. As this bill was on the same principle with that which had been brought forward by the late Mr. Dowdeswell about ten years before, the ground of argument was necessarily the same on both sides which we then stated; with this addition on one, that the present bill went to two of the great objects of the petitions, to diminish the influence of the crown, and to restore or secure the independence of parliament; the opposition from thence contending, that the house was bound by its own late determinations to support the bill. The debate was long, and the question strongly argued on both sides. The one, holding out the injustice and cruelty of depriving a great body of men of their franchises, without any crime proved or alledged to justify the forfeiture; and the other insisting, that the bill would deprive them of no franchises, for that no revenue officer, while he continued such, either did or could possess a free vote: so that instead of injustice or cruelty, it would be a great relief to these people, as it would save them from the hard necessity, of either voting against their inclination and conscience, or of losing their places; the bill did not deprive, it only suspended the officer's franchise, until he was in a situation which would admit of his exercising it properly, that is, with-

out restraint; the option, either of holding his place, or of exercising his franchise, would always lie with himself.

The bill was, however, thrown out upon a division, about ten at night, by a majority of 224, to 195; so well was the house attended at this time.—The illness of the speaker, on the following day, occasioned a sudden cessation. The house was adjourned unto the 24th day of the month.

During this interval, the contractor's bill brought out long and very considerable debates in the House of Lords. Upon the second reading, the Duke of Bolton having moved that the bill should be committed, a powerful and determined opposition on the side of administration immediately appeared, in which the secretaries of state, and both the great law lords in office took a principal share.

The court lords insisted, that the principle of the bill was false, and that it proposed manifest injustice. It was likewise a direct infringement of that great prerogative of the crown, which sets it above all controul whatever, in the articles of making and conducting war. The principle was false, in supposing dishonesty and corruption without any manner of evidence. It was cruel and unjust, in insisting punishment without proof of criminality or guilt. It would deprive a respectable body of men of their natural rights, as well as of their municipal franchises, without the smallest charge, or even pretence, of their having committed any act which could incur a forfeiture. Indeed it reached

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to those who could commit no act, for it decreed punishment to men yet unborn.

With all its other enormities, the bill, they said, went to the direct subversion of the constitution, by depriving the people of England of their inherent and invaluable right, of choosing those persons whom they trusted and liked, to be their representatives in parliament. Nor was its tendency more unjust to individuals, more injurious to the prerogative, or more inimical to the constitution, than it would be found pernicious to the public service of the state in time of war. For it would deter all reputable merchants and gentlemen of character, who had a nice sense of honour, and who were not disposed to forfeit the common rights and franchises of citizens, from supplying our fleets and armies, upon any terms, with those necessaries, which it would frequently happen, that no others could furnish. And at any rate, it would throw that business entirely into the hands of men, who either wanted means and ability to fulfil their contracts, or inclination and honesty to fulfil them properly.

The bill indeed provides, that those who become contractors at a public bidding, after 25 days previous notice given in the Gazette, shall not be subject to its penalties; that is, they will not be rendered incapable of a seat in the House of Commons. But the circumstances and exigencies of war are frequently such, as to require the greatest possible dispatch, and the most inviolable secrecy. It may frequently happen that the loss of half that time in providing the

stores or necessaries which were wanted, would be attended with the most ruinous consequences: and such a public advertisement would besides afford direct information to the enemy of the nature and design, of whatever expedition or enterprize was then in contemplation. It was frequently necessary, they said, to provide for future as well as present exigencies in contracts. Their very nature often forbids their being public. The mode of public advertisement now proposed, would likewise enhance the prices of the commodity in such a degree, that the executive officers of government would be incapable of carrying on the public business.

Were then, they said, the gentlemen, who performed such eminent and essential services to their country, as the provision of those supplies, without which fleets and armies are ineffectual, to be, for that reason only, debarred from serving it in another manner, for which, by their fortunes and abilities, they might probably be no less qualified? Was it a part of the system included in the present rage of novelty and reform, either to banish the mercantile interest from the House of Commons, or to place the existence of our fleets and armies in the hands of beggars and bankrupts?

They reprobated in high terms the indignity offered to the human heart and understanding, in supposing that men of character, fortune, and sense, would forfeit their good name and reputation, and sacrifice those public interests in which they were so deeply concerned, by prostituting their votes in parliament for the paltry
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emoluments of an office, or the profits of a contract, either of which must bear a very diminutive proportion to the value of their private estates, which were wholly staked in the welfare and security of their country. The vulgar but popular prejudice, they said, of supposing every minister corrupt, and that every man who has any contract with government, whatever his former integrity might have been, becomes likewise corrupt from that instant, could not be sufficiently exploded, or treated with too much contempt. Who could be supposed so base or so foolish, as to sacrifice his reputation, and his permanent interests, for a precarious income or office? But if it were even admitted, that a few such wretched and unworthy characters might possibly exist, would the multiplying of penal laws, eradicate the vices, or correct the enormities of mankind? Had they produced that effect with respect to gaming, the most destructive to a state of all vices?

But admitting, what was very possible, that some particular persons might have been guilty of imposition or fraud in their contracts, still there could be no occasion for the interference of parliament, much less for agreeing to the present bill. — The laws had very wisely provided proper punishment for public as well as private delinquency; and the courts of justice were always open to due examination, and ready to enforce the laws. Such matters should therefore be left by parliament to their natural course. They might possibly, if there were such, come ultimately and properly be-

fore that house in its judicial capacity. But at any rate, the public could never fail of obtaining justice against the offenders, without the interposition of parliament. They had indeed heard, both formerly and now, a great deal about Atkinson's rum contracts; and it was endeavoured to bring those transactions forward as a sort of evidence in support of the present bill. But that house being totally unacquainted with the circumstances of the affair, could form no opinion at all upon it; if any thing improper appeared in those transactions, the law would take due cognizance of it, and punishment would necessarily follow conviction. A great law authority threw some light upon this subject, which had been so often brought into discussion. But the public, he said, could be no losers by the affair; as the noble lord at the head of the treasury had stopped the money overcharged, in the first instance; and the matter of the second, was now in a due course of investigation.

The lords on that side contended, that there were many other objections of great weight against the bill. Particularly with respect to the proposed new mode of contracts, they observed, that the most improper men, would probably be the lowest bidders; but that there was still a matter of greater danger and mischief to be apprehended, which was, that the enemy might secretly employ agents at these public biddings, merely to thwart and ruin the public service.

They scarcely combated the bill less with respect to its objects, than its principle. These

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were two, namely, to restore the independency of parliament, by diminishing the supposed increased influence of the crown, and to promote œconomy in the expenditure of the public money. The first object, they contended, did not exist, and therefore could not be attained. Could any man venture to say, that either house of parliament was at this day in a state of dependence or slavery? Or, what proof could be given, that the influence of the crown was increased, or increasing? If all other were wanting, the passing of the present bill through the other house, and their late boasted resolutions, would afford the most incontestible evidence in both respects to the contrary. But supposing that influence had really existed, the present bill was totally inadequate to that, its first and principal object. The second object indeed, of promoting public œconomy, was a matter worthy of the highest consideration; but this bill was as defective in that respect as in the other; and thus was, in fact, totally incommensurate to both its objects.

But it was advanced on the other side, that those resolutions passed in the other house, were to be received as evidence, and even in some measure to influence the conduct of that. On these points, however, they must totally differ. They could only consider these resolutions as the opinions of 233 members of that house, and perhaps of a number of their constituents; but they could by no means consider them as any absolute proof of the facts they related to, nor even as the sense of the

people of England at large. As little could they submit to the position held out on the other side, that they had no right of interference or rejection with respect to the present bill, from its being a matter of domestic regulation which related merely to the commons house. This they combated on two grounds. For if the premises had been even fairly stated, they could by no means admit the inference. The very circumstance, that the bill must of necessity go through their house after it had passed the commons, clearly shewed, that they must have a right and power of rejection, as well as of deliberation and enquiry. But in fact, the bill was not merely a matter of domestic regulation; it could indeed answer very little, if any thing to that purpose. It was on the contrary a great question of state. It included in its embrace the royal prerogative, the constitution, the private rights of individuals, and the public rights of the people at large; and would besides establish, or give a sanction, to questions of dangerous import, relative to the supposed influence of the crown, and to the honour and independence of parliament.

A noble earl in high office observed, that the time was fast approaching, if not already arrived, when the weight and importance of that house must necessarily become apparent to the whole nation. They were placed as a barrier by the constitution, between the extension of power and prerogative, on the one hand, and the violence of the people, or the innovations of the commons, on the other.

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other. When, mistaken notions, and false representations of virtue and liberty, had either deceived the people at large, or the members of the other house, it was their duty, who had as dear an interest in the constitution as either, or both, to step forth as its hereditary guardians, and effectually to controul, restrain, and resist, the delirium of virtue, the rage of innovation, and the madness of enthusiasm; until they had brought them back to coolness, sobriety, and reason. That state of things, he conceived at present subsisting; and the noble lord threw out some peculiar phrases, particularly, that the people were liberty mad—that they had run mad about public virtue—and that the times unfortunately exhibited nothing but an innovating spirit of alteration and ideal perfection, internal commotion, causeless discontents, turbulence and dissention.

The lords in opposition, treated with very little respect, and indeed rather contemptuously, many of the arguments brought against, and objections made on the other side, particularly with respect to the principle and justice of the bill. They asked if it was possible, that those noble lords, who seemed now to be so strangely alarmed with respect to the constitution, and who felt so much for supposed public injury, and private injustice, could have totally forgotten, or could have been ignorant, that the whole code of election laws, whether with regard to the elector, or the elected, all the qualification, place, restraining, or exclusion laws, were not founded upon the same princi-

ple with the present bill, and had not produced effects exactly correspondent to those, which are now held out as objects of so much apprehension and horror. Are not a prodigious majority of the people of England, and including a great number of men of rank, character, and fortune, rendered incapable, by one law, of having a vote in the choice of their own representatives? Are not men of the greatest abilities and integrity, without qualifications which may not depend on either, proscribed from a seat in the House of Commons, however warmly the wishes of the electors may be in their favour, or however highly they may consider it to their advantage to be so represented, by another? Do the commissioners of the excise and customs complain of any injustice, in receiving their places at the expence of that right by which they might otherwise sit in parliament? Or do they feel any sense of stigma or disgrace under that exclusion? These gentlemen possess at least as fair characters, and generally as pleasant countenances as contractors; and yet was it ever known, that any body or community of electors, had become so enamoured of any of them, as to complain of injury, because they could not be returned as their representatives? It is indeed true, that as the contractor may gain more money in a single morning by one job, than the fee-simple of the commissioner's place would sell for, that circumstance may render him a much more welcome visitor to our corrupt and rotten boroughs; but that is one of the enormities which the bill is intended to remedy.

All the restrictive, place, pension, and exclusion laws that ever were passed, are so many living records, of the constant jealousy with which our ancestors, and former parliaments watched, and as far as it was in the power of man, endeavoured to prevent or correct, the growth and progress of undue influence and corruption; particularly the dangerous influence of the crown. All these laws were founded upon the same principle, and held the same objects with the present bill. They all likewise tend to overthrow that unheard of position, that the minds of men are not liable to be biased by honours, places, or vast pecuniary emoluments. Did not their own records, as well as those of the other house, furnish instances, of men in high rank, trust and office, having in various cases been operated upon by base and unworthy motives? Have no such men been found corrupt and venal? Or have they not suffered public ignominy and punishment for their speculation, venality and prostitution? But this doctrine, they said, must have originated, either from so perfect a puerility of understanding, or such a thorough contempt of that house and of the nation, as to be worthy only of notice as a subject of animadversion, but not of answer. Of the same nature, they said, was the argument drawn from the supposed improbability of abuses in contracts, because the laws have left in the hands of ministers, the means of prosecuting in the courts of justice, the supporters of their own power, and the accomplices of their fraud and malver-

sion. Surely a single instance quoted, in which the public were said to have been exonerated from the fraud of a contractor, would not have been advanced, if the learned lord had recollected, that the detection of the fraud was entirely owing to the activity of a gentleman in the other house; and that the minister was compelled, solely against his will, by the bitter and repeated attacks made upon him by the opposition, to adopt an apparent measure of remedy, which was, however, probably but a mere delusion.

The arguments founded upon the many supposed mischiefs and dangers attributed to open contracts, were, they said, as futile, and as unworthy of notice, as the foregoing. The facts themselves were totally unfounded, and contradicted by established and daily experience. The conduct of the navy in this respect, overthrows, at once, every thing that has been said upon that subject. The navy is the only source, and affords the only means of enterprize in this country. Yet all the victualling office contracts are open and above board. The very names of the ports, at which ships or squadrons are intended or likely to touch, are specified in the public news papers. Has any evil been yet known to result from this method of supplying the navy? Of what consequence would it be to the enemy to know, that the rum contractor had palmed currency upon the minister of this country for sterling money? Or that the gold contractor receives a large premium for sending Portugal

gold to America, when in fact he sends nothing but English guineas thither.

They treated the supposed invasion of the prerogative as a matter of ridicule. It was undoubtedly, they said, a fatal stroke to the executive power, to be enabled to supply its fleets and armies better, to carry on the public business more advantageously, and the operations of war more successfully, than it was before disposed or capable of doing in itself. They closed the ground of examination by declaring, that they had not heard an argument against the bill, which did not appear to be either frivolous, fallacious, or dangerous. It had indeed been urged, that it was necessary to abate that phrenzy of virtue, which began to appear in the House of Commons. As to that new species of phrenzy, they could not but consider it, rather as a character of soundness, than as a symptom of insanity; and as they necessarily came frequently into contact with the other house, they could not refrain from sincerely wishing, that that distemper might become contagious.

Having thus controverted the objections to the bill, they supported it on the following grounds; Its own intrinsic merit. The magnitude of the evil which it was designed to remedy, and the necessity from which it was derived. Its being in conformity to the wishes and petitions of the people of England. The impropriety, if not danger, of their obstructing a measure of domestic regulation adopted by the House of Commons, and tending merely to their own internal purity and

independence. On that ground, the question of right, as well as of expedience or propriety, was controverted. They had a very great law authority, they said, in the case of the Middlesex election, although the learned lord opposed the present bill, that in cases which related to their own immediate privileges, and the receiving or exclusion of their own members, there was no appeal from the decisions of the House of Commons, nor could any other branch of the legislature check or alter their resolutions. So that right or wrong, according to that authority, their decision would be final. Surely the same rule that held in that instance, must equally apply in the present. This bill, which related particularly to their own privileges, had been unanimously passed by the other house. If it was rejected there, the probable consequence would be, that as it went to the exclusion of a particular description of men, the other house would shew their contempt of the rejection, in the exercise of what was deemed their own inherent right, and acting as they had done in the affair of the Middlesex election, exclude them by a mere resolution. Could the lords be blind, in the present critical situation of affairs, to the danger of a rupture with the other house?

It was curious, they said, to observe the continual inconsistency in the conduct of ministers. When a motion tending to economical reform had, not long before, been made in that house, it was strongly objected to by a noble earl in office, because, it might give offence to the commons, that the lords

lords should take up the performance of a duty appertaining to them. And now, when a bill of the same tendency, which originated with, and peculiarly relates to themselves, is unanimously passed, and sent up by that house, the same noble lord endeavours with all his might that it should be rejected, without the smallest consideration of the danger of a breach between the two houses, which he had on the former occasion held out as an object of so much terror.

They concluded, by a strong appeal to the necessities and the temper of the times, and by hoping, that the lords would have too full and lively a sense of what they owed to their own honour and dignity, to suffer that house to become an engine in the hands of the minister; and thus to do that for him, which he was ashamed and afraid to attempt doing for himself in the other.

The question being put, after a very long debate, the bill was rejected by a majority of 20; the numbers being 61 to 41. A protest was entered, signed by 25 peers; and in the greater part by another.

Nothing ever happened more fortunately in favour of any administration, than the illness, at this peculiar juncture, of the speaker of the house of commons. It seemed as if nothing else could at that time have saved them. The recess, indeed, was not long; but it produced extraordinary and unexpected effects. For besides that the ardour and animation which ever attend new enterprize, and perhaps more in cases of reform than any other, naturally cool and

slacken under a cessation of action; the recess likewise afforded time and opportunity, which were by no means lost or neglected, for using effectual means to bring the numerous deserters from the court, who had been afraid to oppose the late popular torrent, back to their original standard.

In effect, the meeting of the house of commons, after this short recess, presented so new a face and appearance of things, and such a total change of temper and disposition, that it seemed no longer the same identical body.

The first public question of consequence April 24th. before the house, was a postponed motion of Mr. Dunning's, which had been deferred on the last day of meeting, on account of the speaker's illness. The motion was for an address to his majesty, requesting that he would not dissolve the parliament, nor prorogue the present session, until proper measures should be taken by that house, to diminish the influence of the crown, and to correct the other evils complained of in the petitions of the people.

This motion brought out great and long debates; in the course of which, almost every ground, that we have hitherto seen trodden, relative to the various great objects of the present controversy, was again, upon some occasion, and in some degree taken. Whether it was, that the leaders of the opposition understood, or that they only apprehended, the defection of their late but new allies, they however took all imaginable pains, and used every possible argument, to shew the necessity of their supporting their own determinations; as

well as the shame and disgrace that must attend a dereliction of those principles, which they had so recently avowed and established.— They had already substantiated, they said, by the resolutions of the sixth of April, the grievances complained of in the petitions; and they had also bound themselves, by the same resolutions, under the most indissoluble obligation to the people of England, to procure full redress for those grievances. So that no gentleman, who had supported those resolutions by his vote, could, without the most shameful inconsistency of conduct, and a dereliction of principle so manifest, as to afford room for the most odious surmises, refuse giving his support to any fair measure that was proposed for obtaining that redress, unless he could himself substitute a better, or at least shew, that the means offered were in themselves essentially faulty.

A few, though but very few, freely declared, that they neither did nor should, whether upon the present, or upon any future occasion, hold themselves at all fettered in their conduct, by any former resolutions or opinions. They should estimate every question that came before them by its own intrinsic value; and consider its probable consequences, merely as it then appeared, without the trouble of any retrospect. It by no means necessarily followed, that those who supported the resolutions of the 6th of April, were to approve of the present motion; no charge of inconsistency could therefore be incurred by their opposing either that, or many others which might possibly be held out under the same idea. If they

promised their endeavours to procure redress for the people, they did not thereby give up the right of exercising their own judgment, whether in chusing the most eligible means of obtaining that end, or in deciding upon the measure of redress which it might be right and necessary to obtain.

The ministers cheered their old or new friends with the warmest plaudits, for that liberality of sentiment, which disdained the trammels of vulgar restraint. They likewise exclaimed loudly at the impropriety, indecorum, and delicacy of their antagonists, in endeavouring to put gentlemen out of countenance, by confronting them with their former conduct and opinions. This they declared to be unparliamentary and unfair. Nor could there be any lack of precedents or reasons, to support a change in either or both.

The question being put a little before midnight, in an unusually full house, the motion was rejected upon a division by a majority of 51; the numbers being 254, to 203.

Mr. Fox rising to speak immediately after the motion, a most extraordinary scene of disorder was displayed, arising (as the minority affirmed) from the unwillingness of the majority to hear the deserters treated as they deserved. The chair being repeatedly called on to exercise its authority, the speaker at length, with the utmost vehemence of voice, called on every side of the house to order; and having ordered the officers to clear the bar, required and insisted that every member should take his place.

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This opened the way to Mr. Fox; and after all that had been supposed done to prevent it, the gentlemen concerned found themselves condemned to hear, the keenest philippic, that perhaps ever was spoken in that house. No calls to order, nor other means, could either check the torrent of his eloquence, or restrain the bitterness of his invective. He declared the vote of that night, to be scandalous, disgraceful, and treacherous. He did not apply these charges to the 215 gentlemen, who had, along with the minister, opposed the resolutions of the 6th of April. These gentlemen acted an open, a consistent, and a manly part, in their opposing the address proposed on the present day. They had differed from him; he was sorry for it; but he could not blame them, because they differed from him upon principle.

But who could contemplate, he said, without a mixture of the greatest surprize and indignation, the conduct of another set of men in that house? Those who had resolved that the influence of the crown was increased, and ought to be diminished; that the grievances of the people ought to be redressed; who pledged themselves to that house, to the nation, to their constituents, to each other, and to themselves, that it was their duty to redress the grievances complained of; and who had now shamefully fled from that solemn engagement! It was shameful, it was base, it was unmanly, it was treacherous. The gentlemen he meant, he said, surrounded him; they sat at his side of the house; he was sorry for it. They were

those who voted with him on the 6th of April, and who voted with the minister that night. No man held in greater contempt those who were at the devotion of the minister, than he did himself: they were slaves of the worst kind, because they sold themselves; yet, base as the tenure of their places was, they had one virtue to pride themselves on; their fidelity, consistency, and gratitude, were subjects of commendation. To all their other demerits, they had not added the absurdity and treachery, of one day resolving an opinion to be true, and the next of declaring it to be a falsehood. They had not taken in their patron, their friends, or their country, with false hopes, and delusive promises. Whatever their motives or sentiments might be, they had adhered to them; and so far as that went, their conduct was entitled to his approbation.

Mr. Dunning joined him in the charge of direct treachery to the nation. For that the counties, depending on the faith of parliament, for the redress held out by these resolutions, had relaxed greatly in the measures which they were pursuing for obtaining it by other means; and that the county of Cambridge in particular had, upon that dependence, rescinded its own resolution for appointing a committee of association. They both likewise declared, that the division of this night was totally decisive with respect to the petitions; that it amounted to a full rejection of their general prayer; and that all hope of obtaining any redress for the people, in that house, was at an end.

The minister answered Mr. Fox
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in a long speech ; in which he expressed the utmost astonishment at, and a good deal reprehended, the strange language, and the unbounded censure he had heard. The administering comfort to his suffering friends, was not, however, his principal object. He was much more anxious to obviate the impression, which the charges made, of rejecting by the present decision the petitions of the people, might occasion without doors.—He accordingly laboured that point much ; and upon the same ground which had been before taken relative to the rejection of some of the clauses in Mr. Burke's bill. He asked, whether any conclusion could be more extravagant, or irreconcilable to common sense, than that the giving a negative to a single proposition, should be considered as deciding the fate of the petitions, and as amounting to a general rejection of the whole? The resolutions of the 6th of April were still in full being. Other measures might be proposed on them. And surely it might very well happen, that those who did not approve of the means in one mode of redress, might readily concur in others.

Mr. Burke's establishment bill, after lying for some time dormant, was brought forward 28th. a few days after. The first clause agitated was that for abolishing the office of the great wardrobe, and all those lesser offices and places depending on it. This question brought out long and very considerable debates ; and it was supported by the framer with all his usual vigour and ability. The clause was, however, at length rejected upon

a division, by a majority of 210, to 183. The principle of reform being in effect abandoned by the late vote, the attendance on particular parts now grew daily less and less.

The committee then proceeded upon the succeeding clause, for abolishing the board of works. This brought out new debate, in which the mover of the bill distinguished himself more than ever by the force of his arguments, the fertility of his invention, and the pleasantry with which he enlivened a matter apparently dry and insipid in itself ; but the question being at length put, the clause was rejected, upon a division, by a majority of 203, to 118.

The minister's bill, for a commission of accounts, had brought out upon him, in the various stages of its progress, more asperity of language, and severity of censure, than perhaps had ever been undergone upon a similar occasion, by any other minister in that house. This partly proceeded from the manner in which, we have seen, he had taken the bill out of the hands of another gentleman, and partly from the measure of appointing commissioners, who were not members of the house of commons. This was said to be directly subversive of the constitution. That it was no less than a surrender of the first right of that house, that of managing, as well as of granting, the public money, and of directing and controuling its expenditure. And some of the opposition contended strongly, that the house was not competent to such a resignation. That being only delegates themselves, they could not delegate to others. They

They might as well appoint their own successors. If they were incapable, or indisposed, to discharge the duties of the great trust deposited with them, they were bound in duty to return it into the hands of their constituents. But they had no right to appoint deputies to transact that essential part of the business of the nation, which was entrusted only to themselves.

On the other hand, the minister gave every assurance, that he had not the smallest wish or intention, either of violating any of the privileges, or of abating any of the powers of that house; and that he was fully convinced, that there were gentlemen on both sides within those walls, of as great integrity, honour, ability, and possessed of as warm a zeal for the public welfare, as any in the kingdom. That he had already given one of his motives for proposing that the commissioners should not be members of that house, which was to avoid the invidious reflections which that circumstance would draw both upon himself and them. That debates ran so high, and the times were so contentious, that almost every gentleman in that house had taken one side or other; a circumstance which must render their conduct, however pure, liable to great and continual misconstruction. Among a number of other reasons, he stated the present immensity of parliamentary business, which would not afford leisure to the members for so tedious and laborious an undertaking. That the failure of former commissions proceeded from their originating in party. And that the commis-

sioners being members of that house, had laid the ground of frequent difference with the other. He likewise endeavoured to support the measure by precedent, and for that purpose referred to the 13th of Charles the second, when nine commissioners were chosen by ballot, some of whom, he contended, were not members of parliament; but upon examining the reference, the evidence was found defective, it not positively appearing that any one was not a member, and it seeming certain that some were.

The house being in a committee on the subject, May 1st. the nomination of the commissioners brought out great and various debates; and the naming of Sir Guy Carleton, in particular, afforded room for much censure and ridicule on the side of opposition. They said it was completing and rounding the present system adopted in the government of the army; as well as extending it to new objects. In the first instance, they dragged clerks out of offices, to place them at the head of regiments; and now, they pull the truncheon out of the hand of a brave and veteran commander, and placing a pen, an instrument totally out of the line of his profession, in its place, oblige him, at a time of life little calculated for new habits or acquirements, to commence commissary of accounts. It was still more absurd and improper, because Sir Guy Carleton was himself, at that very time, an accountant with the public. Why was not that gallant officer employed in his proper sphere of action, in a season when his services were so much wanted? On this

this subject, in particular, Mr. Fox expatiated with infinite wit and felicity of thought and expression.

The minister supported his nomination, by observing, that as the accounts of the army would form a great and principal object of examination and enquiry with the commissioners, he thought it a matter of great moment, that a general officer, of Sir Guy Carleton's high character, great experience, and consequent knowledge in such subjects, should be placed at the head of the commission. That he should act upon the same principle in the nomination of others; some of the gentlemen he intended to propose being drawn from the law, and others from the mercantile profession. The former were, for the greater part, masters in chancery. These the minister supported, as from their knowledge in stating and settling accounts, being particularly suited to the business. The opposition exceedingly ridiculed this idea, and asked, whether their remarkable quickness in bringing private accounts to a settlement was what recommended them to that office?

The next nomination made by the minister was a gentleman in office, although placemen were expressly excluded by a provision in the bill. This threw the opposition, who were sufficiently dissatisfied before, into a violent flame, and a motion was immediately made for the chairman's quitting the chair. After much heat and debate, the question was put, and rejected, upon a close division, the numbers being 125, to 173. Though it was then two o'clock, the debate was continued till be-

tween three and four; when nothing being concluded, it was put off to another day. The issue of the business was, that the bill was finally carried through both houses, and received the royal assent. All that the opposition got by their struggle, was the exclusion of the gentleman in office, to whose personal character they had not the smallest objection.

The extraordinaries of the army coming under consideration, in the committee of supply, on the following day but one, Colonel Barre, who had taken great pains in investigating that subject, after stating the result of his enquiries, with his observations on them, to the committee, moved resolutions to the following purport:—That the sum of 1,588,027*l.* 2*s.* is stated in the papers presented to this house, to have been applied to the service of the land forces in North America, from the 31st of January, 1779, to the 1st of February, 1780, of which sum no account whatsoever has been laid before parliament. The said sum being over and above the pay, cloathing, provisions, with the expence of freight and armament attending them, ordnance, transport service, oats, blankets, expence of Indians, pay of certain general and staff officers, pay of several commissaries, and other allowances for the said forces. -- That the sum of 3,796,543*l.* has been applied to the service of the land forces in North America, in the year 1775, 1776, 1777, 1778, of which sum no satisfactory account has been laid before parliament. The said sum being over and above the sums stated in the accounts for pay, &c. including, with the addition of rnm, all those

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contingents which we have stated in the former resolution.—That it is the opinion of this committee, that the practice of incurring and paying extraordinaries of the army, to so large an amount, without either explanation or satisfactory account, and without the authority of parliament, is not warranted by precedent, is a dangerous invasion of the rights of this house, and one of the gross abuses in the expenditure of the public money, complained of in the petitions of the people.—That it is the opinion of this committee, that the creation of new, unnecessary, or sinecure offices in the army, with considerable emoluments, is a profusion of the public money, and the more alarming, as it tends to increase the unconstitutional influence of the crown.

These motions, supported with the greatest ability, and most perfect knowledge of the subject, by the mover, drew out the usual course of debate, and upon the same ground which we have heretofore seen taken, on other attempts of enquiry into the expences of the American war. The first resolution was rejected, upon a division, by a majority of more than two to one; the numbers being 123, to 57.—The second and third resolutions received a negative without any division; and the fourth was withdrawn. The debates lasted till between one and two in the morning. The mover received great applause from some of the petitioning bodies, as well for the motions themselves, as for the labour and perseverance with which he had surmounted the numerous difficulties that had obstructed the course of his enquiries.

An ineffectual attempt was made by General Conway, to 5th. bring in a bill for restoring peace with America. The bill did not come fully up to the ideas of opposition, although it went beyond those of administration; but so eager were the former, as they declared themselves, for taking up any measure which at all tended to that desirable event, and likewise considering that it might be moulded in its progress to such a form as they conceived would be more adapted to its purpose, that it brought out considerable debates; and upon a motion to get rid of it, without a direct negative, by calling the order of the day, they brought the question to a division, in which it was carried against them by a majority of 123, to 81.

Information having some time before been received by the opposition, that on the day of a great meeting of the electors of Westminster, upon public affairs, at Westminster hall, and where several persons of the first rank and distinction in the kingdom attended, private orders had been given for a large body of the military, particularly the whole, or a part of the 3d regiment of guards, to be armed and in readiness, who were likewise unusually provided with a considerable quantity of powder and ball, it had been more than once taken notice of in the House of Commons, and brought out no small degree of warmth and sharpness of observation. On the other side, the fact was at first denied, and it was asserted that no such orders had been given; but afterwards, it was partly acknowledged, and attributed to the busy,
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or impertinent application of a Westminster justice. As that description of men were not held in the highest estimation, such an authority was not at all acknowledged, as any justification of so extraordinary a measure. The subject was however of a nature, which rendered the obtaining of any evidence on which to proceed exceedingly difficult.

This difficulty being at length overcome by Sir William Meredith, he made a motion, for the proper officer to lay before the house, a copy of any requisitions made by the civil magistrates, and by whom, for any of the foot or horse guards, to be in readiness from the 5th to the 7th of April last.

This motion brought out some exceedingly warm animadversion, and strong language; (which at this time became more common than ever) and it was openly declared, that if the people, legally and constitutionally assembled upon their own affairs, were to be surrounded by bodies of armed men, and those too of a description particularly inimical and dangerous to the constitution and them, it was become necessary, that the people should provide for their own security, by going effectually armed to such meetings — The ground of argument on the other side, was the right of the civil magistrate to call in the aid of the military under any apprehension of riot, and the necessity of that power for the preservation of the public peace. The motion was rejected on a division, by a majority of 133, to 91.

The house now began to be very badly attended, as will appear from the state of divisions.

The committee on the remaining clauses of Mr. Burke's establishment bill being resumed, that for abolishing the offices, of master of the buck hounds, fox-hounds, and harriers, was rejected upon a division, by a majority of 75 to 49.

The clause for enacting, that the places of lieutenant and ensign, and all other inferior offices belonging to the body of yeomen of the guards, after the determination of these offices in the present possessors, and also, all commission and other offices belonging to the band of gentlemen pensioners, should not be sold, but filled by officers of the army and navy on half pay, and of fifteen years service; was agreed to.

The clause for abolishing the office of paymaster of the pensions, and its dependencies, was rejected on a division, by a majority of 79, to 64.

The clause against the private payment of the pensions during pleasure, was better attended, and of course rejected by a greater majority; the numbers, upon a division, being 115 to 79.

The clause for limiting the secret service money, was rejected without a division.

The clause for regulating the order in which payments were to be made to the civil officers of the state, including all the orders of the household, was rejected, upon a division, by a majority of 110 to 58.

The clause for enabling certain specified great officers, to call the several public accounts before them, in a summary way, and to examine and audit their accounts, was rejected by 68 to 31.

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Mr. Burke then declared, that he would not divide the house upon any of the remaining clauses, but desired that they might be read over and negatived as expeditiously as possible, in order that the committee might be dissolved, and his bill no longer remain either an eye-sore to his adversaries, nor an object for demanding the tiresome and fruitless attendance of his friends. About half of the members immediately quitted the house upon this notice; but one solitary clause, relative to the exchequer, having the fortune to attract the regards of the minister, he wished it might be postponed to another day; for though he liked the object extremely, it was not dressed entirely to his taste; upon which account, he proposed that the chairman should report a progress, in order to keep the committee open.

The framer of the bill replied, that his patience and his spirits were both exhausted; and he requested of the noble lord to be so kind and merciful, as to put an end to his sufferings, and negative this, as he had done the preceding clauses. His plan, if adopted on the large scale on which he had laid it down, would, he said, have saved to the nation, directly and in its consequences, above a million per annum; and it was scarcely worth his lordship's while to keep him any longer on the torture, under the pressure of this unfortunate clause, for any trifling saving which it might produce.—Both sides being obstinate, the question was brought to a division, which being carried by the minister, the committee was still kept open.

On the following day, the Recorder of London moved a resolution in favour of the petitioners, amounting in substance, to the not granting of any farther sums of money for the public services, until the grievances stated in the petitions of the people were redressed. Although he supported his motion very ably, in a speech of considerable length, and seemed to be very attentively listened to by the house, it brought out no manner of debate; for just as the minister had risen to reply, the question was so incessantly called for by the court party, that it was accordingly put; and the motion was rejected, upon a division, by a majority of 89, to 54.

The last effort in behalf of the petitioners, though going only a small way indeed to meet their expectations, was a motion by Mr. Dunning, in the committee of the whole May 26th. house on the consideration of the petitions, that their own two resolutions of the 10th of April, should be then reported. This brought out very warm debates, in which most of the principal speakers on both sides took a part. A motion was immediately made on the other side, for the chairman to quit the chair, amounting to a dissolution of the committee.

The question being put, the chairman was voted to quit the chair, by a majority of 177, to 134.

While these matters were agitated with so much warmth in and out of parliament, and with so many extraordinary turns of fortune, an affair totally separate was at the same time carried on, for a long time, with little notice; but

but which, in due season, broke out with so much fury and violence, as entirely to bear down all designs, either for reforming, or for strengthening government; and at once overwhelmed and bore away before it both majority and minority, with an irresistible torrent of popular fanaticism and phrenzy.

Every body knows the circumstances, as well as the event, of this shameful and unhappy affair*; and that Lord George Gordon, who had been early placed at the head of the Scotch Association for the support of the Protestant religion, was likewise appointed president to an association in London, formed in imitation or emulation of the former. The public summons in the news-papers, by which he assembled fifty or sixty thousand men in St. George's Fields, under an idea of defending the religion of the country against imaginary danger, by accompanying the presentment, and enforcing the matter, of a petition to parliament, demanding the repeal of the late law, which afforded some relaxation of the penal statutes against popery, are likewise fresh in every body's memory.

The extraordinary conduct of that noble person in the House of Commons during the present session, and the frequent interruptions which he gave to the business of parliament, as well by the unaccountable manner in which he continually brought in and treated

matters relative to religion and the danger of popery, as the caprice with which he divided the house upon questions, wherein he stood nearly or entirely alone, were passed over, along with other singularities in his dress and manner, rather as subjects of pleasantry, than of serious notice or reprehension. Even when he involved matters of state with those of religion in a strange kind of language, boasting that he was at the head of 120,000 able men in Scotland, who would quickly remedy their own grievances if they were not otherwise redressed, and little less than holding out destruction to the crown and government, unless full security was given to the associations in both countries, against those imminent dangers with which they were immediately threatened by popery. Such things, and others, if possible, still more extraordinary, were only treated merely as objects of laughter. It is, however, possible, that this carelessness, or complacency in the house, was at length carried too far.

Besides the advertisements and resolutions, the inflammatory language of the president at the preceding meeting of the Protestant Association, was published in the news-papers, and was full of matter which might well have excited the most instant attention and alarm. In that piece, the president informs his enthusiastic adherents, among other extraordinary matter, That, for his part, he would run all hazards with the

* For a particular detail, and, we suppose, as far as it extends, tolerably authentic account, of this whole affair, see the Appendix to the Chronicle, page 254, of our present volume.

people; and if the people were too lukewarm to run all hazards with him, when their conscience and their country called them forth, they might get another president; for he would tell them candidly, that he was not a lukewarm man himself, and that if they meant to spend their time in mock debate and idle opposition, they might get another leader. He afterwards declared, that if he was attended by less than 20,000 men on the appointed day, he would not present their petition; and he gave orders, under the appearance of a motion, for the manner in which they should be marshalled in St. George's Fields; appointing that they should be formed in four bodies, three of them regulated by the respective boundaries of the great divisions of the metropolis; and the fourth composed entirely of his own particular countrymen. To prevent mistakes, the whole were to be distinguished by blue cockades.— If this were not sufficient to arouse the attention of government, Lord George Gordon gave notice to the House of Commons on the Tuesday, that the petition would be presented on the following Friday; and that the whole body of Protestant associators, were to assemble in St. George's Fields, in order to accompany their petition to the house.

These notices ought to have given a more serious alarm than they seem to have done to government. The opposition afterwards charged them with little less than a meditated encouragement to this frantic tumult, in order to discountenance the associations which had more serious objects in view;

and to render odious and contemptible all popular interposition in affairs of state. They reminded them of their activity in giving orders to hold the military in readiness on a peaceable meeting in Westminster Hall; and their utter neglect of the declared and denounced violence of this sort of people.

The alarming cry against Popery, with the continual invective and abuse, which they disseminated through news-papers, pamphlets, and sermons, by degrees drew over to a meeting, originally small and obscure, a number of well-meaning people from the various classes of Protestants, who seriously apprehended their religion to be in danger. Thus, however deficient they were in point of consideration, being, for the far greater part, poor and ignorant people, many of whom could not write their names, they became formidable with respect to numbers. It is, however, to be at all times remembered, that the conduct of these associators was not more execrated, than the intolerant principle, to which they owed their union and action, was condemned, by the sound and eminent divines, both of the established church and of the Dissenters.

The grand divisions of the associators, being June 2d. drawn off by different routes from the rendezvous in St. George's Fields, filled the ways, through which they marched in ranks, with a multitude which excited wonder and alarm. Having arrived at the place of their destination, and filled up all the streets and avenues to both houses, they began

gan the exercise of the new authority derived from their numbers, only by compelling the members as they came down, to cry out no Popery, to wear blue cockades, and some, as it is said, to take an oath to contribute all in their power to the repeal of the new law, or as they called it the Popery Act. But upon the appearance of the Archbishop of York, and other of the prelates and court lords, their rage and violence was increased to the highest pitch. During this dreadful tumult, which continued with more or less interruption for some hours, the Archbishop, the Duke of Northumberland, the Lord President of the Council, with several others of the nobility, including most or all of the lords in office, were treated with the greatest indignities. The Bishop of Lincoln, in particular, most narrowly escaped with his life; first by being suddenly carried into a house upon the demolition of his carriage; and then being as expeditiously led through, and over its top, into another. Lord Stormont's life was likewise in the most imminent danger; and he was only rescued, after being half an hour in their hands, by the presence of mind and address of a gentleman who happened to be in the crowd.

It would be impossible to describe the astonishment, sense of degradation, horror, and dismay, which prevailed in both houses. Attempts were twice made to force their doors; and were repelled by the firmness and resolution of their door keepers and other officers. In this scene of terror and danger, the resolution and spirit, with which a young clergyman,

who acted as assistant or substitute to the Chaplain of the House of Commons, rebuked the outrage of the mob, and told their leader, in their presence, that he was answerable for all the blood that would be shed, and all the other fatal consequences that might ensue, merited some other reward besides mere applause.

In the mean time, the author, mover, and leader of the sedition, having obtained leave in the House of Commons to bring up the petition, afterwards moved for its being taken into immediate consideration. This brought out some debate, and the rioters being in possession of the lobby, the house were kept confined for several hours, before they could divide upon the question. The impediment being at length removed by the arrival of the magistrates and guards, the question was rejected, upon a division, by a majority of 192, to six only, by whom it was supported. During this time, Lord George Gordon frequently went out to the top of the gallery stairs, from whence he harangued the rioters, telling them what passed in the house; that their petition would be postponed; that he did not like delays; and repeating aloud, the names of gentlemen, who had opposed the taking it into consideration under their present circumstances; thus, in fact, holding them out as obnoxious persons and enemies, to a lawless and desperate banditti.

The House of Commons have been much censured, for the want of resolution and spirit, in not immediately committing, upon the arrival of the guards at night, their own member to the Tower, who had by so shameful a violation

tion of their privileges, involved them in a scene of such unequalled danger and disgrace. It has even been said that a measure of such vigour, might have prevented all the horrid scenes of conflagration, plunder, military slaughter, and civil execution, that afterwards took place. And it has been argued, from the passive conduct of the mob some years ago, upon the committal of the Lord Mayor Crosby, and of Alderman Oliver to the Tower, that it would not have been attended with any ill consequence.

It is, however, to be remembered, that danger is considered in a very different manner, by those who are entirely out of its reach, and even by the same persons, under its immediate impression. The circumstances were likewise widely and essentially different. Religious mobs are at all times infinitely more dangerous and cruel, than those which arise on civil or political occasions. What country has not groaned, under the outrages and horrors of fanaticism? Or where have they ever been quelled but in blood? This mob was much more powerful and numerous, as well as dangerous, than any other in remembrance. The force of the associators, was on that day, whole and entire, which it never was after. The intense heat of the weather, which necessarily increased their inebriation, added fire to their religious fury; and rendering them equally fearless and cruel, no bounds could have been prescribed to their enormities.

The situation of the lords was still worse than that of the com-

mons. Besides that the malice of the rioters was pointed more that way, they were not under the restraint of any application to them for redress. The appearance of the lords who had passed through their hands, every thing about them in disorder, and their cloaths covered with dirt, threw a grotesque air of ridicule upon the whole, which seemed to heighten the calamity. A proposal was made to carry out the mace; but it was apprehended, that peradventure it might never return.—In a word, so disgraceful a day was never beheld before by a British parliament.

In the midst of the confusion some angry debate arose, the lords in opposition charging the ministers, with being themselves the original cause of all the mischiefs, that had already or might happen, by their scandalous and cowardly concessions to the rioters in Scotland; and at the same time calling them loudly to account, for not having provided for the present evil, of which they had so much previous notice, by having the civil power in readiness for its prevention.—To this it was answered by a noble earl in high office, that orders had been given on the preceding day for the attendance of the magistrates; but two of those gentlemen who happened to be in the way, being sent for and examined, declared they had neither heard of nor received any such orders.

Before the rising of the House of Commons, several parties of the rioters had filed off, and proceeded to the demolition of the chapels belonging to the Sardinian and Bavarian ministers.

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The commons adjourned to the 6th; but the lords met on the following day, and agreed to a motion for an address made by the Lord President, requesting his majesty to give immediate orders for prosecuting, in the most effectual manner, the authors, abettors, and instruments, of the outrages committed on the preceding day, both in the vicinity of the houses of parliament, and upon the houses and chapels of several of the foreign ministers.

On the 6th, above 200 members of the House of Commons had the courage, notwithstanding the dreadful conflagrations and mischiefs of the two preceding nights, the destruction threatened to several of themselves in their persons and houses, and which had already fallen upon the house of Sir George Saville, in Leicester Fields, to make their way through the vast crowds which filled the streets, and which were interlaced and surrounded, by large detachments of the military on foot and on horseback. They found Westminster Hall and the avenues to the house lined with soldiers; upon which a celebrated member observed in his speech, bewailing the deplorable situation to which parliament was reduced, that they had a bludgeoned mob waiting for them in the street, and a military force with fixed bayonets at their doors, in order to support and preserve the freedom of debate.

They, however, passed some resolutions; one being an assertion of their own privileges; the second, for a committee to enquire into the late and present outrages, and for the discovery of

their authors, promoters and abettors; the third, for a prosecution by the Attorney General; and the fourth, an address to his majesty for the reimbursement of the foreign ministers, to the amount of the damages they had sustained by the rioters. Another resolution was moved by the minister and agreed to, for proceeding immediately, when the present tumults were subsided, to take into due consideration the petitions from many of his majesty's Protestant subjects. Intelligence being received of the conflagrations which were commenced in the city, it threw every thing into new confusion, and a hasty adjournment took place.

Some of the lords likewise met; but the impropriety of their proceeding upon any public business in the present state of tumult, and surrounded by a military force, being taken into consideration, and an account arriving at the same time, that the first lord of the admiralty, in his way to the house, had been set upon, wounded, and his life only critically saved by the military, they adjourned to the 19th.

Never did the metropolis, in any known age, exhibit such a dreadful spectacle of calamity and horror, or experience such real danger, terror and distress, as on the following day and night. It is said, that it was beheld 7th. blazing in thirty-six different parts from one spot. Some of these conflagrations were of such a magnitude as to be truly tremendous. Of these, the great jail of Newgate, the King's Bench prison, the new Bridewell in St. George's Fields, the Fleet prison, and the
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houses and great distilleries of Mr. Langdale in Holborn, where the vast quantity of spirituous liquors increased the violence of the flames to a degree of which no adequate conception can be formed, presented spectacles of the most dreadful nature. The houses of most of the Roman Catholics were marked; and generally destroyed or burned; as well as those of the few magistrates who shewed any activity in repressing those tumults. The outrages grew far more violent and general after the breaking open of the prisons.

The attacks made that day upon the bank, roused the whole activity of government. Great bodies of forces had for some time been collecting from all parts. They were at length employed, and brought on the catastrophe of that melancholy night which followed. Strong detachments of troops being sent into the city, and the attempts on the bank and other places renewed, a carnage, then inevitable, ensued, in which a great number of lives were lost. Nothing could be more dismal than that night. Those who were on the spot, or in the vicinity say, that the present darkness, the gleam of the distant fires, the dreadful shouts, in different quarters, of the rioters, the groans of the dying, and the heavy regular platoon firing of the soldiers, formed, all together, a scene so terrific and tremendous, as no description or even imagination could possibly reach.

The metropolis presented on the following day, in many places, the image of a city recently stormed and sacked; all

business at an end, houses and shops shut up, the Royal Exchange, public buildings and streets, possessed and occupied by the troops, smoking and burning ruins, with a dreadful void and silence, in scenes of the greatest hurry, noise, and business.

The House of Commons met on the following day; 8th. but although the rioters were entirely quelled, it was immediately noticed that the city of Westminster was under martial law, and they accordingly adjourned to the 19th. On the afternoon of the same day, Lord George Gordon was taken into custody, at his house in Welbeck Street, and conveyed to the Horse Guards; and after a long examination before several lords of the privy council, he was between nine and ten in the evening conducted (under the strongest guard that was ever known to attend any state prisoner) to the Tower, where he was committed to close confinement.

The meeting of parliament, after this com- June 19th. pelled recess, was opened by a speech from the throne, in which notice was taken, that the outrages committed by bands of desperate and abandoned men, broke forth with such violence into acts of felony and treason, had so far overborne all civil authority, and threatened so directly the immediate subversion of all legal power, the destruction of all property, and the confusion of every order in the state, that his majesty found himself obliged, by every tie of duty and affection to his people, to suppress, in every part, those rebellious insurrections, and to provide for the public safety,

by the most effectual and immediate application of the force entrusted to him by parliament.

They were informed that proper orders had been given, for bringing the authors, abettors, and perpetrators of those insurrections, and of such criminal acts, to speedy trial, and to such condign punishment, as the laws prescribed, and the vindication of public justice demanded. His majesty concluded, that though he trusted it was not necessary, yet he thought it right at that time, to renew his solemn assurances to them, that he had no other object but to make the laws of the realm, and the principles of our excellent constitution in church and state, the rule and measure of his conduct; and that he should ever consider it as the first duty of his station, and the chief glory of his reign, to maintain and preserve the established religion of his kingdom, and, as far as in him lay, to secure and to perpetuate the rights and liberties of his people.

This speech was generally approved of on all sides, and the customary addresses carried without opposition. Some animadversion, however, passed in both houses, and no small degree of censure was thrown upon the conduct of administration, with respect to the late disturbances; the mischiefs that had happened, and all the unhappy consequences that might ensue, being directly charged to their neglect, in not calling forth the civil power in time, and to their delay, in not employing the military until it was too late.—To the last charge,

it was replied, that the services were so numerous, and the applications so continual, and from such various quarters, for protection or assistance, as the apprehensions or danger of the people increased, that the troops at hand were not half sufficient to answer the demands, until the arrival of the regulars and militia from the country.

The following day brought on in a committee of the whole house, the consideration of the several petitions, praying for a repeal of the late bill, which had been made the occasion of so much mischief. No repeal was proposed upon those petitions. No evil had actually happened from the relaxation of the single penal law which had been relaxed; and the consequences apprehended from it, were considered as weak and visionary. There was rather much discourse than debate upon the subject, very little having been said on the of the petitions. The question was, however, solemnly, and very largely spoke to, and with the greatest eloquence. The chief speakers were Lord North, Lord Beauchamp, Sir George Saville, Mr. Wilkes, Mr. Burke, and Mr. Fox. The two latter spoke for three hours each. For the first time they all spoke on the same side; and supported the doctrine of toleration, on grounds much larger than those on which the bill complained of stood.

In order, however, to quiet the minds, and to remove the apprehensions, of such well meaning, but ill informed persons, as might be among the petitioners, resolutions to the following purport were

were moved for by Lord Beauchamp, agreed to by the committee, and confirmed by the house.

That the effect and operation of the act passed in the 18th of his present majesty, for relieving his subjects professing the Popish religion from certain penalties and disabilities, imposed on them by an act of the 11th and 12th of William the Third, have been misrepresented, and misunderstood.

That, the said act, of the 18th of his present majesty, does not repeal or alter, or in any manner invalidate or render ineffectual, the several statutes made to prohibit the exercise of the Popish religion, previous to the statute of the 11th and 12th of William the Third.

That, no ecclesiastical or spiritual jurisdiction or authority is given, by the said act, to the Pope or the See of Rome.

That, this house does, and ever will, watch over the interests of the Protestant religion with the most unremitted attention; and that all attempts to seduce the youth of this kingdom from the established church to Popery, are highly criminal according to the laws in force, and are a proper subject of further regulation.

And, that all endeavours to disquiet the minds of the people, by misrepresenting the said act of the 18th year of the reign of his present majesty, as inconsistent with the safety, or irreconcilable to the principles of the Protestant religion, have a manifest tendency to disturb the public peace, to break the union necessary at this time, to bring dishonour on the national character, to discredit

the Protestant religion in the eyes of other nations, and to furnish occasion, for the renewal of the persecution of our Protestant brethren in other countries.

On the same principle, of affording satisfaction to, and quieting the minds of those, who had been misled by error and misrepresentation, a bill was brought in, (though otherwise generally thought unnecessary) and passed the House of Commons, for affording security to the Protestant religion from any encroachments of Popery, by more effectually restraining Papists, or persons professing the Popish religion, from teaching, or taking upon themselves the education or government of the children of Protestants.

A letter which had been written during the late disturbances, by the noble lord at the head of the army, and confirmed by others of a subsequent date, containing orders to the officer who commanded the military forces in the city of London, to disarm all persons, who did not belong to the militia, or who did not carry them under the royal authority; this measure, being considered as contrary to the natural rights of mankind, as well as to the express law of the land, it gave no small umbrage without doors, and became a subject of some animadversion within. It likewise occasioned some confusion in the city, where the inhabitants were associating and arming for mutual defence, under the conduct of their respective magistrates; and became the ground of a correspondence, which has been published, between the chief magistrate,

strate, and the Lord President of the council.

21st. This matter was taken up in the House of Lords by the Duke of Richmond, at whose motion (after some animadversion on the subject on a preceding day) the letters in question, the plan of an association by the Lord Mayor, and the declaration of rights in the 2d of William and Mary, were all read. The Duke of Richmond then observed, that those letters were deposited in the public archives; that they would descend to posterity a most alarming precedent, of a most violent and unwarrantable infringement of the constitution, if no resolution of censure and disapprobation was entered on the records of parliament. He had nothing to do with the noble lord's intention: his intention might be perfectly innocent, nay, it might be laudable. But the letter of the order was dangerous; future advantage might be taken of it to the destruction of our freedom, and therefore it was that he anxiously wished, their lordships to come to some resolution upon the subject.

He accordingly moved a resolution to the following purport, That the letter of Jeffery Lord Amherst, dated the 13th of June, to Colonel Twissleton, then commanding an armed force in the city of London, in which he orders him to disarm the inhabitants, who had armed themselves for the defence of their lives and properties, and likewise to detain their arms, contained an unwarrantable command to deprive the citizens of their legal property; was expressly contrary to the fun-

damental principles of the constitution, and a violation of one of their most sacred rights, as declared in the 2d of William and Mary, that every Protestant subject of this empire is entitled to carry arms in his own defence.

The noble lord who was the subject of the proposed resolution, had, upon the first mention of the affair, justified the letter, by saying it related only to the mob, and the riotous rabble, who, he had received information, were possessed of firelocks; that he had done his duty, and was ready to abide the consequences. But this justification not being admitted on the other side, who contended that it was totally overthrown, by the word *inhabitants* in the first letter, and the explanations relative to the armed associations in the succeeding, new grounds of vindication or defence were taken by the ministers upon the making of this motion.

They said, that while they allowed the right of Protestant Englishmen to arm, whether in defence of their own persons and houses, or those of their neighbours, they must consider a wide difference between their acting in this defensive manner, for the immediate protection of their persons and properties, and their assembling armed in bodies, and marching out in martial array; the first was clearly justifiable, because necessary; the latter might lead to many dangerous consequences. That it was not easy, even now, to look back with an equal and composed mind, or indeed without considerable emotion, to those dreadful disturbances; what then must it have been,

been, in the midst of that scene of outrage, danger, and confusion. It was in the wild uproar and confusion of that scene, that the noble lord gave the order. The measure was prompted by the spur of the occasion. The necessity and occasion, as in numberless instances, must justify the act. It was not to be conceived, that in the situation in which the noble lord was engaged, he could pay nice attention to his expressions; or that a man educated in the field, should be acquainted with all the privileges of the bill of rights.

But the opposition contended, that there was no weight in the argument, that the letter was written in a state of hurry and confusion; for the date shewed, that it had been written several days after the disturbance and danger were over. It was therefore to be considered as a measure taken upon due deliberation; and it was of too serious and alarming a nature, to be passed over without the notice of parliament. They therefore urged, and even supplicated the house, not to permit such a letter to descend as a record and precedent to posterity, without some mark of their disapprobation; at any rate, they said, a direct negative would be highly impolitic. They ought at least to take some gentle method of disposing of the proposition; and to leave something, however lenient, on their journals, which might prove an antidote to the poison.

The question was, however, negatived, without a division. Two motions on the same ground were made by Mr. Sawbridge, a few days after, in the House of Com-

mons, where they met with a similar fate.

On bringing up the bill for the regulation of Popish schools from the House of Commons, the lords in general, including the right reverend bench, appeared much on the side of toleration; and indeed some of the peers, spiritual as well as lay, expressed the most liberal and enlightened sentiments on the subject; so that the bill scarcely seemed to be any farther considered as necessary, than merely as tending to allay the jealousies and apprehensions of the petitioners.

But several of the lords considering it as a great indignity to parliament, and to that house particularly, to pass a bill, which carried all the appearance of being forced upon them by outrage and threat, and the same idea operating by degrees with others, it was contrived, (after several proposed, and some received amendments) upon its being brought up to be reported from the committee, to set it aside, without a direct negative, by moving July 4th. it might be read the third time, on that day week, which being carried, had the effect of a previous question, as it was known that a prorogation would take place in the interim.

The speech from the throne acknowledged, July 8th. that the magnanimity and perseverance of parliament, in the prosecution of the present just and necessary war, had enabled his majesty to make such exertions, as would, he trusted, disappoint the violent and unjust designs of his enemies, and bring them to listen to equitable and honourable terms

—That these exertions may have been attended with success by sea and land; and that the late important and prosperous turn of affairs in North America, afforded the fairest prospect of the returning loyalty and affection of the colonies, and of their happy re-union with their parent country. Particular obligations were acknowledged to be felt, and thanks accordingly returned to the Commons, for the confidence they had reposed, and the large and ample supplies which they had so cheerfully granted. But the strength of the speech seemed thrown into the concluding paragraph, in which both Lords and Commons were earnestly called upon to assist his majesty, by their influence and authority in their several counties, as they had already by their unanimous support in parliament, in guarding the peace of the kingdom from future disturbances, and watching over the preservation of the public safety. To make the people sensible of the happiness they enjoy, and the distinguished advantages they derive, from our excellent constitution in church and state. To warn them of the hazard of innovation; to point out to them the fatal consequences of such commotions as have lately been excited; and to impress on their minds this important truth.—That rebellious insurrections, to resist or to reform the laws, must either end in the destruction of the

person who makes the attempt, or in the subversion of our free and happy constitution.

Such was the end of this unusually long, and very extraordinary session of parliament. A session, in which almost every day produced a question, and every question a debate, which in any other would have been deemed highly interesting; but which were frequently lost, in that glare of still greater matter, which was so continually thrown out in this. A session, in which unexpected victories, and unaccountable defeats, alternately raised and sunk the hopes of the contending parties, from the highest pitch of exultation, to the lowest state of despondency. The point of decision seemed more than once quivering, and hanging only by a hair.

Upon the whole, it may be said with confidence, that so great a number of important affairs were never agitated in any one session. The riot, in the close, threw a general damp upon all endeavours whatever for reformation, however unconnected with its particular object. Popular fury seemed, for that time at least, the greatest of all possible evils. And administration then gathered, and has since preserved, no small degree of power, from a tumult which appeared to threaten the subversion of all government.

This may likewise be considered as concluding the political existence of that parliament.

C H A P. IX.

Sir George Rodney proceeds to Gibraltar, in his way to the West Indies. Takes a valuable Spanish Convoy. Falls in with a squadron, under the command of Don Juan de Langara. Takes the Admiral, with several men of war, and destroys others. Relieves Gibraltar, supplies Minorca, and proceeds on his destined voyage. Prothee, French man of war, taken by Admiral Digby, on his return from Gibraltar. Dutch convoy, under the conduct of Count Byland, stopped, and examined, by Commodore Fielding. Count Byland comes to Spithead, with his squadron and convoy. Consequences of that, and of other precedent and subsequent measures. Russian manifesto. Northern neutrality. Royal proclamation in London, suspending certain stipulations in favour of the subjects of the States General. Retrospective view of affairs in America and the West Indies, in the year 1779. Advantages derived by the Spanish commanders, from their early knowledge of the intended rupture. Don Bernardo de Galvez, subdues the British settlements on the Mississippi. Sullivan's successful expedition against the Indians of the six nations. Some observations on the policy of that people, and on the state of culture and improvement, which the Americans discovered in their country. Expeditions from Jamaica to the Bay of Honduras, and the Mosquito shore. Fortress of Omoa and Spanish register ships taken. Vigilant and successful conduct of Admiral Hyde Parker, on the leeward island station.

THE opening of the year 1780, seemed to indicate some return of that naval renown, which had so long been the pride of the English name and nation; but which, through some untoward circumstances, seemed for some time to have been strangely in the wane.

Sir George Rodney, being appointed to the chief command in the West Indies, was likewise under orders, to proceed, in his way thither, with a strong squadron to the relief of Gibraltar. For that important fortress had been very closely blockaded, and in part besieged by the Spaniards, ever since the commencement of hostilities between the two nations; and the loss of our naval superio-

rity in the Mediterranean, together with that unhappy state of weakness on the ocean, which disabled us from keeping the communication with that place open, occasioned the garrison's being reduced to very considerable distress, as well with respect to provisions, as to military and garrison stores. The loss of power, and consequently of influence and respect, in the Mediterranean, among its other ill effects, has been productive of one, which could scarcely have been expected, at least in the degree and manner in which it has taken place. This has been the defection of the Barbary states; or if not the whole, that of their principal, and in whom we are most interested, the Emperor of Morocco;

Morocco; who, contrary to all former example, and in contravention of that mortal enmity, which, through a course of ages, had been established and hereditary between the two nations, has taken little less than an open and direct part on the side of Spain. By this means Gibraltar, in the most critical season of danger which it has ever experienced, has been cut off from its domestic market; and has looked over in vain to the opposite shore, for that ample supply of provisions, with which it had hitherto been furnished from Barbary.

Fortune seemed attached to the new commander's flag, in a signal manner on the outlet. He had only been a few days at sea, when he fell in with a very considerable convoy, bound from St. Sebastian to Cadiz, consisting of 15 sail of merchantmen, under the guard of

Jan. 8th. a fine new 64 gun ship,
1780. of 4 frigates, from 32
to 26 guns, and of two
smaller armed vessels. The whole
fleet was taken; and the whole,
ships of war, as well as others,
belonged to the royal company of
the Carraccas. The capture was
exceedingly fortunate; much the
greater part of the vessels being
loaded with wheat, flour, and
other species of provision; and
the remainder with bale goods
and naval stores. The former,
the admiral judiciously conveyed
to Gibraltar, where their cargoes
were so much wanted, and the
latter he sent back to England,
where the naval stores were no less
welcome.

But this was only the prelude to
greater and more brilliant success.

In about a week the admiral fell in, off Cape St. Vincent, with a Spanish squadron of eleven ships of the line, under the command of Don Juan Langara. The enemy, being much inferior in force, endeavoured all they could to avoid an engagement; a design, to which the different circumstances, of a rough gale, high sea, short day, and dangerous coast, were extremely favourable. In order to counteract this design, Sir George Rodney changed the signal for a line of battle a breast, to that for a general chase, with orders to engage as the ships came up by rotation; taking at the same time the lee gage, to prevent the enemy's retreat into their own ports.

The headmost ships began to engage about four o'clock in the evening; and their fire was returned with great spirit and resolution by the Spaniards. The night was dark, tempestuous and dismal, and the fleet being nearly involved among the shoals of St. Lucar, rendered the aspect more terrible. Early in the action, the Spanish ship San Domingo, of 70 guns and 600 men, blew up, and all on board perished; the English man of war with which she was engaged, narrowly escaping a similar fate. The action and pursuit continued, with a constant fire, until two o'clock in the morning, when the headmost of the enemy's line struck to the admiral.

The Spanish admiral's ship the Phenix, of 80 guns, with three of 70, were taken, and carried safely into port. The San Julian of

70 guns, commanded by the Marquis de Medina, was taken, the officers shifted, and a lieutenant with 70 British seamen put on board; but by her afterwards running on shore, the victors experienced the caprice of war, in becoming themselves prisoners. Another ship of the same force, was likewise taken, and her officers shifted; but she afterwards run upon the breakers, and was totally lost. Two more escaped greatly damaged, and two less so, into Cadiz. Such was the final disposal of the whole Spanish squadron.

Such were the peculiar circumstances attending this engagement, that notwithstanding the inferiority of the enemy in point of force, few actions have required a higher degree of intrepidity, more consummate naval skill, or greater dexterity of seamanship. Even the light of the ensuing day, was scarcely sufficient to extricate several British capital ships from the most imminent danger; and it was not until the second morning after the action, that they had entirely cleared the shoals, and recovered deep water. It seems upon the whole scarcely to admit of a doubt, not only that the whole Spanish fleet would have escaped from a more cautious commander; but that the apparent circumstances of the case would have afforded a full justification of his conduct upon any retrospect.

The Spanish admiral, Don Juan de Langara, behaved with the greatest gallantry; was himself sorely wounded, and his ship nearly a wreck, before he struck. The humanity and generosity displayed

by Capt. Macbride of the *Bienfaisant*, with respect to that gentleman and his ship, along with the strict attention to honour shewn by the Spanish commander, both deserve to be remembered, as laying down a rule of conduct worthy the imitation of other officers in similar situations.

A bad and malignant kind of small pox, prevailing on board Capt. Macbride's ship, that gallant officer, disdaining to convey infection even to an enemy, and perhaps considering the peculiar terror with which it is regarded by the Spaniards, and the general ill aspect it bears to that people, acquainted Don Langara with the circumstance, and with his own feelings upon the subject; at the same time offering to prevent the inevitable danger and mischief which must attend shifting the prisoners, by sending an officer with an hundred men on board the *Phenix*, and trusting to the admiral's honour, that neither his officers or men, (amounting to above 700) should, in any case, of separation or otherwise, in any degree interrupt the British seamen, whether with respect to navigating the ship, or of defending her, against whatever enemy. The proposal was thankfully embraced, and the conditions strictly adhered to by the Spanish admiral; for though there was no other ship but the *Bienfaisant* in sight, and that the sea and weather were exceedingly rough, his people gave every assistance in refitting the *Phenix*, and in navigating her to the bay of Gibraltar.

After this signal success, Sir George Rodney having executed his

his commission at Gibraltar, and waited the return of some men of war, which he had sent with a convoy of store-ships and victuallers to the island of Minorca, that commander, animated with success and covered with glory, proceeded, about the middle of February, to the West Indies, leaving the bulk of the fleet, under the conduct of Rear Admiral Digby, together with the Spanish prizes, on their way to England. They were not many days parted, before the returning fleet fell in with, or rather perceived at a great distance, a considerable French convoy bound to the Mauritius, under the protection of two ships of the line. Although a general chase ensued, most of the convoy escaped; only the *Prothee* of 64 guns, and two or three vessels laden with military stores, being taken.

Thus far, fortune seemed again to smile on the British flag. This expedition was in all its parts prosperous. Besides the great damage done to the enemy, six ships of the line were added to the royal navy of England; and the value of the other prizes, in a public view, was greatly enhanced, by the nature of their cargoes, the critical season in which they were taken, and the essential services to which they were applied. We have already seen, that the highest honour which he could receive, the public thanks of his country, through both houses of parliament, was bestowed on Sir George Rodney. Nor was the nation at large less gratified. The long absence of good news, rendered this the more highly pleasing. It was besides a triumph over our old and natural enemies, the House of Bourbon.

During this expedition, government having received intelligence, that a number of Dutch ships, laden with timber and naval stores for the French service, not being absolutely allowed protection by the States on their voyage, intended to escape the danger which they apprehended from the British cruizers, by accompanying Count Byland, who, with a small squadron of men of war and frigates, was to escort a convoy to the Mediterranean, Captain Fielding was, in consequence of this notice sent out with a proper force, in order to examine the convoy, and to seize any vessels containing those articles which we deemed contraband.

Upon the meeting of the fleets, and permission to visit the merchant ships being refused to Captain Fielding, he notwithstanding dispatched his boats for that purpose, which were fired at, and prevented from executing their orders by the Dutch. Upon this, the captain having fired a shot ahead of the Dutch Admiral, it was answered by a broadside; and Count Byland having received his in return, and being in no condition of force to pursue the contest farther, then immediately struck his colours. Most of the Dutch ships that were in the predicament which occasioned the contest, had already, through the length and darkness of the nights, and by keeping close to the shore, escaped the danger, and proceeded without interruption to the French ports. The few that remained, with naval stores on board, were stooped; and the Dutch Admiral then informed, that he was at liberty to hoist his colours and prosecute his voyage.

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That commander, however, chose only to accept of the former part of the condition. He hoisted his colours; but he refused to separate from any part of his convoy; and he accordingly, with the whole of the fleet which remained with him, accompanied the British squadron to Spithead; where he continued, until he received fresh instructions from his masters.

This, along with many other, both preceding and subsequent matters, led to that unhappy rupture, which has since afforded so much cause of joy and triumph to the enemies of both, between those antient, natural, and Protestant Allies, the kingdom of Great-Britain, and the States of Holland. Nor had it a less share probably in other succeeding events, which were equally pernicious to the interests, and subversive of the power of this country. The apparent vigour, however, of this measure, and the semblance it from thence bore to the great and decided maxims of happier times, rendered it in some degree a favourite with many people; who from thence augured a renovation of our antient spirit in council and fortune in war.

But the event which singularly marked the opening of the present year, and which was probably, at least, accelerated by that we have related, was the extraordinary measure adopted in the north of Europe; where a power, which, however great in other respects, was of inferior note in a maritime view, was now seen dictating a new code of maritime laws to mankind, in many respects essentially differing from those which had for several hundred years been

established among commercial nations, and going directly to the overthrow of that sovereignty, or pre-eminence on the ocean, which had been so long claimed and maintained by this country.

This was the manifesto or declaration issued by the court of Petersburg, Feb. 26th, which has been the means of forming, under the name of an armed neutrality, that formidable naval and military alliance and confederacy, between the northern powers, to which most of the neutral states in Europe have since acceded; and which, Great Britain not being in a situation directly to contravene, seems now to be settled as a part of the law of nations. The great principle of this piece, and of that confederacy to which it gave birth, is, that free bottoms make free goods; and this is carried to the degree of supposing, that neutral states are entitled to carry on their commerce with the belligerent parties in a state of war, with the same degree of convenience, ease, and safety, which they might have practised in time of peace. Nor is this all; it is farther laid down, that the neutral bottom has a right to convey, and to render free, all things, from any one part of a belligerent state, and even coastwise, to another, without let or impediment; saving only such matters as might be deemed contraband, in consequence of the stipulations of former treaties.

This extraordinary measure (which in other times would have been considered and resented as a declaration of war) was rendered the more grievous, from its originating with a power, which not
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only had been regarded as our natural friend and ally, but which had been even held out as our sheet anchor, in any case of necessity, which might occur in the present war. Indeed this evil was so great and so grievous, that it might well have been considered as filling up that measure of calamity, to which we had been doomed by our fatal civil discord.

It needs scarcely to be noticed, that the courts of France and Spain, expressed the utmost approbation of a system so exactly calculated, and immediately suited to their own views, and which they could at a future time find means easily to shake off. They accordingly, were little less than lost in astonishment, at the consideration of that wisdom, justice, liberality of sentiment, and benevolence, which had produced ideas so similar to their own. It was upon the same principle, of a liberal and free commerce, and an unrestrained navigation to all nations, that they had taken part with the Americans, and were now expending their blood and treasure in a war with England. As they did not fully comprehend the new system, nor know to what extent it was to be carried, they waited with deference, for those further regulations or explanations, which the Empress of the Russia's might think proper to communicate; but were convinced, from the congeniality of sentiments on both sides, that nothing could happen, in the intermediate time, on theirs, which would afford any dissatisfaction to her.

The solitary court of London, was obliged to suppress her indignation at an injury, which she

could not, at present, resent nor remedy. She expostulated with the court of Petersburg, on the constant attention and regard, which she had hitherto on every occasion shewn to her flag and commerce; she declared a continuance of the same conduct and disposition, and she reminded Russia, of the reciprocal ties of friendship, and the common interests, by which they were mutually bound.

But although the northern confederacy was too formidable to be meddled with, the weak state of Holland, with respect both to her military and marine force, together with the particular situation of that country, and the divisions among the people, who were split into violent factions, by no means afforded any such operative motives of conduct. It was accordingly determined, by strong measures, not only to endeavour to prevent the republic from acceding to the northern confederacy, but likewise thereby to induce that state to afford the succours stipulated by treaty to England, and which all negotiation had hitherto failed of obtaining. It was also undoubtedly expected, that an appearance of vigorous determination, along with a warm expression of resentment on the subject, would tend much to support and strengthen the English party in Holland, and to discourage and depress the French; the latter of which, from various causes and motives, had increased exceedingly in strength and number, during the progress of the American war; a war, which we have formerly seen, had been early deprecated and regretted by the friends of England in that country. The
expecta-

expectation formed from those measures was much disappointed. The Dutch are certainly much hurt and weakened; but their connections with our enemies of all descriptions is grown much closer, and their alienation from Great Britain much more decided and hostile.

Upon these, and other grounds, after previous, but ineffectual warning, given by the British ministers, both at London and the Hague, a royal proclamation was issued

April 17th. at the former of these places, in which the non-performance of the succours stipulated by treaty, being considered as a dereliction of the alliance so long subsisting between both countries, and that they have thereby placed themselves in the condition of a neutral power, bound by no treaty or connection with this kingdom, it is therefore held, that upon every principle of wisdom and justice, they should from henceforward be considered, as standing only in that distant relation in which they had placed themselves. It is therefore declared, that the subjects of the United Provinces, are henceforward to be considered upon the same footing with those of other neutral states, not privileged by treaty; and his majesty suspends, provisionally, and till further order, all the particular stipulations respecting the subjects of the States General, contained in the several treaties now subsisting; and more particularly those contained in the marine treaty between Great Britain and the United Provinces, concluded at London, on the 11th of December, 1674.

Having thus taken a general view of our affairs in Europe, it will be necessary to look to those in other parts of the world; and in the first place, to take a retrospect of such matters in America and the West Indies during the year 1779, as did not come within our line in the last volume.

It appears from various circumstances, that the Spanish governors and commanders in America and the West Indies, had been acquainted with the intended rupture between Spain and England, long before the declaration presented by their minister to the court of London, on the 16th of June, 1779. It would even seem, that they were informed of the precise time, or very near it, at which that event would take place; for it is asserted, that war was declared in the island of Porto Rico, in a few days after the delivery of that rescript in London; and it is certain, that English vessels were carried into the Havana as prizes, before any intelligence of that measure could have been possibly received in America. Plans were accordingly laid, and preparations made to the time, which afforded advantage in the commencement of hostilities.

But in no instance was the effect of this pre-intelligence so ruinous, as in the loss which it occasioned of the British settlements on the Mississippi, along with the capture of the troops destined to their protection. We have heretofore shewn, that the settlements in that part of Louisiana, being yet too weak for a particular government, were annexed to that of West Florida; which

which was, however, too distant, to afford any effectual protection. We have also seen that in the preceding year, a party of Americans visited that country, and received a temporary submission from the inhabitants, which they did not stay to maintain. That American expedition, and the defenceless state of the settlements, which it had rendered apparent, were undoubtedly the causes, that some troops had since been sent for their protection.

Don Bernardo de Galvez, the Spanish Governor of Louisiana, having collected the whole force of his Province at New Orleans, first publicly

1779. declared the independency of America by beat of drum, and then set out on this expedition. He had previously concerted his measures so well in securing the communications, that Major General Campbell, who commanded at Pensacola, did not receive the smallest information of the danger of the western part of the province, or even that hostility was intended, until the design was nearly effected. With similar address, and profiting of the security which prevailed on our side, he had, by surprize and stratagem, taken a royal sloop of war, which was stationed on Lake Pontchartrain, and was equally successful in seizing several vessels on the lakes and rivers, laden with provisions and necessaries for the British detachment, and one, containing some troops of the regiment of Waldeck.

Such lucky circumstances, were not necessary to insure success to his enterprize. The whole military force, British and German,

stationed for the protection of the country, did not amount to five hundred men; and these had no other cover against a superior enemy, but a newly constructed fort, or more properly Field Redoubt, which they had hastily thrown up, at a place called Baton Rouge. In this place, however, Lieutenant Colonel Dickson, of the 16th regiment, stood a siege of nine days; and when the opening of a battery of heavy artillery had rendered all farther defence impracticable, he obtained conditions very honourable to the garrison, and highly favourable to the inhabitants. The troops, from the nature of their situation, were necessarily obliged to surrender prisoners of war; and it is to be remembered, highly to the honour of the Spanish governor and commander, Don Bernardo de Galvez, that upon this, as well as upon a later occasion of the same unfortunate nature, nothing could exceed the good faith with which he observed the prescribed conditions, nor the humanity, and kindness, with which he treated his prisoners.

The languid nature of the campaign on the side of New York, enabled the Americans, in the beginning and progress of the autumn, to take a heavy vengeance on the Indians, for the cruelties and enormities which they had so long practised on the frontiers. So formidable was this enemy now grown, through the accession of strength and discipline which it derived from the refugees and white adventurers, that a small army, with a train of artillery, under the conduct of General Sullivan, assisted by some other officers of name,

name, were destined to this service. The famous confederacy of the five or of the six nations, as it has been differently called; that confederacy which exhibited the rude outlines of a republic, in the most hidden deserts of America, was the object of the present expedition.

These nations lying at the backs of the northern and middle colonies, amidst the great lakes, rivers, and impenetrable forests, which separate them from Canada, had long been renowned for the courage, fidelity, and constancy, with which they had adhered to the English in their wars with the French; and had even assisted them frequently against different nations of their own countrymen. In the beginning of the present contest, they had concluded a treaty with the Americans, by which they bound themselves to observe a strict neutrality during the progress of the struggle. The Americans said, that they offered at that time to take up the hatchet against the English, but that they had rejected the offer upon principle; only requiring of them to adhere strictly to the neutrality.

The power of presents, with the influence of Sir William Johnson, and some others who had interest among them, operating upon their own natural propensities, soon led them to depart from this pacific line of conduct, and they took a distinguished part in that cruel and destructive war, which, we have more than once seen, was carried on against the back settlement. The Oneida Indians, were the only nation of the confederacy, who had adhered to the neutrality; or at least, who were not

known to have taken any direct part against the Americans. They were accordingly destined to escape the intended general destruction. For the principle of this war was extermination; so far as that can be carried into execution against an enemy, who seldom can be caught or found, except when, from motives of advantage, he chooses to stay, or to reveal himself. They were of opinion that nothing less, than driving them totally and far from their present possessions, could ever afford any permanent prospect of security and quiet, to their numerous infant settlements; which they knew, under these circumstances, would soon become the great sources of wealth and strength to their respective states.

The Indians marched boldly towards the frontiers of their country to meet the invaders. They were headed by Butler, Brandt, Guy Johnson, and Macdonald; and, besides assembling all their own tribes and allies, were joined by some hundreds of refugees, or, as the Americans call them, Tories. They possessed themselves of a difficult pass in the woods, between Chemung and Newtown, in the vicinity of the Teanoga River; where they constructed a strong breast-work, made of large logs, of above half a mile in extent; from whence other works, of less strength, reached a mile and a half, to the top of a mountain in their rear, where a second breast-work was formed.

A warm attack and defence took place, Aug. 29th. 1779. and was continued for two hours; in which Sullivan found that he had full occasion for

his artillery to make any effectual impression on the breast-work. The rout of the confederates was accelerated and completed, through the movements that were made by the generals Poor and Clinton, for turning their flanks, and thereby cutting off their retreat. The victory was so complete that they never attempted to make another stand during the subsequent desolation of their country.

This action only opened the way to the commencement of Sullivan's expedition; and there was a difficulty still remained, which was capable of rendering it in a great measure ineffective. To render the service in any considerable degree effectual, it was necessary that the army should be out a month, at least, in a country totally unknown, and where no supplies of any sort could be hoped for; but with all Sullivan's industry, and the aids of his employers, the distance, roads, and other circumstances, rendered it impracticable to provide provision for more than half the time; nor, if there had been more, were pack-horses to be found for its conveyance; although to lighten the carriage, the cattle which they were to live upon were driven along with the army. The spirit of the soldiers, the hearty zeal of the officers, with an animating speech from their general, removed all impediment to the design: the proposal of short allowance was received with the loudest shouts of approbation; and the ration for 24 hours was fixed, with universal consent, at half a pound of flour, and as much fresh beef; the reduction going even to the salt.

This expedition was worthy of note, as it discovered a greater degree of policy, and rather an higher state of improvement, among those Indian nations, than had been expected, even by those who had lived near, and almost in the midst of them. Sullivan discovered, to his surprize, that no guides could be procured who knew any thing at all of the country; and that the only means he had of finding his way to the Indian towns, were those which betray a wild beast in his den, the track of the inhabitant; which was a much more difficult clue in the former case than the latter, as the last of an Indian file always smooths and covers over with leaves, the tracks made by his fellows and himself; so that it requires much experience, as well as patience and industry, to be able to develope and trace them.

The degree of culture about the Indian towns was considerably higher than could be supposed from former observations and opinions relative to the customs and manners of these people. The beauty of their situation, in many instances indicating choice and design, together with the size, the construction, and the neatness of their houses, were the first great objects of admiration in this new country. Sullivan says, in several places, that the houses were not only large, but elegant; and frequently mentions their being built of frame-work. The size of their corn fields excited his wonder, as well as the high degree of cultivation which they shewed. Some idea may be formed of both, from the quantity of corn the Americans destroyed in this

this expedition; which they estimate at 160,000 bushels.

But the number of fruit trees which they found and destroyed, with the size and antiquity of their orchards, afford an object of much greater admiration; as these circumstances not only shew that cultivation was not of a late date among these people, but tend likewise to overthrow that opinion so generally received, that the Indians are incapable of looking to futurity in their conduct, and consequently totally improvident with respect to posterity. Perhaps other instances of this nature, and in a still higher degree, may yet be found, in more remote or hidden parts of America; and perhaps it may be discovered, that man, in what is called his savage state, like beavers, and some other animals, becomes more savage, careless, and improvident, in proportion as he finds that his views are broken, and his security lessened, by the near approach of the civilized part of his own species.

Sullivan informs us, that they cut down 1500 fruit trees in one orchard; and takes notice in different places, without the smallest observation on the fact, that many of the trees carried the appearances of great age. Neither the past enormities or cruelties of the Indians; the policy of the motives, the justice of the resentment, or even the supposed necessity of the act, can prevent the pain arising to a sensible mind, from such a havoc and destruction of the labours and hopes of mankind; it is not impossible, that the very improvidence imputed to the proprietors, renders the blight which thus fell upon the fruits of their poor industry the more afflicting.

The work of desolation was completed within the prescribed time, and no more; there not being a day to spare. In that time, the Americans had destroyed forty Indian towns; of which, Chinsee, the largest, contained 128 houses; but the others bore no proportion as to size. It seems by a passage in Sullivan's letter, as if they had already begun to cast a wistful eye towards the cultivation of that fine, and, until now, unexplored country. Sullivan gained great public applause by this expedition, and received testimonials of the fullest approbation and warmest affection from his officers and army; but he purchased these gratifications at the expence of a ruined constitution, which has since restrained him from all active service.

It happened about this season, that the baymen on the Musquito and bay of Honduras shores, (as the logwood cutters are called) being hard pressed; and in great danger from the Spaniards, the governor of Jamaica had dispatched Captain Dalrymple, (commandant of a new corps raised in Ireland for the service of that island) with a small force and some arms, to their relief. Admiral Sir Peter Parker had also detached a small squadron, consisting of the *Charon*, *Lowestoffe*, and *Pomona* frigates, with the *Race-Horse* schooner, under the conduct of Captain Luttrell, of the *Charon*; as commodore, to the bay of Honduras, in order to intercept some Spanish register ships; which, however, escaped into the excellent harbour, and under the protection of the strong fortress of St. Fernando de Omoa, where they were found too well secured for

any attack by sea, which the present small squadron was capable of making.

In the intermediate time, five or six hundred Spaniards had arrived in small craft at St. George's key, the principal settlement of the baymen on the coast of Honduras, which they plundered, and besides otherwise treating the people with great barbarity, sent numbers of them, with their families, as prisoners, to Merida. It happened, however, that by various fortunate accidents, by the arrival of succours, by the spirit of enterprise, which seems in a particular manner to animate those who have any concern on that coast, and the exertions of several bold and active officers of the army and navy, that the invaders were not only driven with precipitation, and without perfecting their design of desolation, from St. George's key; but that the scattered baymen being collected, those who were lately refugees, or in circumstances of imminent and immediate danger, not satisfied with an escape, aspired to adventure and conquest.

For upon the expulsion of the Spaniards from the coast, the commodore had the fortune to fall in at sea with the Porcupine sloop of war, with Captain Dalrymple, and his detachment of the loyal Irish, under convoy. Nothing could have been more opportune. The commanders immediately determined to unite their forces, in an attack by sea and land upon Omoa; a bold attempt with their force, but in which success held out a prospect of throwing the galleons (which were still under its shelter) into their hands.

The fortress at Omoa should have been exceedingly strong, if

strength were always the consequence of labour and expence. The Spaniards had for many years, been employed in the construction of the works. The walls, (the stones of which were raised in the sea, at above 20 leagues distance) were about 28 feet high, surrounded by a deep dry ditch, and the parapets, of solid stone, were 18 feet in thickness. It was, however, to be considered only as a fort or castle for the defence of the harbour, the town itself being entirely open. Its batteries shewed about 40 pieces of artillery; but it seems to have been deficient in that respect, as well as in point of garrison.

The land force of the assailants, by the junction of the baymen, along with the marines, which were entirely given by the commodore to that part of the service, somewhat exceeded 500 men; the defensive force, without including the runaway inhabitants, was not much inferior in number.

In advancing to Oct. 16th. the fort, the English were so much annoyed by the fire from the town, on their left flank, that after deliberating an hour, in order if possible to refrain from the measure, they found themselves at length under a necessity of setting it on fire. The commander of the expedition considering, that any thing like a regular siege would be totally beside his purpose; that such a measure, besides a train of heavy artillery, would require a very considerable force, as well to withstand the danger from without, as to conduct the operations against the fort; and that his small party would moulder fast away, under the incommunities of climate and constant

constant fatigue, determined to place his trust in a *coup de main*, and to attempt the place by escalade.

Measures being accordingly concerted with the commodore, the *Pomona* was towed in pretty close to the fort during the night, and the heavier ships took their proper stations, so as to be able to commence the attack on their side about three in the morning; giving a signal twenty minutes before, which was to direct that from the land. In the mean time, 150 men, in four columns in line, and carrying the scaling ladders, were moved down the hill, where they lay waiting for the signal. That being given, they advanced in the same silence, and with trailed arms, under the fire of their own batteries; which, with the heavy cannonade from the ships, served to deafen, as well as to distract the enemy; so that they passed, undiscovered by the Spanish centries, to the very entrance of the ditch.

There they were discovered, and the columns seemed for a moment to hesitate; but instantly recovering, they advanced to fix their ladders to the wall, immediately under a battery of five guns. The first ladder was demolished by the flank guns of another bastion, and a midshipman of the *Lowestoffe* killed, and several wounded; the other ladders were damaged, but fortunately were not rendered useless. Two seamen having mounted the wall, levelled their muskets, without firing, at a body of above sixty Spaniards, and such was the panic and consternation that prevailed, that they kept them for some moments in awe, and even motionless, while their friends

were ascending the ladders. The garrison, notwithstanding all the efforts of their officers, fled on all sides. Above a hundred escaped over the wall on the opposite side; but the greatest part took shelter in the casemates. In these circumstances, the governor and principal officers, making no request but for their lives, presented their swords and keys to the commandant, with a surrender of the fort, garrison, and ships.

The prisoners amounted to 355, rank and file, besides officers and inhabitants. The treasure had been removed from the castle on the approach of the British forces; but that on board the galleons, with the cargoes of other vessels in the harbour, and the value of the ships themselves, were estimated at about three millions of piasters, or pieces of eight. But of all this, nothing was so severely felt, or so real a loss to the Spaniards, as that of 250 quintals of quicksilver, newly arrived from Old Spain; a commodity so essential to the purification, and to the separation of their gold and silver ores, from other bodies, that the value of their mines must depend upon its constant supply. This, therefore, they offered to ransom at almost any price; but the conquerors, preferring the public good to their own private emolument, would not part upon any terms with an article, which, though of no great value to themselves, was of such immense consequence to the enemy. Upon the same principle, they refused to ransom the castle, for which high offers were likewise made, and left a garrison for its defence; although their generous views were frustrated in this re-

spect by its subsequent loss; arising more from the unhealthiness of the place, than from any power or vigour exerted by the enemy in its recovery.

The conduct of the commanders and officers by sea and land on this service was in all its parts exemplary. Like a well regulated machine, nothing was inert or deficient. The naval captains, Pakenham, Nugent, and Parker, had opportunities of being distinguished in various cases of difficulty and danger; and Captain Carlen, of the 60th, who acted as engineer, acquired no less credit in his department. But nothing afforded more praise, or redounded more to the honour of commanders, officers, and even private individuals, than the humanity and generosity with which they treated the vanquished. This will appear still the more truly laudable, when the recent causes of irritation and resentment which they had met with are taken into the account.

A convention was concluded, between the British commanders on the one side, and the Spanish governor and officers on the other, which went happily to the redemption of the poor baymen and their families, who had been lately conveyed to Merida, as well as other English, and some Mesquito Indians, who had for a longer or shorter time been in a state of imprisonment or slavery. The governor and garrison were enlarged for the present, as prisoners of war upon parole; but bound to return, and surrender themselves at a given time, if the conditions were not complied with. As the aversion of the Spaniards to the

baymen is well known, it was thought necessary to retain hostages on this occasion. And as a farther security, the church-plate and religious ornaments, for which all ransom had been refused, was retained as a deposit, to be returned freely as a present along with the hostages, upon the due performance of the conditions.

The recital of any act of mere courage, however extraordinary, in a British seaman, would appear rather superfluous. The following instance of magnanimity, however singular, is in its circumstances so truly characteristic of the peculiar manners, ideas, and generous valour, of that invaluable order of men, that we cannot restrain our inclination of endeavouring to preserve it from oblivion. A common sailor, who scrambled singly over the wall, had, for the better annoyance, on all sides, of the enemy, armed himself with a cutlass in each hand. Thus equipped, he fell in with a Spanish officer, just roused from sleep, and who, in the hurry and confusion, had forgotten his sword. This circumstance restrained the fury of the seaman; who disdain- ing an unarmed foe, but unwilling to relinquish so happy an opportunity of displaying his courage in single combat, presented one of the cutlasses to him, telling him "he scorned any advantage; you are now upon a footing with me." The astonishment of the officer at such an act of generosity, and at the facility with which a friendly parley took place, when he expected nothing less, from the uncouth and hostile appearance of his foe, than that of being cut instantly, and without pity or mercy, into

into pieces, could only be rivalled by the admiration, which his relating the story excited in his countrymen.

It seems remarkable, that Rear Admiral Hyde Parker, who succeeded Admiral Byron in the command on the Leeward Island station, should not have received any certain intelligence of d'Estaing's departure with his fleet to the coast of North America, until so late as the 24th of October, when he discovered it by the capture of the *Alcmena*, a French frigate of war. That vigilant commander, well seconded by Rear Admiral Rowley, preserved so decided a superiority over M. de la Motte Piquet, during the latter part of that year, and the beginning of the ensuing, that they not only severely distressed the French trade, and took and destroyed the greater part of a convoy within his view at Fort Royal; but that he had

himself, at one time, a narrow escape from falling into their hands. It is likewise to be observed, in honour to the French commander, that by suddenly slipping his cables, putting out to sea with three ships, and with great gallantry and dexterity engaging the foremost of the British fleet, and again retiring under his batteries, he thereby afforded an opportunity to a considerable part of that convoy which we have mentioned to escape. It was upon that occasion, that the brave Captain Griffith, of the *Conqueror*, in pursuing the enemy too close upon their batteries, was unfortunately killed. The British commanders had likewise the fortune to intercept, and after a chase of an extraordinary length to take, three large, heavy metalled French frigates, which were on their return from the Savannah to Martinique.

C H A P. X.

Rhode Island evacuated. Design against New York frustrated by D'Estaing's failure at Savannah. Expedition against Charles Town. Sir Henry Clinton lands with the army in South Carolina; takes possession of the islands of John and James; passes Ashley River to Charles Town Neck; siege of that city. Admiral Arbuthnot passes the Bar with difficulty. American and French marine force abandon their station, and retire to the town, where most of the former are sunk to bar a passage. The admiral passes the heavy fire of the fort on Sullivan's Island, and takes possession of the harbour. General Lincoln summoned without effect. State of the defences on Charles Town Neck. Colonel Tarleton cuts off a party of the rebels. Col. Webster passes Cooper River with a detachment, by which the city is closely invested. Lord Cornwallis takes the command on that side. Siege pressed with great vigour. Admiral Arbuthnot takes Mount Pleasant, and reduces Fort Moultrie. Tarleton defeats and destroys the rebel cavalry. Capitulation of Charles Town. Garrison, artillery, frigates, &c. Rebels again defeated by Tarleton, at Waxaw. Regulations by Sir Henry Clinton for the security of the province. Departure for New York. Earl Cornwallis reduces the whole colony. Unexpected danger to which the severity of the winter had exposed New York. Gallant defence made by Capt. Cornwallis, against a French superior naval force. Three naval actions between Sir George Rodney, and M. de Guichen, productive of no decisive consequences. Insurrections of the loyalists in North Carolina quelled. Baron de Kalbe marches into that province with a continental force. Is followed by Gen. Gates, who takes the chief command. State of affairs in the two Carolina's. Battle of Camden. Complete victory gained by Lord Cornwallis. Sumpter routed by Tarleton.

THE appearance and continuance of D'Estaing on the coast of North America, in the autumn of the year 1779, necessarily suspended all active operations on the side of New York; where none but defensive measures could be thought of, under the well-founded apprehension of a formidable attack by sea and land, which had been evidently concerted between that commander and General Washington. The latter had collected a strong force for that purpose in the Highlands, to which the northern colonies

had largely contributed, hoping to end the war by one decisive stroke; and being in possession of the North River, the cloud seemed ready to break upon the islands, as soon as the French fleet should appear in sight; an event that did not seem to be far distant, as it was expected on both sides by the new allies, that the taking of the Savannah could be little more than the work of a day; and that the success would not only inspire confidence, but even afford means, for the attainment of the grand object.

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Under these apparent circumstances of danger, it was found advisable, besides adopting every other means of a vigorous defence against a greatly superior force, to withdraw the garrison and marine from Rhode Island, and to suffer that place to fall again into the hands of the Americans.

But the defeat of D'Eſſaing, and still more the loss of time, which attended his ill conducted enterprize, having totally frustrated the views of the enemy, served equally to extend those of General Sir Henry Clinton, and of Admiral Arbuthnot, to active and effective service, by an expedition to the southern colonies. Washington's army was already in a great measure broken up. The auxiliaries had returned home; the term of enlistment of a great number of the continental soldiers was expired; and the filling up of the regiments, by waiting for recruits from their respective states, must necessarily be a work of considerable time.

South Carolina was the immediate and great object of enterprize. Besides the numerous benefits to be immediately derived from the possession of that province of opulence and staple product, and the unspeakable loss which it would occasion to the enemy, its situation rendered it still more valuable, from the security which it would not only afford to Georgia, but in a very considerable degree, to all that southern point of the continent which stretches beyond it.

Sir Henry Clinton's land force being now whole and concentrated by the evacuation of Rhode Island, it afforded means as well

as incitement to enterprize. The army was likewise in excellent condition; the reinforcements from England had not been impaired by any service; and it was abundantly provided with artillery, and with all the other engines, furniture, and provision of war. Nor was the naval force less competent to its purpose; there being nothing then in the American seas, which could even venture to look at it. On the other hand, the distance of South Carolina, from the center of force and action, cut it off from all means of prompt support in any case; while the present state of the American army, along with many circumstances in the situation of their public affairs, rendered the prospect of any timely or effectual relief extremely faint.

Although every thing had been for some time prepared for the expedition, and the troops even embarked, yet through the defect of any certain intelligence, as to the departure of D'Eſſaing from the coast of North America, it was not until within a few days of the close of the year, Dec. 26th. that the fleet and convoy proceeded from New York. The voyage from thence to the Savannah, (where they did not arrive until the end of January) was very unprosperous. Besides its extreme tediousness, the sea was so rough, and the weather so tempestuous, that great mischief was done among the transports and victuallers. Several were lost; others dispersed and damaged; a few were taken by the Americans; an ordnance ship went down, with all her stores; and

and almost all the horses, whether of draught, or appertaining to the cavalry, were lost.

From Savannah, the fleet and army proceeded before the middle of February, to the Inlet or harbour of North Edisto, on the coast of South Carolina, where the army was landed without opposition or difficulty; and took possession with equal facility, first of John's Island, and next, that of James, which stretches to the south of Charles Town Harbour. We have already had occasion, in our account of Gen. Prevost's expedition, to take some notice of the geography and nature of this flat and insulated country. The army afterwards, by throwing a bridge over the Wappoo cut, extended its posts on the mainland, to the banks of Ashley River, between which and Cooper's River, Charles Town stands; the approach to it being called the Neck.

The general is not explicit in his information, as to the nature of the difficulties, or rather wants, which were the cause of detaining the army in this position, until near the end of March; he seeming to consider these circumstances, as matters already well understood by the Secretary of State. We only learn, that a train of heavy artillery supplied by the large ships of the fleet, with a body of sailors, under the conduct of Capt. Elphinstone of the navy, were of singular service in the prosecution of the siege; and that the general found it necessary to draw a reinforcement from Georgia, which joined him without any other interruption, than the natural difficulties

of the country (which were not small) during a toilsome march of twelve days.

The passage of Ashley River was effected with great facility, thro' the aid of the naval officers and seamen, with their boats and armed galleys; and the army, with its artillery and stores, was landed without opposition on Charles Town Neck. On the night of the 1st of April, they broke ground within 800 yards of the enemy's works; and in a week, their guns were mounted in battery.

In the mean time, Admiral Arbuthnot had not been deficient in his endeavours for the passing of Charles Town Bar, in order effectually to second the operations of the army. For this purpose he shifted his flag from the Europa of the line, to the Roe Buck of 44 guns, which, with the Renown and Romulus, were lightened of their guns, provisions and water; the lighter frigates being capable of passing the bar without that preparation. Yet so difficult was the task in any state, that they lay in that situation, exposed on an open coast, in the Winter season, to the danger of the seas, and to the insults of the enemy, for above a fortnight, before a proper opportunity offered. The bar was, however, then passed (on the 20th of March) without loss; and the entrance of the harbour gained without difficulty.

The enemy had a considerable marine force in the harbour, which might have been expected to contribute more to the defence of the town

town and passage than it actually did. This consisted of an American ship, built since the troubles, and pierced for 60 guns, but mounting only 44; of seven frigates of the same country, from 32 to 16 guns; with a French frigate of 26 guns, and a polacre of eighteen. These, at first, upon the admiral's getting over the bar, shewed a disposition to dispute the passage up the river; and accordingly, they were moored with some armed galleys, at a narrow pass, between Sullivan's Island and the middle ground, in a position which would have enabled them to rake his squadron on its approach to Fort Moultrie.

This appearance of resolution, however, gave way to more timid, and it should seem, less wise council. For abandoning every idea of resistance, and leaving the fort to its own fortune, they retired to Charles-Town; where most of the ships, with a number of merchant vessels, being fitted with chevaux de frize on their decks, were sunk to obstruct the channel of the river between the town and Shutes-Folly; thus converting a living active force into an inert machine. This obstacle removed, and the success of the attack on the land side depending almost entirely on the joint operation of the fleet, the admiral took a favourable opportunity of wind and water, to pass the heavy batteries of Fort Moultrie, on Sullivan's Island; so much celebrated for the obstinate and successful defence, which, we have heretofore seen, it made, against the long, fierce and bloody attack, of Admiral Sir Peter Parker.

The passage was effected, under a severe April 9th. and impetuous fire, with less loss of lives than could have been well expected; the number of seamen killed and wounded being under thirty. The fleet, however, suffered in other respects from the fire of the enemy; and a transport, with some naval stores, was of necessity abandoned, and burnt. But the great object was now gained; they were in possession of the harbour, and took such effectual measures for blocking up or securing the various inlets, that the town was little less than completely invested. As the enemy had placed their principal trust in the defence of the passage up the river, and thereby keeping the harbour free, and their back secure, nothing could be more terrible to them than this situation of the fleet; whereby their defences were greatly multiplied, their attention diverted from the land side, and their means of relief, or even of escape, considerably streightened.

In this state of things, the batteries ready to be opened; the commanders by sea and land, sent a joint summons to General Lincoln, who commanded in Charles-Town; holding out the fatal consequences of a cannonade and storm, stating the present, as the only favourable opportunity for preserving the lives and property of the inhabitants, and warning the commander that he should be responsible, for all those calamities which might be the fruits of his obstinacy. Lincoln answered, that the same duty and inclination which had prevented him from abandoning Charles-Town,

Town, during sixty days knowledge of their hostile intentions, operated now with equal force, in prompting him to defend it to the last extremity.

The defences of Charles-Town, on the neck, were for their nature and standing, very considerable. They consisted of a chain of redoubts, lines, and batteries, extending from one river to the other; and covered with an artillery of eighty cannon and mortars. In the front of either flank, the works were covered by swamps, originating from the opposite rivers, and tending towards the center; through which they were connected by a canal passing from one to the other. Between these outward impediments and the works, were two strong rows of abbatis, the trees being buried slanting in the earth, so that their heads facing outwards, formed a kind of fraize-work against the assailants; and these were farther secured, by a ditch double picketted. In the center, where the natural defences were unequal to those on the flanks, a horn-work of masonry had been constructed, as well to remedy that defect, as to cover the principal gate; and this during the siege had been closed in such a manner as to render it a kind of citadel, or independent fort.

The siege was carried on with great vigour; the batteries were soon perceived to acquire a superiority over those of the enemy; and the works were pushed forward with unremitting industry. Soon after the middle of April, the second parallel was completed; the approaches to it secured; and it was carried within

450 yards of the main works of the besieged. Major Moncrieffe, who had gained so much honour in the defence of the Savannah, acquired no less applause, from the very superior and masterly manner in which he conducted the offensive operations of the present siege.

The town had kept its communication open with the country, on the farther side of Cooper's river, for some time after it had been invested on other sides by the fleet and army; and some bodies of militia cavalry and infantry began to assemble on the higher parts of that river, who being in possession of the bridges, might at least have become troublesome to the foraging parties, if not capable of disturbing the operations of the army. The general, as soon as his situation would permit, detached 1400 men under Lieutenant-colonel Webster, in order to strike at this corps which the enemy were endeavouring to form in the field, to break in upon their remaining communications, and to seize the principal passes of the country. On this expedition Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, at the head of a corps of cavalry, and seconded by Major Ferguson's light infantry and marksmen, afforded a striking specimen of that active gallantry, and of those peculiar military talents, which have since so highly distinguished his character. With a very inferior force, he surprized, defeated, and almost totally cut off the rebel party; and having thereby gained possession of Biggin's Bridge on the Cooper River, opened the way to Colonel Webster to advance nearly to the head of the Wandoo River, and to occupy

occupy the passes in such a manner, as to shut Charles-Town up entirely.

As the arrival of a large reinforcement from New York, enabled the general considerably to strengthen the corps under Webster, so the importance of the situation, induced Earl Cornwallis to take the command on that side of Cooper's River. Under the conduct of this nobleman, Tarleton attacked, defeated and ruined, another body of cavalry, which the enemy had with infinite difficulty collected together.

In the mean time, the besiegers had completed their third parallel, which they carried close to the rebel canal; and by a sap pushed to the dam which supplied it with water on the right, they had drained it in several parts to the bottom. On the other hand, the admiral, who had constantly pressed and distressed the enemy, in every part within his reach, having taken the fort at Mount Pleasant, acquired from its vicinity, and the information of the deserters which it encouraged, a full knowledge of the state of the garrison and defences of Fort Moultrie, in Sullivan's Island. In pursuance of this information, and determined not to weaken the operations of the army, he landed a body of seamen and marines, in order to storm the place by land, while the ships battered it in every possible direction. In these circumstances, the garrison, (amounting to something more than 200 men) seeing the imminent danger to which they were exposed, and sensible of the impossibility of relief, were glad, by a capitulation,

to surrender themselves May 7th. prisoners of war.

Thus enclosed on every side, and driven to its last defences, the general wishing to preserve Charles Town from destruction, and to prevent that effusion of human blood, which must be the inevitable consequence of a storm, opened a correspondence on the following day with Lincoln, for the purpose of a surrender. But the conditions demanded by that commander being deemed higher, than his present circumstances and situation entitled him to, they were rejected, and hostilities renewed. The batteries on the third parallel were then opened, and so great a superiority of fire obtained, that the besiegers were enabled under it to gain the counterscarp of the out-work which flanked the canal; which they likewise passed; and then pushed on their works directly towards the ditch of the place.

The objections to the late conditions required by Gen. Lincoln, went principally to some stipulations in favour of the citizens and militia; but the present state of danger having brought those people to acquiesce in their being relinquished, as the price of security, that commander accordingly proposed to surrender upon the terms which were then offered. The British commanders, besides their averseness to the cruel extremity of a storm, were not disposed to press to unconditional submission, an enemy whom they wished to conciliate by clemency. They granted now the same conditions which they had before May 11th. offered; and the capitulation was accordingly signed.

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The garrison were allowed some of the honours of war; but they were not to uncase their colours, nor their drums to beat a British march. The continental troops and seamen were to keep their baggage, and to remain prisoners of war until they were exchanged. The militia were to be permitted to return to their respective homes, as prisoners on parole; and while they adhered to their parole, were not to be molested by the British troops in person or property. The citizens of all forts to be considered as prisoners on parole; and to hold their property on the same terms with the militia. The officers of the army and navy, to retain their servants, swords, pistols, and their baggage, unsearched. Horses were refused, as to carrying them out of Charles Town; but they were allowed to dispose of them in the town.

Seven general officers, ten continental regiments, and three battalions of artillery, became prisoners upon this occasion. The whole number of men in arms who were taken, including town and country militia, and French, amounted to 5611, exclusive of near a thousand seamen. The number of rank and file, which appear on this list, bear no proportion to the clouds of commission and non-commission officers, which exceed nine hundred. The thinness of the continental regiments accounts partly for this circumstance; it appearing from Lincoln's return to congress, that the whole number of men of every sort, included in so many regiments and battalions, at the time of the surrender, did not amount to quite 2500. He boasts in that

letter, that he lost only twenty men by desertion, in six weeks before the surrender.

As the siege was not productive of sallies or desperate assaults, which were in a considerable degree prevented by situation, and the nature of the works, the loss of men was not great on either side, and was not very unequally shared. A prodigious artillery was taken; amounting, of every sort, and including those in the forts and ships, to considerably more than 400 pieces. Of these, 311 were found in Charles Town only. Three stout rebel frigates, one French, and a polacre of 16 guns, of the same nation, which escaped the operation of being sunk to bar the river, fell likewise into the hands of the victors.

The Carolinians complained greatly of their not being properly assisted by their neighbours, particularly the Virginians, in this long and arduous struggle. If the complaint is at all founded, it can only relate to the not sending of reinforcements to the garrison before the city was closely invested; for the southern colonies possessed no force, which was in any degree equal to the raising, or even to the much incommoding of the siege. Nor does it seem that the augmentation of the garrison would have answered any effectual purpose. At the commencement of the siege, an American lieutenant-colonel, of the name of Hamilton Ballendine, having the fortune of being detected in his attempt to pass to the English camp at night, with draughts of the town and works, immediately suffered the unpitied death of a traitor.

The most rapid and brilliant success

success now attended every exertion of the British arms; Lord Cornwallis, on his march up the north side of the great Santee river, having received intelligence that the remaining force of the rebels were collected near the borders of North Carolina, dispatched Colonel Tarleton, with the cavalry, and a new corps of light infantry, called the Legion, mounted on horseback, in order to rout and disperse that body, before it could receive any addition of force from the neighbouring colonies.

The enemy being at so great a distance, as not to apprehend almost the possibility of any near danger, had considered other circumstances of convenience more, than the means of securing a good retreat, in their choice of situation. No such negligence could pass unpunished, under any circumstance of distance, with such an enemy as they had now to encounter. Colonel Tarleton, upon this occasion, exceeded even his own usual celerity; and having marched 105 miles in 54 hours, May 29th. presented himself suddenly and unexpectedly, at a place called Waxlaw, before an astonished and dispirited enemy. They, however, positively rejected the conditions which were offered them, of surrendering upon the same terms with the garrison of Charles Town. The attack was highly spirited; the defence, notwithstanding the cover of a wood, faint; and the ruin complete. Above 100 were killed on the spot; about 150 so badly wounded as to be unable to travel, and about 50 brought away prisoners. Their

colours, baggage, with the remains of the artillery of the southern army, fell into the hands of the victors. The loss on their side, though the rebels were superior in number, was very trifling.

After this success, there was nothing to resist the arms of Lord Cornwallis; and the reduction of that extensive colony of South Carolina, was deemed so complete, at the time of June 5th. Sir Henry Clinton's departure, on returning to his government of New York, that he informs the American minister in his letter, that there were few men in the province, who were not either prisoners to, or in arms with the British forces; and he cannot restrain his exultation, at the number of the inhabitants who came in from every quarter, to testify their allegiance, and to offer their services, in arms, in support of his Majesty's government; and who, in many instances, had brought as prisoners their former oppressors or leaders.

That commander accordingly, in settling the affairs and government of the province, adopted a scheme of obliging it to contribute largely to its own defence; and even to look forward, in present exertion, to future security, by taking an active share in the suppression of the rebellion on its borders. In this view, he seemed to admit of no neutrals; but that every man, who did not avow himself an enemy to the British government, should take an active part in its support. On this principle, all persons were expected to be in readiness with their arms at a moment's warning; those who had families, to form a militia for the

the home defence; but those who had none, to serve with the royal forces, for any six months of the ensuing twelve, in which they might be called upon, to assist "in driving their rebel oppressors, and all the miseries of war, far from the province." Their service was, however, limited, besides their own province, to North Carolina and Georgia, beyond the boundaries of which they were not to be marched; and, after the expiration of the limited term, they were to be free from all future military claims of service, excepting their local militia duties. So warm were the hopes of success then formed, that a few months were thought equal to the subjugation of, at least, that part of the continent.

This system, of subduing one part of the Americans by the other; and of establishing such an internal force in each subjugated colony, would be nearly, if not entirely, equal to its future preservation and defence, had been often held out, and much suggested in England, as exceedingly practicable; and indeed, as requiring only adoption to insure its success. And our preceding commanders on the American service had suffered much obloquy and bitterness of reproach, for their supposed negligence, in not profiting of means which were represented as so obvious, and which, as it was said, would have been so fortunately decisive with respect to the war.

The wisdom of the measure in question depended entirely upon the number of persons in the respective colonies attached to the British government. It certainly

became Sir Henry Clinton and his noble successor, to use every method their genius suggested to them, for securing or extending their conquests; but the success of the measure in a partial experiment has been such, as will justify other commanders for not placing an intire and general dependence, upon assurances of favourable dispositions in the colonists, extorted under the influence of fear, which have every where proved entirely delusive.

The departure of Sir Henry Clinton from New York, had exposed that city to an apparent danger upon the outset of his expedition, which, as it could not possibly have been foreseen, no wisdom could provide against.—A winter, unequalled in that climate for its length and severity, had deprived New York, and the adjoining islands, of all the defensive benefits of their insular situation; and while it also deprived them of their naval protection, exposed that protection itself to an equal degree of danger. The North river, with the freights and channels by which they are divided and surrounded, were every where cloathed with ice of such a strength and thickness, as would have admitted the passage of armies, with their heaviest carriages and artillery; so that the islands, and the adjoining countries, presented to the view, and in effect, one whole and unbroken continent.

In this alarming change so suddenly wrought in the nature of the situation, Major General Pattison, who commanded at New York, with the Hessian General Knyphausen, and other officers on

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that station, took the most prudent and speedy measures for the common defence. All orders of men in New York were embodied, armed and officered; and, including about 1500 seamen, amounted to something near 6000 men. The officers and crews of the royal frigates, which were locked up in the ice, undertook the charge of a redoubt; and those of the transports, victuallers, and merchantmen, were armed with pikes, for the defence of the wharfs and shipping.

It, however, happened fortunately, that General Washington was in no condition to profit of his unlooked for event. The small army which remained with him, huddled at Morris-Town, was inferior in strength to the royal military defensive force, exclusive of the armed inhabitants and militia. He, notwithstanding, made such movements and preparations, as sufficiently indicated design, and afforded cause for alarm. An ineffective attempt was even made by Lord Stirling, with 2700 men and some artillery, upon Staten Island. But he continued on the island only one day, and retreated in the night. In a number of small skirmishes and enterprizes, which took place during the winter, the British forces had continually the advantage.

During these transactions in North America, Captain Cornwallis, on the Jamaica station, acquired great honour, by the gallant defence which he made with a very inferior force, against M. de la Motte Piquet, who was himself wounded in the action. Being on a cruise off Monte Christi, in his own ship, the *Lion*, of

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64 guns, with the *Bristol* of 50, and the *Janus* of 44, he fell in with, and was chased by the French commander, who had four 74 gun ships and two frigates. The enemy came within cannon shot by five in the evening, and a running fight was maintained through the whole night, without the enemy's venturing to come along side, which it was in their power to do. In the morning, the *Janus* being a good deal disabled, and at some distance, the *Lion* and *Bristol*, through the defect of wind, were obliged to be towed by their boats to her assistance. This brought on a general engagement, which lasted between two and three hours, and in which the enemy suffered so much, that they were obliged to lie by to repair. They, however, renewed the pursuit, and continued it during the night, without coming within gun shot. But the appearance of the *Ruby* man of war, of 64 guns, with two British frigates, in the morning of the third day, suddenly changed the face of things. The French commander was now, notwithstanding the superiority of force which he still retained, chased in turn, and pursued for several hours, with the utmost exultation and triumph by the British commanders.

Sir George Rodney had arrived at St. Lucia, and taken the command of the fleet upon the Leeward Island station, by the latter end of March. Just previous to his arrival, M. de Guichen, with 25 ships of the line, and eight frigates, all full of troops, had paraded for several days before that island, with a view either of sur-

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prize, or of overwhelming the British force by their great superiority. The good disposition of the troops made by Gen. Vaughan, and of the ships by Rear Admiral Parker, however, frustrated their design in both respects.

This visit was soon returned by Sir George Rodney, who with 20 ships of the line, and the Centurion of 50 guns, for two days, insulted M. de Guichen in Fort Royal harbour in Martinique, going so close at times, as to be able to count all the enemy's guns, and being even within random shot of their batteries. Nothing being able, notwithstanding his superiority, to draw the French commander out to an engagement, the British Admiral found it necessary to depart with the bulk of the fleet to Gros Islet Bay in St. Lucia, leaving a squadron of copper bottomed ships to watch the motions of the enemy, and to give him the earliest possible notice of their attempting to sail.

Things hung in this state until the middle of April, when the French fleet put to sea in the night, and were so speedily pursued by Sir George Rodney, that he came in sight of them on the following day. A general chase took place; and all the manœuvres of the enemy during the night, clearly indicating their full intention of avoiding an engagement, their motions were counteracted with great ability by the British commander.

On the succeeding morning, a very extraordinary degree of skill and judgment in seamanship seems to have been displayed on both sides; the evolutions on each being so rapid and various, as to re-

quire the most watchful attention on the other to prevent disadvantage. The French fleet were considerably superior in force; amounting to 23 sail of the line, and a 50 gun ship. The English fleet, as before, consisted of 20 of the line, and the Centurion. The van was led by Rear Admiral Hyde Parker; the center, by the commander in chief, and the rear division, by Rear Admiral Rowley.

A little before one o'clock, the French April 17th. were brought to action by some of the headmost ships; and about that hour, Sir G. Rodney, in the Sandwich, of 90 guns, commenced the action in the center. After beating three French ships out of the line, the Sandwich was at length encountered alone, by M. de Guichen, in the Couronne of the same force, and supported by his two seconds, the Pendant and Triumphant. It seems little less than wonderful, that the Sandwich not only sustained this unequal combat for an hour and a half, but at length obliged the French commander, with his two seconds, to bear away, whereby their line of battle was totally broken in the center. This happened at a quarter past four o'clock, when the enemy seemed to be compleatly beaten. But the great distance of the British van and rear from the center, with the crippled condition of several of the ships, and the particularly dangerous state of the Sandwich, which, for the succeeding 24 hours, was with difficulty kept above water, rendered it impossible to make the victory complete by an immediate pursuit.

The circumstances of this action were never well explained or understood. The public letter
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from the commander in chief, which was published in the Gazette, teems with implied censure against his officers in general, without the smallest praise or approbation of any one, excepting the captain of a frigate. It was said, that his signals were treated with contempt and disobeyed; and he seems himself to convey a charge against some, of not engaging closely. It is certain, that a few of the ships suffered none, or very little loss; whilst several others were great sufferers. If we recollect rightly, one captain was broke, or at least put under arrest, and his ship given to another officer; nor are we sure, that more than one court martial was not held. On the other hand, Sir George Rodney, passes high encomiums on the French admiral, and is not more sparing in his commendations of the gallantry of his officers.

The affair seemed so dark and mysterious at home, that it brought out a motion in the House of Peers on the 3d of the following June, from Lord St. John (whose brother or near relation had been killed, gallantly fighting in the action) for papers, tending to an enquiry into the subject. Upon that occasion, a noble military earl, read a letter in his place, which he said he had received from an officer who was present in the action, and who stood high in point of character and honour. In that letter, it was said, that the spirit of a certain vice admiral (whose name and conduct have so long been objects of public discussion) had gone forth, and infected the British fleet; and that

the service felt all the evils arising from those dissensions which were sown by our great men at home. It held out, besides other matter, that the ships were foul, and out of repair; that there was a great scarcity of all kinds of naval stores; and that the commander in chief was not only much dissatisfied with the conduct and failure in duty of several of his officers, but likewise with those who had deceived him, relative to the state and condition of the squadron which he commanded. The noble reader, in his comments on the letter, said, that the causes of this public misfortune had originated at home; that besides the bad condition of the ships, officers were put into command, more from their political attachments or principles, than from their reputation or service; and that faction had accordingly spread itself through, and divided the whole fleet. As the first Lord of the Admiralty declared himself equally in the dark with every other peer present, as to the particular transactions of the 17th of April, which were now the objects of enquiry, and assured the house, that he had not, by private communication or otherwise, received any explanation of the public Gazette letter, the motion was easily overruled upon a division, and the business continues in its original obscurity.

The loss in the British fleet, amounted to 120 killed, and to 353 wounded. Of these, it is remarkable, that the Hon. Capt. St. John of the Intrepid, and three of his lieutenants, were killed. Some other brave officers

were killed, and several wounded.

Such expedition was used in repairing the damage done to the ships, and the pursuit was renewed and continued with so much spirit, that on the 20th they again got sight of the enemy, and chased them for three successive days without intermission. The object of the French commander, besides that of using all possible means to avoid a second action, being to recover Fort Royal Bay, which he had so lately quitted, but where only he could repair his shattered fleet; and that of Sir George Rodney, besides the hope of bringing him again to action, to cut him off from that place of refuge and supply. M. de Guichen, was obliged to give up his second object, and for the preservation of his first, to take shelter under Guadaloupe. Nothing could afford a clearer acknowledgement of victory to the British commander; although unfortunately it was not attended with all those substantial advantages which were to be wished. Sir George Rodney returned to cruize off Fort Royal, hoping thereby to intercept that enemy whom he could not overtake.

The enemy, however, not appearing, the admiral found it necessary from the condition of the fleet, after several days cruize, and greatly alarming the island of Martinique, to put into Choique Bay in St. Lucia, as well to land the sick and wounded, as to water and rest the fleet. These purposes being fulfilled with great dispatch, and advice received of the motions of the enemy, he

again put to sea, and in four days had the fortune to gain sight of them, May 10th. within a few leagues to windward. Both fleets continued in this state of wind and condition for several days; the French having it constantly in their power to bring on an engagement, and, notwithstanding their superiority, as constantly using effectual means for its prevention. Besides the settled advantage of the wind, they soon perceived, that the cleanness and condition of their ships, afforded such a superiority in point of sailing, that they seemed to grow playful with respect to the British fleet; and accordingly used for several days to come down in a line of battle abreast, as if they meant seriously and directly to hazard an engagement, until they were arrived within little more than random cannon shot, when they suddenly hauled their wind, and again departed out of all reach.

It is at all times bad jesting before an enemy; even supposing that enemy to be a much less determined and formidable foe than a British fleet. In the course of this manœuvring, the bravade being encouraged by a sudden and masterly movement made by the British admiral for gaining the wind, and which was mistaken for a symptom of flight, the whole French fleet were nearly entangled into that which of all things they most wished to avoid. They were only saved from a close and general engagement by a critical shift of wind; and even with that aid, and all the sails they could carry, were not able to

to preserve their rear entirely from conflict.

Rear Admiral Rowley's division now composed the van of the British fleet, and was most gallantly led by Capt. Bowyer of the *Albion*, the headmost ship. That brave officer arrested the flight of the enemy about seven in the evening, and sustained for no short time the fire of several of their heavy ships, before the rear admiral, in the *Conqueror*, and two or three more of his division, were able to come up to his assistance. It was perceivable, from the latter slackness of the enemy's fire, that their rear had suffered considerably in this rencounter; the *Albion* and *Conqueror*, were the ships that suffered most on our side; only three more were able to come within reach of danger.

The enemy from this kept an awful distance, and ventured no more to repeat the parade of coming down, as if they meant to engage. A vigorous effort made, however, by the British commander a few days after, in order to weather them, although it failed of the intended effect, yet involved the fleets in such a manner, that the French, for the preservation of their rear, were under the necessity of hazarding a partial engagement. They accordingly bore along the British line to windward, and maintained a heavy cannonade, at a distance which could not admit of any great effect, but which they endeavoured constantly to preserve. The rear, however, and some part of the center, could not escape being closely and severely attacked by the British van, and such other ships as could

get up. It was accordingly observed that they suffered very considerably. As soon as their rear was extricated, the enemy's whole fleet bore away, with all the sail they could possibly press.

It appears that twelve sail of the British fleet, including the *Preston* of 50 guns, were able to come up so far with the enemy, as to sustain some loss. Although the van was led on this day, by Commodore Hotham, in the *Vengeance*, with great reputation, yet it was the fortune of the *Albion*, Capt. Bowyer, to stand the brunt of this action, as well as of the preceding. She suffered accordingly. The whole loss of the fleet in both engagements, amounted to 68 slain, and 293 wounded; and of these, 24 were killed, and 123 wounded, in the *Albion* only. Admiral Rowley suffered considerably in the former action, but much more deeply in this; in which his brave Captain, Watson, likewise fell. All the officers who could get into action in either, are entitled to the highest applause.

The British fleet continued the pursuit of the enemy for two days, when they totally lost sight of them; the chace had then led them 40 leagues directly to the windward of Martinique. The state of the fleet rendered it now absolutely necessary for the commander in chief to proceed to Carlisle Bay, in the island of Barbadoes; which afforded, at length, an opportunity to the French of attaining that object which they had so long sought, and of repairing their shattered fleet in Fort Royal harbour.

Notwithstanding the tranquil
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appearances of things in South Carolina, at the time of Sir Henry Clinton's departure from thence, it soon became obvious, that many of the inhabitants were so little satisfied with the present government, that they endeavoured to dispose of their property upon such terms as they could obtain, and totally to abandon the province. This conduct became so frequent and glaring, that Lord Cornwallis found it necessary towards the end of July to issue a proclamation, strictly forbidding all sales and transfers of property, including even negroes, without a licence first obtained from the commandant of Charles Town; and likewise forbidding all masters of vessels, from carrying any persons whatever, whether black or white, out of the colony, without a written passport from the same officer.

In the mean time, Lord Cornwallis, who extended his views to the reduction of North Carolina, had kept up a constant correspondence with the loyalists in that colony, who eagerly urged him to the prosecution of his design. But besides that the heat of the Summer was so excessive, that it would have rendered action exceedingly destructive to the troops, he likewise found, that no army could be subsisted in that country, until the harvest was over. Upon these accounts, he earnestly pressed the friends of the British government in North Carolina, to keep themselves quiet, and free from all suspicion, though in readiness, until the proper season arrived. But the usual impudence of those people, operated upon by the vigilant jealousy of

that government, or, as they said, by its oppression and cruelty, rendered them incapable of profiting of such salutary counsel. Insurrections accordingly took place, which being conducted without order or caution, as well as premature, were easily suppressed. A Col. Bryan, however, with about 800 half armed men, escaped into South Carolina, where they joined the royal forces.

During the necessary continuance of the commander in chief at Charles Town, in regulating the government and affairs of the province, the part of the army destined to active service, was advanced towards the frontiers, under the conduct of Lord Rawdon, who fixed his head quarters at the town of Camden. The advantageous situation of that place on the great river Santee, which afforded an easy communication with several, and remote, parts of the country, together with other inviting and favourable circumstances, induced Earl Cornwallis to make it not only a place of arms, but a general store-house or repository, for the supply of the army in its intended operations. He accordingly used the utmost dispatch in conveying thither from Charles Town, rum, salt, arms, ammunition, and various stores, which, from the distance, and excessive heat of the weather, proved a work of infinite labour and difficulty. That noble commander likewise spared no pains in arming and embodying the militia of the province, and in raising new military corps under well affected leaders.

But during these transactions, a great change took place in the

aspect of affairs in North-Carolina. For besides the suppression of the loyalists, who were treated with little mercy, Major-General the Baron de Kalbe, a German officer in the American service, arrived in that province with 2000 continental troops; and was followed by some bodies of militia from Virginia. The government of the colony were likewise indefatigable in their exertions and preparations, at least for defence, if not for conquest. Troops were raised; the militia every where drawn out; and Rutherford, Caswell, Sumpter, and other leaders, advanced to the frontiers at the head of different bodies of them. Skirmishes took place on all sides, and were attended with various fortune; and the enemy became so dangerous, that Lord Rawdon found it necessary to contract his posts.

It soon appeared, that the submission of many of the South-Carolinians was merely compulsory, and that no conditions or consequences could bind or deter them from pursuing the bent of their inclinations, whenever the opportunity offered. As the enemy increased in strength, and approached nearer, numbers of those who had submitted to the British government, and others who were on parole, abandoned, or hazarded all things, in order to join them. A Colonel Lisle, who had exchanged his parole for a certificate of being a good subject, carried off a whole battalion of militia, which had been raised by another gentleman for Lord Cornwallis, to join Sumpter. Another battalion, who were appointed to conduct about 100 sick of the 71st regiment in

boats down the Pedee to Georgetown, seized their own officers, and carried them, with the sick men, all prisoners to the enemy.

General Gates was now arrived in North-Carolina, to take the command of the new southern army; and the time was fast approaching, when his high military reputation was to be staked in an arduous contest with the fortune of Earl Cornwallis. In the second week of August, that nobleman having received intelligence at Charles-Town, that Gates was advancing with his army towards Lynche's Creek, that Sumpter was endeavouring to cut off the communications between that city and the army, that the whole country between the Pedee and the Black River had revolted, and that Lord Rawdon was collecting his whole force at Camden, he immediately set off for that place.

He found on his arrival no small difficulties to encounter. Gates was advancing, and at hand, with a very decided superiority of force. His army was not estimated at less than five or six thousand men; it was likewise supposed to be very well appointed; whilst the name and character of the commander, increased the idea of its force. On the other hand, Lord Cornwallis's regular force, was so much reduced by sickness and casualties, as not much to exceed 1400 fighting men, or rank and file, with four or five hundred militia, and North Carolina refugees. The position of Camden, however advantageous or convenient in other respects, was a bad one to receive an attack. He could indeed have made good his retreat to Charles-Town with those troops that were
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able to march; but in that case, he must have left about 800 sick, with a vast quantity of valuable stores, to fall into the hands of the enemy. - He likewise foresaw, that excepting Charles-Town and the Savannah, a retreat would be attended with the loss of the two whole provinces of South-Carolina and Georgia.

In these circumstances, the noble commander determined, neither to retreat, nor wait to be attacked in a bad position. He knew that Charles-Town was so well garrisoned and provided, that it could not be exposed to any danger, from whatever might befall him. That his troops were excellent, admirably officered, and well found and provided in all respects. And that the loss of his sick, of his magazines, the abandonment of the country, and the desertion of his friends, all of which would be the inevitable consequences of a retreat, were almost the heaviest evils which could befall him in any fortune. In his own words, there was "little to lose by a defeat, and much to gain by a victory."

The intelligence which he received, that General Gates had encamped in a bad situation, at Rugley's, about 13 miles from Camden, undoubtedly served to confirm Lord Cornwallis in his

Aug. 15th. determination. He accordingly marched from Camden about 10 o'clock at night, with a full intention of surprizing Gates at Rugley's; and making his dispositions in such a manner, as that his best troops and greatest force should be directed against the continental regiments; laying little stress on the militia,

if these were sufficiently provided against.

It was almost singular, that at the very hour and moment, at which Lord Cornwallis set out from Camden to surprize Gates, that general should set out from Rugley's in order to surprize him. For although he does not acknowledge the fact in point of design, and even pretends, that his night movement was made with a view of seizing an advantageous position some miles short of Camden; his order of march, the disposition of his army, with the hour of setting out, and other circumstances, will leave but little room to entertain a doubt of his real object. These leading features will remind some of our readers of a celebrated action in the late war; in which the Prussian monarch, environed with danger, and surrounded on all sides by armies of enemies, some of which were singly superior to his own, surprized and defeated Laudohn on a night march, when that able general intended to conclude the war by completing the circle, and by surprizing him in a manner which must have been final in its effects.

In the present instance, the light troops and advanced corps on both sides, necessarily fell in with, and encountered each other in the dark, so that the surprize was mutual. In this blind encounter, however, the American light troops being driven back precipitately on their van, occasioned some considerable disorder in that part, if not in their center, which probably was never entirely recovered. Lord Cornwallis repressed the firing early, and immediately formed; he found that the enemy were
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in bad ground, and he would not hazard in the dark, the advantages which their situation would afford him in the light; at the same time that he took such measures as effectually prevented their taking any other. For the ground occupied by both armies, being narrowed and pressed in upon on either hand by deep swamps, afforded great advantages to the weaker in making the attack, and by preventing the stronger from extending their lines, deprived them in a great measure, of those which they should have derived from their superiority in number.

A movement made by the Americans on the left by day-light, indicating some change of disposition or order, does not seem to have been a very judicious measure, in the face of, and so near to, such a commander, and such an army. Lord Cornwallis saw the advantage, and instantly seized it; Col. Webster, who commanded the right wing, directly charging the enemy's left, with the light infantry, supported by the 23d and 33d regiments. The action soon became general, and was supported near an hour, with wonderful resolution, and the most determined obstinacy. The firing was quick and heavy on both sides; and intermixed with sharp and well-supported contests at the point of the bayonet. The morning being still and hazy, the smoke hung over and involved both armies in such a cloud, that it was difficult to see or to estimate the state of destruction on either side. The British troops, however, evidently pressed forward; and at the period we have mentioned, the Americans were thrown into con-

fusion, began to give way on all sides, and a total and general rout soon ensued.

We learn from the American accounts, that the whole body of their militia, (which constituted much the greater part of their force) excepting only one North-Carolina regiment, gave way and run, at the very first fire; and that all the efforts of the general himself, and of the other commanders, were incapable of bringing them afterwards ever to rally, or to make a single stand; so that gaining the woods as fast as possible, they totally dispersed. But the continental regular troops, and the single North Carolina regiment of militia, vindicated their own and the national character. They even stood that last and sore test of the goodness of troops, the push of the bayonet, with great constancy and firmness.

The British commander shewed his usual valour and military skill. And the officers and troops, in their respective stations, answered his warmest expectations. But though all are entitled to our applause, yet Lord Rawdon, with the two Lieutenant-Colonels Webster and Tarleton, could not avoid being particularly distinguished.

The victory was complete. The broken and scattered enemy were pursued as far as Hanging-Rock, above twenty miles from the field of battle. All their artillery, amounting to seven or eight brass field pieces, with 2000 stand of arms, their military waggons, and several trophies, were taken. Lord Cornwallis estimates the slain at eight or nine hundred, and says about a thousand prisoners were taken.

taken. The General, Baron de Kalbe, who was second in command, was mortally wounded, and taken. That officer spent his last breath in dictating a letter, expressive of the warmest affection for the Americans, containing the highest encomiums on the valour of the continental troops, of which he had been so recent a witness, and declaring the satisfaction which he then felt, in having been a partaker of their fortune, and having fallen in their cause.

The American Brigadier-General Gregory, was among the slain, and Rutherford was wounded and taken. Although some brave officers fell, and several were wounded, on the British side, yet the loss which the army sustained, was upon the whole comparatively small. It amounted, including eleven missing, only to 324, in which number the slain bore a very moderate proportion.

Upon the whole, Gates seems to have been much outgeneralled. He was, however, consoled in his misfortune, (which has since occasioned his retreat from the service) by the approbation of his conduct and services, which was publicly bestowed by some of the assemblies.

General Sumpter had for some time been very successful in cutting off or intercepting the British parties and convoys, and lay now with about a thousand men, and a number of prisoners and waggons which he had lately taken, at the Catawba fords; apparently secured by distance, as well as the diffi-

culties of the country. Lord Cornwallis considered it a matter of great importance to his future operations, to give a decisive blow to this body, before he pursued his success by advancing into North-Carolina. He accordingly detached Colonel Tarleton, with the light infantry and cavalry of the legion, amounting to about 350, upon this service. The advantages to be derived from woody, strong, and difficult countries, are much counterbalanced by the opportunities which they afford of surprize. The brave and active officer employed upon this occasion, by forced marches, judicious measures, and excellent intelligence, surprized Sumpter so completely at noon-day, that his men, lying totally careless and at ease, were mostly cut off from their arms. The victory was accordingly nothing more than a slaughter and rout. About 150 were killed on the spot, about 300, with two pieces of cannon, taken, and a number of prisoners and waggons retaken.

These splendid successes laid the southern colonies open, to all the effects of that spirit of enterprize which distinguishes Earl Cornwallis, and which he communicates to all who act under his command. In any other war than the American, they would have been decisive of the fate of those colonies. But it has been the singular fortune of that war, that victory, on the British side, has been unproductive of its proper and customary effects.

C H R O N I C L E.

C H R O N I C L E.

J A N U A R Y.

York, Dec. 30.

AT a general meeting of the freeholders of the county of York held here this day, at which, most of the gentlemen of the first consideration and property were present; it was unanimously agreed, that a petition should be presented to the House of Commons for the purposes therein mentioned*.

After which the following resolutions were proposed, and also unanimously agreed to, viz.

1st. Resolved, That the petition now read to this meeting, addressed to the House of Commons, and requesting; that, before any new burthens be laid upon the country, effectual measures may be taken by that House to enquire into, and correct the gross abuses in the expenditure of public money; to reduce all exorbitant emoluments; to rescind and abolish all sinecure places and unmerited pensions; and to appropriate the produce to the necessities of the state; is approved by this meeting.

2d. Resolved, That a committee of sixty-one gentlemen be

appointed, to carry on the necessary correspondence for effectually promoting the object of the petition, and to prepare a plan for an association, on legal and constitutional grounds, to support that laudable reform, and such other measures as may conduce to restore the freedom of parliament, to be presented by the chairmen of the committee to this meeting, held by adjournment, on Tuesday in Easter-week next ensuing.

The committee was then chosen, and thanks given to the lords and members of the House of Commons who honoured the meeting with their presence and support.

A deputation from the Protestant Association, assembled 4th. under the patronage of Lord Geo. Gordon, waited on Lord North, to request his lordship to present a petition from that society to parliament, and to support the same, against a law which has already received the royal assent, for the relief of his majesty's Popish subjects in certain cases; which his lordship absolutely refused.

In consequence of a public notice given by the sheriffs, a 7th. numerous and respectable meeting

* See Appendix;

of the freeholders of Middlesex was held at the Mermaid, at Hackney. About one o'clock Mr. Sheriff Wright took the chair (Sheriff Pugh being confined with the gout, did not attend) and read a requisition made to him, signed by several freeholders of the county, requiring the meeting, the purport of which was, "to consider the propriety of entering into resolutions, and co-operating with the noble lords who formed the minority on the 7th and 15th of December on the motions for the retrenchment of the civil list, and for controlling the public expenditure, &c."

A petition to the House of Commons, almost verbatim the same with that from the county of York, was agreed to. After this, two resolutions similar to those carried at the York meeting were read and approved of, and a committee of fifty-one gentlemen appointed to carry on the business, and the necessary correspondence with the kingdom. Mr. Grieve then made a motion, that the thanks of the meeting be given to the noble lords and commons, who have uniformly and unequivocally stood forth in the defence of the constitutional rights of their country, and for reforming the state; which was carried.

A dreadful fire happened 10th. in Great Wild Street, Lincoln's-Inn-fields, at three o'clock last Friday morning, when three houses were consumed, two others damaged, and five or six unhappy persons perished in the flames! Many industrious families, lodgers in the houses which were burnt, &c. lost all their goods, and even their wearing apparel, and were

compelled to rush, in a manner naked, into the streets, to save their lives.

At the above fire Mrs. Mitton, a dealer in coals, was seen to look out of her chamber window before the house caught fire; but an engineer at the instant accidentally pointing the engine pipe that way, struck her backwards, and she was consumed with the building, to which the flames soon after communicated themselves.

Admiralty-Office, Jan. 11.

Capt. Clerke, of his majesty's sloop the Resolution, in a letter to Mr. Stephens, dated the 8th of June, 1779, in the harbour of St. Peter and St. Paul. Kamescharka, which was received yesterday, gives the melancholy account of the celebrated Captain Cook, late commander of that sloop, with four of his private mariners, having been killed, on the 14th of February last, at the island of O'whythe, one of a groupe of new discovered islands, in the 22d degree of north latitude, in an affray with a numerous and tumultuous body of the natives.

Capt. Clerke adds, that he had received every friendly supply from the Russian government; and that as the companies of the Resolution, and her consort the Discovery, were in perfect health, and the two sloops had twelve months stores and provisions on board, he was preparing to make another attempt to explore a northern passage to Europe.

[The above new discovered island in the South Seas lies in 22 N. lat. and 200 E. long. from Greenwich. The captain and crew were at first treated as deities, but upon their revisiting that island some of the

the inhabitants proved inimical, hostilities ensued, and the above melancholy scene was the consequence.]

Copies of the journals of the two ships, together with many valuable drawings, were left with the governor, to be forwarded to England; who politely engaged to take charge of them himself as far as Peterburgh.

This day the new elected members of the common-council took the usual oaths for their qualification at the sessions at Guildhall, and immediately afterwards a court of common-council was held, when the committee appointed to enquire into the right of the members of that court to be Governors of the Royal Hospitals, reported a state of their proceedings, and the measures taken by their opponents; and the committee were empowered to defend the right of the corporation in such manner as they should be advised, and to draw upon the chamber for the necessary expences.

14th. Four prisoners were tried at the Old-Bailey, three of whom were capitally convicted, viz. John Benfield and W. Turley, for feloniously coming and counterfeiting, at a house in White's-alley, Chancery-lane, shillings, six-pences, and half-crowns, several counterfeit shillings, newly cast, being found in one room; and Mary Williams, for feloniously colouring, with a certain wash producing the colour of silver, several round planks of base metal, of a fit size to be coined into counterfeit milled money, resembling shillings.

The same day the session ended, when seven convicts received judgment of death, nine were sentence-

ed to hard labour in the house of correction, eight to be imprisoned in Newgate, five whipped and discharged, and 11 discharged by proclamation.

The sessions of the peace is adjourned till Thursday the 20th instant, at Guildhall, and the sessions of gaol delivery till Wednesday the 23d of February, at the Old-Bailey.

This day the following 19th. malefactors were executed at Tyburn, pursuant to their sentence: Hugh Mulvey, John Whitley and John Woodmore, who went in the first cart, for breaking open the house of Thomas Farley, of Coldbath Fields, and stealing thereout two silk gowns, two pair of stays, and other things; John Howell, for stealing 352 silk handkerchiefs, and other goods, to a considerable amount, in the house of Mr. Davison, pawnbroker, in Bishopsgate-street; and William Kent, for robbing Henry Otto, one of his majesty's messengers, of his watch and money, on the highway, near Gunnersbury-lane, who went in the last cart. They were attended by the sheriffs, city marshals, officers, the ordinary of Newgate, &c. from Newgate to the place of execution. They behaved exceeding penitent, wept much, and were terribly agitated and shocked at their approaching dissolution.

The above unfortunate youths were all very young, the eldest not exceeding 27 years of age.

The same day a court of aldermen was held at Guildhall, when Mr. Thorp, one of the common-council of the ward of Aldgate, presented a letter from Mr. Alderman Lee, desiring to surrender the office

of alderman of the said ward, he finding it incompatible with his present concerns to hold the said office. The court accordingly accepted of the said resignation.

The lord mayor went to 21st. Ironmonger's - hall, Fenchurch-street, when a wardmote was held before his lordship for the election of an alderman for Aldgate ward, in the room of William Lee, Esq; when William Burnell, Esq; one of the late sheriffs, was chosen without opposition. Thanks were also voted to the late Alderman Lee by a majority of 12 voices.

The king's proclamation, setting forth, that for the future all foreign ships taken carrying to and assisting the enemies of Great Britain with warlike-stores or goods of any kind, should be deemed legal prizes, and the ship or ships and cargoes should be sold for the benefit of those who took them, was read at the Royal Exchange Gate by Mr. Bishop, the common-cryer, assisted by the proper officers.

The adjournment of the session was held at Guildhall before the lord mayor, aldermen, recorder, &c. to conclude the business which was left unfinished at the late adjournment, when the following extraordinary trial for an assault was heard:—Thomas Atkins, a sergeant at mace, went on the 24th of last June to serve a process on Mr. Henry Gough, at his house on Holborn-hill; he acquainted Mr. Gough with the nature of his business, who seemed inclined to settle the matter. Mr. Gough going up stairs, the officer followed, when he, Mr. Gough, turned round, and shoved Atkins over the banister: Mr. Atkins not re-

ceiving much hurt, renewed the attack, and a general battle ensued between Gough and Atkins, and Gough's man and Atkins's man. Gough finding the officer too mighty for him to oppose without further assistance, unchained a large fierce animal, which Mr. Atkins affirmed to be a centaur, or griffin; however, it proved to be a man satyr: this had the desired effect, for both Mr. Atkins and follower, upon sight of the beast, wisely declined the fight, and made a precipitate retreat. The charge being undeniably proved, Mr. Gough was accordingly found guilty, and sentenced to pay a fine of five guineas. Mr. Gough is a dealer in wild beasts.

Last December a gentleman tried the power of electricity on a myrtle tree, in the following manner: he placed the pot in a room which was frequented by the family, and for seventeen days electrified it once in each day, allowing half a pint of water to the root on every fourth day. In consequence of this trial, the myrtle produced several shoots, the longest measuring full three inches, and it is now in the Green-house in perfect health.

Dublin, Jan. 15. We have the pleasure to acquaint our readers, that on Monday last there was made the first exports entry of woollens from this kingdom at our Custom-house since the restrictions on our trade were taken off. The entry was made by William Worthington, Esq; of 1300 yards of serge, for Lisbon.

York, Jan. 18. At a meeting of the Agriculture Society, held at Beverley, for the East-Riding of the county of York and county of Hull,

Hull, a premium of three guineas was adjudged to Ann Witty, of Driffeld, she having served the longest in one place, viz. 40 years; also a premium of two guineas to William Carr, of Tickton, he being the next eldest servant, having served in one place 36 years.

Cordova in the Tucuman, June 1, 1779.

In the village of Altagratia there lives a negro woman, who, according to the most authentic information and testimonies taken judiciously, must be about 175 years old; she is extremely thin, very much wrinkled, and bent double, but she can see at a few paces distance, and spins; but what is most extraordinary, though she cannot stand for any space of time, she still carries on the business of a midwife with dexterity. She has five children by her husband, one Michael, a negro, and she thinks her grand-children have grand-children of their own. Old people seem to be no rarity in that country, as there are several negroes upwards of an hundred years old, and one woman of 120, who retains her memory perfectly, and declares that the old woman in question was arrived at woman's estate when she first had the use of her reason.

In the course of this month, the price of corn fell almost one half from what it was only four years ago. The following is an accurate state of the prices in 1775, and in the present winter of 1779 and 1780.

	1775.	1780.
Wheat per load	£. 15 0	£. 7 10 0
Barley per quarter	1 10	0 19 0
Oats - -	1 2	0 15 0
Pease - -	2 4	1 5 6
Hay per load -	4 10	2 0 0

In the west of England the wool is all upon hand. In Lincolnshire, and throughout the north, it has been so for some time. This article, that was formerly called the staple-commodity of England, will now fetch no price.

DIED, Dec. 26. of a lingering illness, in the 75th year of his age, Thomas Hope, Esq; well known in the trading world, as one of the first characters that this or perhaps any other age ever produced. He was originally descended from the elder branch of the family of Hope in Scotland; and, endowed with great natural abilities, he with unremitting application raised the credit and affluence of the house at Amsterdam, which continues to bear his name, to such a height, as perhaps no other house of trade in any country ever arrived. Nor were his thoughts in business confined to that object only, having for many years presided as representative of the Prince of Orange, first in the West India, and afterwards in the Dutch East India Companies; where, particularly in the latter, he established such wise laws and regulations in their trade, as must make his memory respected and adored as long as these companies shall exist. And it will be remembered by the latest posterity, that a merchant could at once prescribe laws to sovereigns in the East, and, by his moneyed powers, greatly sway the scale of empire in Europe. He was just in all his dealings; and friendly, where he had once placed his confidence, to a degree that by many might be thought to exceed the bounds of prudence in trade.

At Wapping, Mr. Thomas Dilworth, well known for his many useful publications.

At Stepney, Mrs. Armstrong, aged 110.

FEBRUARY.

2d. The inhabitants of Westminster, to the number of 4000, met in Westminster-hall, pursuant to public advertisement, to agree on a petition to parliament, to controul the shameful waste of public money, &c.

The Hon. Charles Fox being called to the chair, Mr. Sawbridge represented the necessity there was for the presenting a petition similar to that of York. He then read the petition, which was next read by the chairman, and carried unanimously.

A motion was then made, that a committee should be appointed to correspond with the other committees through the kingdom; and the Duke of Portland, the Earls Egremont and Temple, the Lords John and George Cavendish, the Hon. Thomas Townshend, Messrs. Sawbridge and Wilkes, and about ninety other noblemen and gentlemen, were appointed of the committee.

After which, Mr. Fox was proposed as a candidate to represent the city of Westminster at the next general election, and was received with the loudest acclamations.

5th. There is now in the possession of Mr. Benj. Penny, near Tenbury in Gloucestershire, a bull-calf, about three weeks old, with two heads, four ears, and two tongues, quite perfect. It eats with both mouths, and is likely to live. This monster has been shewn to the public in the

metropolis and was alive at the end of the present year.

Last Sunday between four and five o'clock in the afternoon, one Garret of Sutton, near Retworth, in Suffex, shot his wife dead on the spot as she was sitting before the fire. The more effectually to execute his diabolical intention, he loaded the piece with two balls, and in the presence of his wife; who, remarking the singularity of his loading, and asking him what he was going to shoot with bullets? received for answer, small birds. But she soon found herself the devoted object; the fatal piece was levelled, and ere she could remonstrate, the balls had passed through her body, and killed her on the spot.

A court of common-council was held at Guild-hall, when, after a deal of altercation, the vacancies in the several committees were filled up agreeable to the list of the previous meeting.

The business for which this court was called was next proceeded on, viz. To take into consideration the expenditure of public monies, and other grievances. Upon which, a motion was made and seconded, that a petition be presented to the honourable the House of Commons from that court; which, after some debates, was put, and carried unanimously.

A committee of eight aldermen and sixteen commoners was appointed to draw up the petition, which was agreed upon. This committee was desired to correspond with the committees of the several counties.

Yeffer-

11th. Yesterday morning, pursuant to an order of the King's Bench, on Saturday last, Mess. Stratton, Brooke, Floyer and Mackay, were brought up to the bar of that court, to receive sentence, having been found guilty of removing Lord Pigot from the presidency of Madras, and imprisoning him for nine months, which was said to be the cause of his death.

Mr. Justice Ashurst being the judge appointed to pass sentence, before he pronounced it, went through the heads of the evidence, both for the prosecution and the defence.

He made several remarks as he went through it, in which he observed, that if Fort St. George had belonged to the crown, the depriving Lord Pigot of the presidency would have been high treason; but, as it was under the East-India company, it was only a misdemeanor. He took notice that the defendants had imprisoned Lord Pigot for dismissing several members from the council, yet they themselves had done the like in three instances; but he could say, that, while they held the reins of government, every thing succeeded, both in trade and in the army; and that the presidency of Bengal, to whom the whole of the business was referred, gave an opinion in their favour. He then proceeded to the sentence, as follows:

"Mess. Stratton, Brooke, Floyer, Mackay,

"Gentlemen,

"You are now called upon to receive sentence for an offence which you have committed, and been found guilty of; but, as there is no distinction in your

cases, but are guilty alike, you are sentenced, each of you, to pay a fine to his majesty of 1000*l.* and to be imprisoned until that sum is paid." The fines being immediately paid in the court, they were of course discharged.

A cause was tried before Judge Nares at Guildhall, 15th. between Mr. Robert Tayler and the owners of one of the Colchester stages. The action was brought for the recovery of damages for the injury which Mr. Tayler suffered from the coachman's driving against his horse near Stratford, by which the horse was thrown down, and Mr. Tayler's legs run over by the hind wheel of the coach. The learned judge in summing up the evidence informed the jury, that the law was clear in making the owners of stage coaches accountable for the misconduct of their coachmen, and told them to find a verdict for the plaintiff, if it appeared from the evidence that the coach was not on the left side of the road, for that if so, the accident had happened in consequence of that misconduct. The jury retired for about ten minutes, and brought in a verdict for the plaintiff, with 150*l.* damages.

His majesty has been pleased to grant a free pardon to Richard Mealing, convicted in September session of feloniously receiving goods, the property of James Pentecosts, knowing the same to be stolen. 17th.

His majesty also hath been pleased to grant a free pardon to John Field, convicted the same session of coining shillings and sixpences.

On Monday was tried in the court of King's Bench, before the Earl of Mansfield, 23d.

field, at Westminster-hall, an indictment found by the grand jury of Westminster, against a Middlesex justice, for commitment of a freeman of London, and a member of the fellowship of ticket porters, to the Savoy, under the authority of the impress act, thereby declaring him to be an idle and disorderly person, whereas in truth and in fact the prosecutor was an industrious sober man, of extraordinary good reputation. The prosecution was conducted by the direction of the court of aldermen, to protect the rights of the fellowship, they being all freemen, and governed by an alderman. The indictment was laid also against two constables, for the original assault, prior to the examination before the justice; but the noble lord who presided on the bench gave a direct intimation to the jury, that they in point of law were justifiable; and they were without hesitation acquitted. The point rested solely as to the criminality of the justice, and whether he was any ways liable to be called upon for the injury done to the prosecutor, who had been handcuffed, and led like a thief thro' the streets; and besides, had suffered in the Savoy a miserable confinement, and even debarred the visits of his friends; so that by mere accident a writ of Habeas Corpus was obtained by the city to discharge him out of a loathsome room. The counsel for the justice relied upon the act of parliament as a sufficient answer to the charge, saying, that the justice exercised his discretion, and was not to be confined within any particular line of conduct; if it could be proved he had wantonly abused

his power, they allowed the case varied materially. Lord Mansfield said, that the justice had refused to hear evidences, whom he was not empowered to exclude: the justice was not to refuse the examination of witnesses offered: it was his duty to hear and judge accordingly, and not to be biased by improper motives; but as to that consideration, it was for the jury to determine. The justice was found guilty, and is to receive sentence next term. The trial lasted till four o'clock.

The sessions at the Old Bailey, which began on the 26th. preceding Wednesday, ended, when seven convicts received sentence of death: William Herbert for returning from transportation; Christopher Burrows and John Burden, for robbing Sarah Gifford in the Green-park, St. James's; Robert Andres and Richard Palmer, for robbing the house of Sir Richard Lumm; Christopher Plumley, for robbing the house of John Abbot; and John Pears, convicted in September sessions of hiring a horse and felling the same. This case had been referred to the twelve judges, who were of opinion the offence was capital.

A man was carried before the lord mayor for defrauding a woman of some bank stock. 28th. It appeared on the examination that he pretended to be a broker, and prevailed on the woman to give him half a guinea, and to sign a paper empowering him to transact some business for her at the bank, her husband being abroad. The woman not being able to read, put her mark, and when she went to the bank to receive her next dividend, she found

found that all her flock was sold and transferred to another person. The imposition being committed in the outparts, he was sent there for further examination.

29th. During the night the atmosphere exhibited the most extraordinary appearance that has been observed for many years. The light resembled that of a great fire, and the whole elements seemed to be in one continued flame. At intervals flashes of sparkling fire shot from the horizon to the zenith, and seemingly extinguished in a point. The same appearance extended to France and Germany, and probably over all Europe.

Besides the Petition agreed to at the county meeting held at York, as mentioned under Dec. 30, similar meetings and petitions have been held and agreed to in the counties of Middlesex, Hampshire, Cheshire, Hertford, Huntingdon, Surrey, Suffex, Dorset, Cumberland, Essex, Bedford, Gloucester, Somerset, and Wilts; as also by the corporations of Nottingham and Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

DIED, At Combe, Joseph Ekins, a labouring man, aged 103, who never knew a week's illness; and for the last 40 years, subsisted entirely on bread, milk, and vegetables.

Francis Walkern, a carpenter, aged 104, who till within a few days of his death was never troubled with sickness, or any distemper whatever.

M A R C H.

2d. A cause was tried, and learnedly argued, between the oyster-meters of London, and

the proprietors of oyster-beds in the county of Essex; the oyster-meters claimed a specific sum for work which they had an exclusive right of performing by custom and immemorial usage. On the part of the defendants it was contended, that the right insisted on was abolished by the acts of the 10th and 11th of William and Mary, which made Billingsgate a free market, and settled the fees. The jury, which was special, after hearing the arguments on both sides, gave a verdict for the plaintiffs, which established their rights.

The Stamford waggon took fire at five o'clock in 5th. the morning, three miles beyond Hertford, by the carelessness of the driver, who left the lantern in the basket with a candle, which burnt to the socket, and nothing escaped but a barrel of porter, and the bottom and one wheel of the waggon. The passengers and waggoner were much scorched in attempting to throw off the loading, which, on account of the approaching fair, was of considerable value, and the damage is estimated at above 1000l.

This morning at a court of common-council held at 6th. Guildhall, a motion was made by Mr. Deputy Leaky, That the thanks of this court be voted to Sir George Bridges Rodney, for his late very gallant action against the Spaniards; and also that the freedom of this city be presented to him in a gold box of 100l. value, which were both agreed to.

Two young women were taken out of the New River 14th. locked arm in arm, with their legs tied together, and both drowned. It has since appeared they were tambour workers, had contracted

contracted a perfect friendship for each other from children, and had lived happily together for some time, till religious melancholy, as one of their friends told the coroner's jury, had hurt their minds.

17th. His Majesty has been graciously pleased to settle a pension of four hundred pounds a-year on Lady Blackstone, widow of the late Sir William Blackstone.

18th. This morning, about five o'clock, a fire broke out at the house of the Duke of Northumberland, at Charing-Cross. It began at the east end of the second story, fronting the street, in a room where the servants kept their liveries, and other clothes; two servants lay in the next room, who were roused by the fire, which broke in upon them, but they luckily made their escape, though with the loss of all they had. From five o'clock in the morning, when it was first perceived, the fire raged furiously till eight, when the flames were pretty well got under, but by that time had burnt from the east end to the west, there being no party wall in the whole range of building. The roof is destroyed, as are also the first and second floors, at the former of which it stopped, the rooms on the ground floor being most of them arched with brick. The rooms in front, which have been destroyed, were all of them allotted to the use of the principal officers of his Grace's household; such as the secretary, master of horse, &c. How it happened is not yet known; his Grace got out of bed when the alarm was given, and was present

during the whole time of its raging.

A fire broke out at a linen-draper's, opposite the 19th. Pantheon, in Oxford-street, which consumed the same, and damaged another house. And at night a fire broke out at a tin and oil shop, in Princes-street, Oxford-street, opposite Swallow-street, which burnt the house and furniture, and destroyed the stock in trade, before it was extinguished. A man who lodged in the house, and who had a wife and three children, came through the flames with a child under each arm, and returned to save the third, when the staircase floor fell in with him, and they were burnt; a woman jumped out of the garret window naked, and fell upon the lamp-iron, and was so terribly bruised, that she died next morning in the Middlesex Hospital.

Mr. Fullarton, member 20th. for Plympton, and late secretary to Lord Stormont in his embassy to the court of France, complained to the House of the *ungentleman-like* behaviour of the Earl of Shelburne, who, he said, with all the aristocratic insolence that marks that nobleman's character, had in effect *dared* to say, that he and his regiment were as ready to act against the liberties of England, as against her enemies.—This occasioned some altercation between those who were the friends of each party; but being generally thought unparliamentary, it went at that time no farther.

The following acts received the royal assent by 21st. commission:

Act for raising a certain sum of

of money by annuities, and establishing a lottery.

Act for punishing mutiny and desertion, and for better payment of the army.

Act for regulating his majesty's marine forces.

Act for better supplying his majesty's navy with manners, &c.

Act for repealing an act which prohibits the carrying the gold coin, &c. &c. to Ireland.

Act for paying and cloathing the militia.

Act for securing the lawful trade to the East-Indies, and to prevent British subjects from trading under foreign commissions, and for other regulations of trade.

Act to regulate county elections.

Act for continuing the duties on ales, &c. brewed for sale in the town of Kelfo, in Scotland.

And to several road, inclosure, and other bills. In all 42.

22d. This morning, in consequence of the altercation above alluded to, a duel was fought between the Earl of Shelburne and Mr. Fullerton, of which the following is an authentic narrative.

Lord Shelburne, with Lord Frederick Cavendish for his second, and Mr. Fullerton, with Lord Balcarras for his second, met at half past five, in Hyde-Park, March 22, 1780. Lord Balcarras and Lord Frederick Cavendish proposed both parties should obey the seconds. Lord Shelburne and Col. Fullerton walked together, while Lord Balcarras and Lord Frederick Cavendish adjusted all ceremonials, and fixed on pistols as the proper weapons. When they came to the ground, Lord Shelburne told them,

that his pistols were already loaded, and offered to draw them, which was rejected by Lord Balcarras and Col. Fullerton; upon which Lord Balcarras loaded Col. Fullerton's pistols. The seconds having agreed that twelve paces was a proper distance, the parties took their ground; Col. Fullerton desired Lord Shelburne to fire, which his lordship declined, and Col. Fullerton was ordered by the seconds to fire. He fired, and missed. Lord Shelburne returned it, and missed. Mr. Fullerton then fired his second pistol, and hit Lord Shelburne in the right groin, which his lordship signified; upon which every body ran up; the seconds interposed. Lord Frederick Cavendish offered to take the pistol from Lord Shelburne; but his lordship refused to deliver it up, saying, 'I have not fired that pistol.' Mr. Fullerton returned immediately to his ground, which he had left with a view of assisting his lordship, and repeatedly desired his lordship to fire at him. Lord Shelburne said, 'Sure, Sir, you don't think I would fire my pistol at you,' and fired it in the air. The parties and their seconds got together. Lord Balcarras asked Lord Shelburne if he had any difficulty in declaring he meant nothing personal to Col. Fullerton. His lordship replied, 'You know it has taken another course; this is no time for explanation.' His lordship then said to Col. Fullerton, 'Although I am wounded, I am able to go on, if you feel any resentment.' Col. Fullerton said, he hoped he was incapable of harbouring such a sentiment. Lord Frederick Cavendish declared, that
from

from the character he had heard of Col. Fullerton, he believed so. Col. Fullerton said, 'As your lordship is wounded, and has fired in the air, it is impossible for me to go on.' Lord Balcarras and Lord Frederick Cavendish immediately declared that the parties had ended the affair by behaving as men of the strictest honour.

On hearing of the above affair, the following message was sent from the city:

Guildhall, London, March 22.

'The committee of common council for corresponding with the committees appointed, or to be appointed, by the several counties, cities, and boroughs in this kingdom, anxious for the preservation of the valuable life of so true a friend of the people, and defender of the liberties of Englishmen, as the Earl of Shelburne, respectfully enquire after his lordship's safety, highly endangered in consequence of his upright and spirited conduct in Parliament.

By order of the committee,
Earl of Shelburne. W.M. Rix.'

29th. This morning a session of oyer, terminer and gaol delivery for offences committed on the high seas, was held at the sessions-house in the Old-Bailey, before the Right Hon. William Earl of Mansfield, Lord Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench, and Sir James Marriot, Knt. Judge of the High Court of Admiralty, when John Williams, officer of marines, and James Stoneham, boatswain's mate, of the Eagle privateer, were put to the bar. John Smith, first lieutenant of the said ship, deposed, that they sailed from Bristol on a cruize, in December last; that,

being in the captain's cabin, drinking a bottle of wine, on Christmas-day, they heard a musket fired upon deck; that they sent a boy to enquire the cause, who returned with an unsatisfactory answer; that in a few minutes they heard the report of a second musket, which alarmed them very much, and they ran upon deck all together to see what was the matter; that they found the whole crew mustered upon deck, and that they had broke open the chests, and supplied themselves with arms; that upon the captain going up to them, Williams, one of the prisoners, advanced with a blunderbuss, and swore, that if he ventured a step further than the line he had drawn across the deck, he would blow his brains out; that the captain instantly knocked Williams down, upon which the rest of the crew seeing their leader fall, and thinking he had been killed, returned to their quarters; and that Williams and Stoneham, the prisoners at the bar, were instantly secured, as being supposed to be the ring-leaders of the mutiny; that the next day they fell in with the Brilliant frigate of war, and that they put twelve more of the rioters on board that ship to serve his Majesty, after which they returned without any further molestation, peaceably into Falmouth.

Peter Reddish was then called, whose evidence corresponded exactly with Smith's; the captain was called three times, but did not think proper to make his appearance.

The prisoners in their defence called three evidences, the persons who acted as linguist, surgeon, and

and surgeon's mate, who made it appear that the mutiny in the ship did not arise from factious or dishonest motives in the prisoners; but from an honest detestation of the bad conduct of the captain, who it appeared had sailed with a privateering commission from the Lords of the Admiralty, and had robbed every vessel of whatsoever nation that he met with of inferior force; they each gave an affecting narrative of the plunder of a Dutchman, whom they boarded under American colours, and stripped of all the poor man, who was sole owner of the vessel, had in the world, though he was in a neutral bottom, and in a fair way of trade; the poor Dutchman wept over his misfortunes, but did not know that these barbarians were Englishmen. They likewise gave an account of the plunder of a Danish ship and Portuguese vessel in the same manner, and that the method they used on these occasions, was to throw a tarpaulin over the head of the ship, which bore the figure of an eagle, and to call themselves 'the Black Prince American privateer,' Captain Mackenzie, commander, and these witnesses separately declared, that the prisoners had often told them they would rather be killed than join the captain in these iniquitous proceedings; several other very respectable persons appeared to the characters of the prisoners, but Lord Mansfield refused to admit them, declaring that the present trial did not at all depend on character, and his lordship then summed up the evidence in his usual way; and the Jury, after retiring a few minutes, found the

prisoners guilty; but at the same time earnestly recommended them to the King's mercy.

A few days ago, as the London waggon of Mr. 31st. Truman of Derby, was travelling between Biggleswade and Buckden, on the north road, the candle in the lantern unfortunately caught the tilt of the machine, and the fire got to an alarming height before it was perceived by the driver, who had but just time to disengage the horses, before a cask of spirituous liquors blew up, and made a dreadful explosion. The loss sustained is computed at about 2000l.

Canterbury, March 29. Monday last Mr. Tankard, a custom-house officer, with nine or ten assistants, came up with a gang of smugglers, at King's-down Court-lodge, near Dartford, as they were watering their horses, and took 28 out of 30 horses, laden with tea, silk, and lace.—One of the master smugglers was taken, and a number of the horses wounded.

DEED. At Lincoln, James Pigot, Esq. aged 96.

Robert Macbride, a fisherman, in the Island of Henies, aged 130 years, and some months.

At his seat near Derby, Samuel Pickering, Esq. aged 104.

At Radwinter in Essex, John Fox, Esq. aged 97.

In Kent-street, Southwark, Mary Ann Ryan, aged upwards of 107.

Joseph Highmore, Esq. aged 88, formerly an eminent painter.

Dr. Isaac Schomberg, a very eminent and learned physician.

A P R I L.

3d. At the grand quarter-sessions of the peace, held at Guildhall, a new regulation was established, by which every publican within the jurisdiction of the city is obliged to appear in person to renew their licences, and to enter into recognizances for the good order and proper conduct of their respective houses.

Last week, at the assizes at Kingston, in Surrey, the trials on the crown side came on before the Hon. Mr. Justice Gould and a special jury, when Mr. Donovan (who voluntarily surrendered) was tried for having killed in a duel, in November last, Capt. James Hanson. It appeared by a number of respectable witnesses, that the deceased was entirely in fault, and had forced Mr. Donovan to meet him in a field near the Dog and Duck; it also appeared, that the only ground of quarrel between the prisoner and the deceased was, that Mr. Donovan interfered between Capt. Hanson and another person, and prevented their fighting, on which Hanson gave him very abusive language, and insisted "that he would make him smell powder." The deceased was wounded by a pistol bullet in the belly, and lived about 24 hours after. He declared to two eminent surgeons who attended him, and to several other persons, that Mr. Donovan behaved during the action, and after it, with the greatest honour, tenderness, and concern; and he particularly desired that no prosecution should be carried on against him, as he himself was solely in fault, by an unprovoked rashness of temper and

heat of passion. The learned judge gave an excellent charge to the jury, and said, "though he allowed that all the circumstances were as favourable to the prisoner as in such a case could be, yet as the idea of honour was so often mentioned, he must say and inform the jury, and the auditors, that it was false honour in men to break the laws of God and of their country; that going out to fight a duel was in both parties a deliberate resolution to commit murder, and there could be no honour in so savage a custom, which, however disguised in words, is contrary to the principles and happiness of society, and ought to be reprobated in every well-regulated community." The jury, without going out of court, acquitted Mr. Donovan of the murder, and found him guilty of manslaughter on the coroner's inquest. The judge fined him 10*l.* to the King, which being paid in court, he was immediately discharged.

The sessions ended at 8th. the Old-Bailey, when sentence of death was passed on the following convicts, viz. John Sparrow, for assaulting John Turner Harris, on Constitution-hill, in the Green-Park, and robbing him of a silver watch, and 3*l.* in money; Thomas Williams, alias Charles Colloway, for assaulting Capt. Joseph Richards on the highway, near Stepney-Causeway, and robbing him of a gold watch and some money; Francis Thompson and James Early, for robbing Joseph White in Stepney-fields, of one guinea, 7*s.* and some halfpence; Susannah Flood, for stealing three guineas and about 14*s.* the property of George Nash, in his

his dwelling-house, in Wych-street; John Carr, for robbing George Worthy, near Kensington Gravel-Pits, of some money, and a cane mounted with silver; and Andrew Breeme was convicted of setting his house on fire in Glanville-street, Rathbone-place. For the purpose of determining a point of law, the jury found a special verdict, as follows: that the prisoner wilfully and maliciously set on fire and burnt the house; that the said house was on lease to the prisoner for the term of three years from Mr. Tuppin, who was possessed of it for a term of 99 years under Mr. Bolton. The twelve judges will have to determine whether, under these circumstances, the prisoner has or not committed a felony.

One Read, a coachman, and one Smith, a plaisterer, stood in the pillory, St. Margaret's Hill, for unnatural practices; the former of whom perishing before the time expired, owing to the severity of the mob, the same was taken notice of in the House of Commons. The Attorney-General was desired to prosecute the officer whose business it was to see the sentence of the law executed, and a hint thrown out for a new law to alter the mode of punishment.

At a meeting of the Society for the Encouragement of Agriculture in the East-Riding of York, honorary premiums were adjudged to Christopher Sykes, Rt. Grimston, and Rd. Carlisle Broadley, Esqs. for planting the greatest number of larch-trees, viz. 54,430 by the first; 25,500 by the second; and 13,700 by the third. At the same time a servant received two

guineas for killing the greatest number of rats in one year, not being a rat-catcher by profession, viz. 482.

This day the question to enquire into the right of 11th. the corporation to become Governors of the four royal hospitals, St. Bartholomew's, Christ's, Bridewell and Bethlehem, and St. Thomas's, came on at Lincoln's-Inn Hall before the Lord Chancellor, as visitor of all the royal foundations. The counsel for the city of London were, the Attorney-General, the Recorder, Mr. Maddox, and Mr. Rose; for the petitioners (the president and governors by donation) were, Mr. Mansfield, Mr. Kenyon, and Mr. Erskine. The former, in a speech of an hour and a half, stated the objects of the petition and the prayer, and a modern bye-law of the corporation for sealing hospital leases in the court of common-council; that in consequence of the new resolution leases brought to the court of aldermen, agreeable to former usage, were refused the seal: after which, the Lord Chancellor intimated that a matter of this importance required a deal of time, and proposed a farther day convenient to the court and counsel for a complete investigation.

Six malefactors were executed at Tyburn, pursuant to their sentences, for various crimes; John Franque, for robbing the house of Jeremiah Bentham, Esq. John Cormack, for robbing the house of Mrs. Crucius; Robert Hughes, for robbing the house of Samuel Lindsay, Esq. Robert Andres and Richard Palmer, for robbing the house of Francis Lumm, Esq. and John Benfield

Benfield and William Turley, for counterfeiting the current coin.

14th. This day, on a trial at bar in the Court of King's-Bench, the will of the late Duke of Kingston, in favour of the present Countess dowager of Bristol, was established.

Same day, Mr. Serjeant Davy moved the Court of Common-Pleas for a rule to shew cause why a defendant should not be discharged upon a common appearance to a writ issued in that court for a pretended debt of 70*l*. The case, as laid before the court, was singular. The parties were *husband* and *wife*; were Roman Catholics; were married according to the rules of that church, and had lived happy together for eleven years, when the wife went into Northumberland with three surviving children out of seven, upon an allowance of 20*l*. a year. During her stay her husband had written to her; and she returned at his request. They again lived together amicably, till the husband meeting with a woman of some fortune who seemed to favour his addresses, he courted her as a single man. This coming to the knowledge of the *wife*, she put a stop to the match, which so exasperated the husband, that he vowed revenge; caused her to be arrested in her maiden name, and swore a debt against her of 70*l*. When in the spunging-house, an attorney offered her a sum of money to sign an instrument, renouncing all claim to her husband, which she absolutely refused; whereupon she was, by order of the attorney, taken to Newgate. During her confinement, the offer was made a second time, and re-

fused; the attorney endeavoured to persuade her to a compliance, by telling her, that a particular friend advised her to settle the difference by a general renunciation of the title of a wife. But even this subterfuge had not the effect; she was in Newgate 12 days, and the singular cruelty of the affair being represented to a captain with whom the husband lived, he generously directed an attorney to bail the action, and apply to the court for redress. Serjeant Davy having commented upon this transaction, said he should super-add a clause to the rule, for the purpose of punishing the attorney for prostituting the process of the court to so shameful a design, evidently calculated to impose upon an innocent family; and therefore he moved also, that the parties should answer.—The court seemed struck at the relation; and said, that whether it was in point of law criminal or not, the attorney had acted very unconscientiously, and it would be right to call upon him, and, if possible, to punish him; they therefore granted the rule as prayed for.

A motion was made in the Court of King's-Bench, 20th. by the Solicitor-General, for an attachment against the Under-Sheriff of Surrey, for neglect of his duty, in not preventing the death of the man who stood in the pillory at St. Margaret's-Hill. Affidavits were read, stating the fact of the man's death, and how it happened, but no charge against the Under-Sheriff, that it happened through his neglect. Mr. Dunning said he was instructed to defend the Under-Sheriff in the first instance; and said, that so far

far from there being any criminality in the under sheriff, he was instructed to say, that instead of the ordinary assistance of constables from five parishes, he had collected those of eleven parishes, and taken every other means to prevent mischief. The court were for refusing the application, as containing no charge; but at last granted the rule to shew cause, to give the under sheriff an opportunity of having his character perfectly cleared.

26th. The under sheriff of Surrey shewed cause in the Court of King's Bench, against the rule prayed for by the attorney general, on account of the death of the man on the pillory, when he made it appear that the fact did not originate from any neglect of duty, and the rule was discharged.

Mr. Justice Wilmot, prosecuted to conviction by the city of London, for imprisoning a fellowship-porter under the late act for impressing men for his majesty's service, surrendered himself at the bar of the Court of King's Bench, in order to receive sentence. He was fined 100*l.* and his attorney undertaking to be answerable for that sum, he was immediately discharged.

28th. Mr. Dunning moved the Court of King's Bench for a rule, to shew cause why an information should not be filed against the Rev. Henry Bate, for an infamous libel on the Duke of Richmond, charging him with high-treason. Mr. Dunning produced two affidavits in support of his motion, which proved the Rev. Henry Bate to be the editor, and one of the proprietors of the Morn-

ing-Post; that he is, and has been for years past, the director of all matters to be printed in the said paper, and that he revises the several proof papers before they are published, and is allowed by the rest of the proprietors a weekly sum for so doing. That he with his own hand gave the queries to the printer of the paper on the 23d or 24th of February, and told him 'there is the copy for to-morrow,' or words to that effect, by which the printer understood he was to print it, and that he did print it accordingly in the Morning-Post on February the 25th instant.

The court granted the rule, and expressed their indignation at the heinousness of the offence, at the same time passing high encomiums on the Duke of Richmond, and asserting their firm belief of the falsehood of the charges.

Some of the most exceptionable queries, are the following:

'To the Duke of R——.

'Whether a man who at all times has endeavoured to deceive his country, and furnish an avowed enemy with intelligence of the first importance, is not a traitor to his country, and deserving of the most condign punishment?

'Whether, if the minister had taken your advice, you did not mean to give the intelligence to your bosom friend the Duke d'Aiguillon?

'Whether you did not furnish the Court of France with plans of the weakest and most defenceless parts of this island, most liable to invasion, and most contiguous to their own coasts and harbours?'

List of the Capital Convicts condemned during Lent Assizes.

At Northampton three, (two of whom were for murder)—one reprieved.

At Reading one—reprieved.

At Winchester ten, one for murder—five reprieved.

At Salisbury five—all reprieved.

At Stafford four—two reprieved.

At Aylesbury five, one for murder—four reprieved.

At Chelmsford six—two reprieved.

At York three.

At Cambridge two—one for murder.

At Bedford four—three reprieved.

At Maidstone, John Knight, for assisting some smugglers in shooting two dragoons at Whitstable, near Canterbury, the 26th ult. was found guilty, and executed accordingly.

At East Grinstead (for Suffex) one, for murder of his wife, and executed accordingly.

James Burner, indicted for the wilful murder of Thomas Hewitt, gamekeeper to his Grace the Duke of Richmond, at Goodwood-park, in December last, was found guilty of manslaughter, and sentenced to be burnt in the hand, and imprisoned twelve months in Horsham jail.

At Lincoln two.

Leghorn, April 6. Letters from Constantinople, dated March 3, mention an earthquake at Tamsi, the capital of the province of Aderbigan, in Persia, which has been more fatal than that which happened in 1651. If we are to credit these first accounts, this town, which contained 15,000 houses,

and many magazines of commerce, exhibits nothing but a parcel of ruins. Many citizens, they add, are destroyed by this disaster.

DIED, at St. Juit, Cornwall, Maurice Bingham, a fisherman, aged 116.

At Thatcham, James Walford, aged 104.

At York, Thomas Hume, Esq; aged 115.

In St. Martin's Workhouse, Jane Petit, aged 113.

At Margate, Mrs. Stokes, aged 100.

At Narrowfield, Berks, Tho. Carter, aged 108.

At Market Harborough, Rev. Rich. Parry, D. D. well known by many learned publications.

At Knightsbridge, John Nourse, Esq; many years bookseller to his majesty. He was himself a man of science, particularly in the mathematical line; in which department a great number of valuable publications have been by him introduced to the world.

M A Y.

A very interesting question was argued and determined in 3d. the Court of King's Bench, where in the inhabitants of Richmond and the city of London were particularly concerned, the former claiming the property of the soil of the river Thames, so far as their jurisdiction reaches, down to low-water mark, had caused the works now carrying on by the latter, under the authority of an act of parliament, to be obstructed, on which the city had commenced a prosecution against the persons employed in that service, and had obtained

obtained a verdict against them at the last Surry assize; but the council on the opposite side still insisting on their right to the soil, the case came to be argued on that particular point; and after many learned arguments, in which the matter seemed to receive a full investigation, Lord Mansfield and the other judges were unanimously of opinion, that the river being a public navigable river, the inhabitants could have no particular interest in any part of its soil. The decision therefore of this cause entirely removes the general idea, that owners of the adjoining lands have property in the soil of navigable rivers as far as low-water mark.

4th. A respite, till further signification of his majesty's pleasure, was sent to the Marshal of the High Court of Admiralty for John Williams and James Stoneham, convicts in Newgate, for mutiny. They were to have been executed this day.—This respite was in consequence of notice taken of the case in the House of Commons. The captain, it seems, had been concerned in some illicit practices, and they had resisted going into port for fear of being pressed.

This day the royal assent was given to 42 public and private bills by commission. Among the former were the following:

A bill for several additional duties upon wines and vinegar.

— for several additional duties on advertisements, and receipts for legacies.

— to protect goods, &c. of the growth of the islands of Grenada and the Grenadines, on board

neutral vessels bound to neutral ports, during the present hostilities.

— for allowing a bounty on the exportation of British corn and grain in ships of any kingdom in amity with his majesty.

A petition has been lately presented to his majesty, from 6th. Calcutta, signed by 600 Whites, and a great number of Gentoos, stating, in a forcible manner, the various hardships the inhabitants have suffered since the introduction of the English laws amongst them.

This morning two persons, one a tradesman and the other 9th. a sheriff's officer, were brought before the Court of King's Bench, to receive sentence for having some time ago arrested one of the domestics belonging to his Excellency Count de Wolderen; Mr. Justice Willes, in a short speech, explained the nature of the offence, observing, at the same time, how necessary it was strictly to adhere to the laws of nations: that the persons now before them, had been guilty of a very high offence against those laws, and which called loudly for an exemplary punishment; the judgment therefore of the court was, that the two persons be immediately taken into the custody of the marshal of this court, and be by him conducted this day, at any hour that may be appointed, to the dwelling-house of Count de Wolderen, with a label fastened to each of their breasts, denoting their offence, and that they do then and there ask pardon of his excellency for the crime by them committed. The tradesman to be afterwards imprisoned for

three months, and the sheriff's officer to pay a fine of 30*l.* and be committed till he pay the same.

13th. This day the following decision was made respecting bankrupts, by the Earl of Mansfield, which being materially necessary to be known to the practitioners in the law, but more especially to those who have concerns in bankruptcy, we here give it to the public. Mr. Isaac, the plaintiff, brought his action against Mr. Harrison, the Sheriff of Suffolk, for having returned a warrant, '*Non est inventus*,' in an action, Isaac against Henwood, when in fact the defendant Henwood had been arrested, but the officer had thought proper not to hold his prisoner on his having been found a bankrupt, and on his producing a summons from the commissioners of bankruptcy, which he considered as a protection from arrests before the day fixed for his final surrender, which the sheriff on the above trial made the ground of his defence. The sheriff produced Mr. Wells, the messenger, to prove the bankruptcy, and that Henwood was in custody, subsequent to the service of the commissioners' summons. Lord Mansfield declared, that a commission of bankruptcy could not prevent the bankrupt from arrest any farther than at the actual time of the bankrupt's going to, staying with, and coming from the commissioners, and directed the jury to find a verdict for the plaintiff with full costs of suit, which they did accordingly. Mr. Dunning and Mr. Morgan, counsels for the plaintiff, the solicitor-general for the defendant.

15th. The sessions at the Old Bailey, which began the

preceding Wednesday, ended, when four convicts received sentence of death; James Purse, for a rape on the person of Eliz. Midwinter; Wm. Edwards, for robbing Wm. Randall on the highway, and brutally cutting off two of his fingers; Joseph Biley, for stealing a cow; and Tho. Humphrys, for robbing Wm. Biliary on the highway near Pancras. At this sessions Albert Lowe was tried for the murder of his wife, and found guilty of manslaughter; to whom the judge made a very moving speech, addressed to the feelings of the criminal, who had been guilty, he said, of the most aggravated instance of manslaughter he had ever remembered to come before any court. He did not arraign the jury for their verdict, but he sentenced the prisoner to 12 months imprisonment in Newgate, which doubles the usual punishment.

A man, who had been taken at an E O table in 19th. Guildford, and a pettifogger in the law, were brought before Alderman Wooldridge at Guildhall, on warrants granted in consequence of bills of indictment being found against them the last sessions at the Old Bailey, for an alarming instance of villainy. The former was charged with wilful and corrupt perjury, committed by affidavit sworn to a debt of 1100*l.* being due to him from a wine merchant at the west end of the town, whom he had never seen or dealt with in any respect; and the other was accused with acting as a willing agent in the character of an attorney, and issuing the writ, not in his own name, but that of another man. The wine-merchant related

related the following particulars: viz. As a member of a society for the prevention and punishment of frauds, he had been very active to counteract a plot formed to swindle a French gentleman out of a large sum of money, which did not succeed; the parties who miscarried in this scheme vowed revenge, and the first step they took was to endeavour to destroy the reputation of the wine merchant by an information at the Board of Excise, for defrauding the revenue to a considerable amount; but the commissioners saw through the iniquity of the business, and stopped the prosecution. Soon after which, they put the iniquitous scheme in execution, the swearing the above false debt. They were committed for trial, and the society are to prosecute, that the expence may not fall upon an injured individual.

24th. This day the revived cause (on a motion for a new trial last term) between a Jew dealer in lace, plaintiff, and two Marshalmen, Payne and Gates, defendants, came on before the Earl of Mansfield, at Guildhall. The only question was, whether the defendants were justified in apprehending the plaintiff on a charge of felony, which, on examination before a magistrate, was dismissed? Lord Mansfield, in a very clear and full manner, laid down the law as lately settled: his lordship said, that on the former trial he had adhered to the doctrine of many old books, and considered it necessary for the justification of a peace officer, that a felony should be committed to warrant the apprehension of a supposed felon; but upon the motion for a

new trial, other authorities inclining to a different opinion were quoted, and upon solemn deliberation of the bench, it was agreed that it was not absolutely requisite a felony should be committed. His lordship adverted to the danger and inconvenience of a constable being liable to actions, if the charge should turn out to be groundless; and shewed also how the public would be affected, provided a peace officer had no authority to secure a man suspected of felony, and of whom he was required, at his peril, to lay hold as a thief. A constable's duty was not to enquire, but to bring the offender, or supposed criminal, before a magistrate for him to examine. If the charge was defective, or malicious, the party had a remedy against the person who employed the officer. At the same time the conduct of the constable should be pure and incorrupt; he should know of no preconceived plan of oppression; it should be '*bona fide*' fair, honest, and regular in every degree. The jury were to review the behaviour of the marshalmen, and if there appeared any thing like a job in it, they had exceeded the line of their authority, and were responsible.—no such kind of conduct had been imputed to them; there was no proof, nor any colour of evidence to charge them with improper motives; however, if the jury thought they acted in the smallest degree from combination, and with a knowledge of the falsity of the fact, they would give damages, otherwise find for them, which the jury did, and gave only 10*l.* against the principal who made the charge.

26th. This day the royal assent, by virtue of a commission from his majesty, was given to the main bill, the succeeding bill, the Plymouth dock bill, and several other public and private bills.

Yesterday the suit brought by the Rev. Mr. Sellen, Minister of St. James, Clerkenwell, against the Rev. Mr. Haweis, Rector of Adwinkle, in Northamptonshire, and Chaplain to the Right Hon. the Countess of Huntingdon, for reading prayers, and preaching in the Pantheon Chapel, in Clerkenwell, commonly called Northampton Chapel, or Lady Huntingdon's Chapel, was determined in favour of Mr. Sellen. Several depositions were read, proving, on one side, that the chapel was a very large building, sufficient to hold between two and three thousand persons; that fifteen hundred, or two thousand, often resorted to it; that it had doors open to the street; that tickets for admission to it, had been purchased of the Rev. Mr. Taylor; and that Mr. Sellen was greatly injured by it in the profits of his living. On the other side—That the Countess of Huntingdon had taken a lease of the house and premises; that the chapel was her family chapel; and that Mr. Haweis was chaplain to her ladyship, and officiated in the said chapel only in that capacity. A deposition given by the Rev. Mr. Taylor, was read, declaring, that he never sold any tickets, for admission into the chapel, but that when any persons subscribed any money for the chapel, he gave them tickets for permission, gratis,—the right of peers, and their chaplains, with respect to the point

in question, was fully argued; and the judge, after having entered into the full merits of the case, and pointed out the rule of right, with great precision, passed sentence upon Mr. Haweis, admonishing him for his fault, forbidding him to preach in the parish of Clerkenwell for the future, and condemning him to pay costs.

The gross produce of the tolls at Black-friars-bridge, from Michaelmas, 1775, to Michaelmas, 1779, amounts to 26,367*l.* 13*s.* 6*d.* The loss upon bad gold, silver, and copper, amounts to 2058*l.* 12*s.* 3*d.* And the salaries to tollmen and watchmen, and other incidental expences in that space, amount to no less than 3,816*l.* 16*s.* 3*d.*

DIED, at Hamlet, near Leeds, Joshua Simpson, Esq; aged 104.

At Wenhill Farm in Hampshire, Mr. Thomas Dickens, aged 105. His wife died last year aged 98.

At Morthlake, Mrs. Bullock, aged 101.

Robert Walsingham, Esq; aged 99.

Sir Anthony Buchanan, Bart. aged 96.

J U N E.

This day Mr. Lee moved 1*st.* in the Court of King's Bench, at the instance of Edmund Burke, Esq; for a rule, obliging the reputed editor of a morning paper to shew cause, why an information should not be filed against him, for having suffered to be published in the paper alluded to a paragraph on the 13th of April last, and another paragraph

graph on the 14th of the same month, each grossly reflecting on Mr. Burke, for the part he had taken in the House of Commons respecting the unfortunate wretch who lost his life in the pillory, at St. Margaret's Hill, Southwark, on Tuesday the 11th of April. The rule was granted.

2d. The report was made to his majesty of the convicts under sentence of death in Newgate, who were convicted in April session, when the following were ordered for execution on Thursday next, viz. James Early, John Carr, and John Sparrow.

The following were respited during his majesty's pleasure: Thomas Williams, alias Charles Calloway, Francis Thompson, and Susannah Flood.

This day the petition of the Protestant Association was presented to parliament; and in the evening the dreadful riots and conflagrations commenced, which continued, without intermission, to the 8th. See a particular account in the Appendix.

6th. A few days ago was decided a matter in the Court of King's Bench, which had been referred from the assizes held in March last in Maidstone, as a point of law to the consideration of the judges. It was respecting the horses employed on a contract with the Hon. Board of Ordnance for the service of the Royal Artillery, whether from the stipulated condition of that contract, which, is that the horses, conductors, and drivers so employed, while in actual service, shall be received by the inn-keepers by billet upon their march or duty, and accommodated with quarters at and after the rate of dragons

and their horses; the Mutiny Act, as it stands, has made ample provision for such horses, &c. to be quartered upon the public: when, after a thorough discussion of the contract, and the principles upon which it is framed, the judges were pleased to declare, that the horses, &c. while employed upon the public service, are subject to the regulations and accommodations in general with the army, and comprehended in the 79th article of the Mutiny Bill, and 13th section of the Articles of war.

A message was sent from his majesty to each of the 12 judges, offering them the protection of the military; to which judge Gould returned the following answer: "That he had grown old under the protection of the English laws; that he was persuaded, however some persons might be misled, the people in general loved and respected the laws; and so great was his own attachment to them, that he would rather die under those, than live under the protection of any other laws."

The Earl of Surry and Sir Thomas Gascoigne read their recantation from the errors of the Church of Rome, before the Archbishop of Canterbury, last Sunday, and received the sacrament; and have taken the oath before Mr. Baron Motham. His lordship is candidate for Carlisle, and Sir Thomas for Beverley, in Yorkshire.

This day judgment was moved for in the Court of King's Bench against the person concerned in obstructing the workmen employed by the city of London in making a horse towing path at Richmond. Some objections

tions were made in point of law to the indictment, and over-ruled by the unanimous opinion of the court, which set the right of the corporation to improve the navigation of the river in the clearest light; for the court said, that the city was authorised by act of parliament to complete the navigation by all ways and means in their discretion; but as the city of London meant merely to establish their right, and not to insist on exemplary punishment, a nominal fine only was inflicted of 6s 8d.

13th. Dr. John Parsons was, in full convocation, unanimously elected Clinical Professor to the Radcliffe Infirmary at Oxford. At the same time, was read a letter from Sir Roger Newdigate, dated the first instant, signifying his intention of declining to be the representative of that learned body, at the end of the present parliament.

The Clinical Professorship in that University, was founded by the late Chancellor, the Earl of Litchfield, for which purpose that nobleman devised his house and furniture in Hill-street, Berkeley-square, to be disposed of after the death of the late Countess Dowager of Litchfield; the same was lately sold, and produced 4256l. 8s. 2d. clear of all deductions; this sum, vested in the three per cent. consol. purchased 7079l. 8s. 4d. stock, the interest whereof amounts annually to 212l. 10s.

15th. This day their Royal Highnesses the Dukes of Gloucester and Cumberland went to court, for the first time since their respective marriages.

This day the foreign ministers, resident at the Court of London,

had private audiences respectively of his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, in consequence of his late reconciliation at court. At the same time most of the nobility and persons of distinction in town attended to pay their compliments on this occasion.

Came on in the Court of King's Bench, Westminster, before Mr. Justice Buller and a Special Jury, the trial between the Duke of Richmond and the Rev. Mr. Bate, as editor of a morning paper, on an information filed against the latter, for being accessory to the publication of certain queries addressed to his grace in that paper of the 25th of Feb. last. The evidence adduced in favour of the prosecution were the printer of the said paper (who was first prosecuted for the said offence) and the publisher of it. The former swore that the author of the queries was a person of Plymouth, whose hand-writing he well knew; but that he verily believed he received the same through the hands of the editor. The publisher spoke only to his receiving that letter by the post, from his friend at Plymouth, and finding it was for the said morning paper, he laid it upon the desk, but never saw it afterwards. The judge having summed up the evidence, and left it with the jury to determine what weight the printer's evidence ought to have with them, circumstanced as he was, they withdrew for about a quarter of an hour, when returning into court, they found a verdict against the defendant.

On Thursday the city remembrancer waited on Mr. Justice Gould at his house in Lincoln- 26th.

Lincoln's-inn-fields, with the thanks of the common council, when we hear the learned Judge declined accepting the freedom, which was voted him in a gold box.

29th. On Saturday a cause was tried in the Court of Common Pleas in London, before Lord Loughborough, and a special jury of merchants, in which Samuel Lloyd, an eminent tea-dealer was plaintiff, and Thomas Cooper, a surveyor-general of the excise, defendant. The action was for scandalous and defamatory words spoken by the defendant of the plaintiff, by means of which the plaintiff was injured in his character and credit, and many persons who had been in the habit of dealing with him, refused to do so any longer. The case on the part of the plaintiff was most clearly established, and the learned judge, in his charge to the jury, was very pointedly severe on the defendant, whose offence, he said, was much aggravated by his situation as a revenue officer, having in that capacity a greater opportunity of prejudicing the reputations of those tradesmen with whose affairs his office made him more particularly acquainted. His lordship further added, that independent of the damages to be given by the jury to the plaintiff, the commissioners of excise ought to be informed of the defendant's conduct, with a view of passing their censure upon it likewise.

The jury, without hesitation, gave a verdict for the plaintiff, with 500*l.* damages, and costs of suit.

Oxford, June 1. This afternoon

we had most tremendous and repeated claps of thunder, accompanied with vivid flashes of lightning; and about six in the evening a ball of fire struck the outside of the chimney of Mr. Meredith, cutler, of St. Clement's, in the suburbs of this city, where having forced through the wall, it entered into the upper room, shivered the partition of the stair-case, broke the maid's box, and did other damages; from thence descending to the one-pair-of-stairs, in a room where Mrs. Meredith sat at work, it totally destroyed the chimney-piece; and the glass over it was reduced to powder, and scattered about the room like sand; several glazed prints were likewise broke and dispersed about the room; a mahogany chest of drawers was penetrated as if it had been fired at with small shot; it also forced the casement of the window considerably outward. From hence passing down to the kitchen, upon the ground floor where the maid servant was preparing for tea, she was struck to the ground, and received several scratches upon the side of her face; whilst a little girl in the same room providentially received no hurt; though a wooden frame round the fire-place was torn away, the china broke, the spits, candlesticks, flat-irons, &c. scattered about, and a copper coffee-pot, a skimmer, a bell-metal mortar, and divers other things, were partially melted. From hence, the door of this room, as well as that of the shop, being open, it passed into the street without meeting with any other obstructions; and its further progress could not be ascertained.

Certain

Certain advice is received from Macao, a settlement of the Portuguese in the river Canton, of the arrival of the *Resolution* and *Discovery* in great distress, and in want of provisions. Upon the death of capt. Cook, capt. Clerke succeeded to the command of the two ships, and lieut. Gore to be captain of the *Discovery*; but on the death of capt. Clerke, lieut. King succeeded to his place.

Rev. Mr. J. H. Wafer, formerly minister of the church of Zurich in Switzerland, was beheaded for having ordered some treasonable pieces to be inserted in the political correspondence of M. Scholfer of Gottingen, and for having withheld a document of the 15th century, belonging to the public archives, after being demanded by the town secretary.

DIED, At Tynmouth, Cumberland, D. Bennet, aged 107.

At Green-street, Berks, Mr. Josiah Morril, a lieutenant in queen Ann's wars, aged 100, within two days.

At Morton, Mr. John Mullet, aged 103.

Thomas Hutchinson, Esq; formerly governor of Massachusetts Bay.

J U L Y.

3d. By virtue of a commission from his majesty, the royal assent was given to the following bills, &c.

The bill for vesting in the East-India Company their territorial acquisitions in India. The bill to prevent the carrying copper in sheets, coalways, &c. The post-

horse act amendment bill. The starch duty bill. The sinking-fund bill. The bill to extend and encourage the Greenland fishery. The bill for granting to his majesty one million on a vote of credit. The bill relative to the drawback on the duty on coffee. The bill for appointing commissioners to inspect the public accounts. The bill for granting a reward to persons discovering the longitude. And several inclosure and private bills.

Was tried before the Right Honourable Earl 4th. Mansfield and a special jury, a cause wherein Mr. Schreiber, a merchant, was plaintiff, and Mrs. Frazer, widow of the late Gen. Frazer, who died at Saratoga, defendant. The action was brought for damages on a breach of promise of marriage.—Mr. Dunning opened for the plaintiff, and brought witnesses to prove the promises. The first and principal was the plaintiff's son; who deposed, that the lady had acknowledged to him her having consented to marry his father. A man servant deposed, that his mistress had engaged him to go abroad with her to Germany, in case of the marriage taking place. Mr. Christie was brought to prove that the plaintiff bought a house in Portland-square, or Portland-place, at the price of 4100l. and on account of the marriage not taking place, had sold it again for 3500l.—A horse-dealer proved he had bought four horses, at thirty-five guineas each, and sold them again all four at seventy-four guineas. A coach-maker proved he had bought two carriages for 200l. A taylor proved making

making a suit of livery, on account of the promised marriage.

Mr. Solicitor-General pleaded, that his client had no objection to the person, character, or fortune of the plaintiff, who is certainly a very respectable wealthy merchant, and in every respect a very advantageous match for her; that in the course of the treaty, she began to think Mr. Schreiber's temper and her's, perhaps none of the best, might not agree; in that case, the match would render both parties extremely unhappy, for which reason she thought best to retract, though evidently to her own loss and disadvantage, his fortune being far superior to her's. Her late husband had also in a dream cautioned her against this new engagement.—He further observed, that no attempt had been made to prove his client a woman of fortune; therefore it was much below the plaintiff to want to take from her small pittance, and add to his own great abundance. Here he was stopped by Mr. Dunning, who adduced proof that the lady's fortune here, in the East-Indies, and America, amounted to 24,000*l.* or upwards.

Mr. Solicitor-General replied, that the fortune in England might be ascertained, but that abroad could not; but with regard to fortune, his client had suffered most by breaking off the match, for she was to have her own fortune at her own disposal, 3000*l.* a year pin-money, 10,000*l.* settled upon her, and the house at Forty-Hill, Basing, or at her option 5000*l.* instead of it, in all 15,000*l.* in case of her survival.

Lord Mansfield, in summing up

the evidence, observed, that the promise of marriage was proved; that certainly each party engaged to marry has a right to retract at any time previous to the ceremony, and even before the priest, if they apprehended unhappiness to be the event; but it was under this circumstance, that the party retracting, if able, should make good the damages sustained by the other, through the treaty:—the plaintiff had proved some damages—it was for the jury to assess the quantum.

The jury, after a consultation of a few minutes, gave a verdict of 600*l.* damages, with costs.

A court of common council was held at Guild-^{8th.} hall, when a motion was made by Mr. Parish, and seconded by Mr. Powell, that an humble address be presented to his majesty, expressing the grateful thanks of this court for his majesty's care and attention to the citizens of London, in granting them such aid as became necessary to subdue the late dangerous riots, they being too formidable for the controul of the civil authority; which occasioned very long and great debates. The principal speakers were, the aldermen Townsend, Wilkes, Newnham, and Wool-dridge; Mr. deputy Leeky, Mr. Darnford, Mr. Hurford, Mr. Merry, Mr. Thorpe, Mr. Sharpe, and deputy Judd. The previous question was put, whether the above question should be put, which was carried in the negative; but it appeared upon a division, that four aldermen and 01 commoners were for putting the question, and four aldermen and 56 commoners,

commoners against it; therefore the question to address was put, and carried in the affirmative.

A few days ago the long depending cause of Miss Butterfield was finally determined in Doctor's Commons, when the will made by the late William Scawen, Esq; while he was at Mr. Sanxay's, was established, and all former wills in her favour were set aside. This decision was founded in these principles: that when the deceased made the will in question, he was in his perfect senses, and had time enough to deliberate on the merits of Miss Butterfield before his death, or even before he annexed the codicil, by which he cancelled all his former wills; and that the last will was properly signed and attested. The judge, before he pronounced this decree, stated the evidence with great perspicuity and candour, and bestowed many encomiums on the character and conduct of Miss Butterfield, but observed, that it was not his business to say what Mr. Scawen ought to have done, but what he actually did, and what the law requires when a will is executed in proper form.

15th. His majesty's free pardon hath been granted to James Purse, a convict of May session, under sentence of death; he was discharged by the persons who broke open and demolished Newgate, but surrendered himself again into the custody of Mr. Akerman.

There were eighty-five persons tried for riots at the Old-Bailey, of whom thirty-five were capitally convicted, seven convicted of single felony, and forty-three acquitted.—At the commission at

St. Margaret's-Hill, fifty were tried for riots, of whom twenty-four were capitally convicted, and twenty-six acquitted. So that on the whole one hundred and thirty-five have been tried, and fifty-nine of them convicted.

A court of aldermen was held at Guildhall, when 21st 18th. aldermen were present. The court resolved, that as the executions have passed with perfect peace and quiet, and there being no appearance of any riots within this city, no further allowance be made to the troops by this city after Saturday next. One very forcible reason offered to prove the necessity of a compliance with this motion, was, that the average expence of maintaining the soldiers, and providing a table for the officers, is 100*l.* a day; and that the bills already drawn on the chamber, exceed 400*l.*

At a meeting of the corporation of York at the Guildhall of that city, a motion was made to address his majesty on the taking of Charles-Town, and the suppression of the late riots, which was carried, and an address drawn up; but on hearing the same read, it was, on a division, disapproved, 28 to 19.

Some few weeks ago, the post-boy bringing the mail from Stevenage to Welwyn in Hertfordshire, was robbed by a man on foot, who at first was thought to be a farmer in that neighbourhood, whose case was somewhat singular. Soon after the robbery was committed, not being conversant in bank-notes, he had joined the half of one note of 10*l.* to the half of another of 20*l.* and had paid the same to a tradesman in

in Hertford. This being brought to the bank for payment, caused a suspicion, and, on enquiry, the fact was easily traced to the farmer, who, being under no fear of danger, was taken out of his bed without resistance, and carried to Hertford gaol for trial.

26th. At Oxford assizes, a cause was tried between the city and university; the question was, Whether a tradesman, living in the city, but matriculated by the university, was liable to serve the office of constable? which was determined in the affirmative; but the university, it is said, intend to carry the final decision into Westminster-Hall.

30th. It was decided by Lord Chief Baron Skynner, at Bedford, that evidence which declares the assertions of a person since dead, cannot be admitted in point of law, notwithstanding that person did not die till a year and a half after the transaction, and the action at law would not have been brought, had that witness been alive.

DIED, At Leeds, Yorkshire, Mr. Wheatley, clothier, aged 106.

At Ditchley, Suffex, Mr. Isaac Sherman, aged 97.

In the county of Louth, Ireland, Mr. Gernon, aged 125.

In South Wales, Mr. D. Warham, aged 109.

At Frampton, Hants. Mr. Rob. Pring, aged 103.

Thomas Ellis, shoemaker, aged 104.

At Burton, Hants. John Bennet, esq. near 100 years old. He was page to queen Anne, at the beginning of her reign.

Samuel Musgrave, M.D. F.R.S. and formerly of Corpus Christi

College, Oxon, well known to the public by his examination before the House of Commons, relative to the peace of 1762; and to the learned, by his notes and collections on Euripides, which the university purchased, it is said, for 200l. and have inserted in the splendid edition of that poet, in four vols. 4^o, 1778. He also published many medical tracts.

AUGUST.

Abraham Darnford and William Newton were examined before the sitting alderman at Guildhall, being charged by William Warts, clerk to Messrs. Smith, Wright and Gray, bankers, with robbing and attempting to murder him. It appeared on their examination, that one of the men had lodged an accepted bill at the banking-house, to be received when due, and the money to be remitted into the country, according to direction. As this pretended bill was directed to an empty house, and had several days to run, the villains in the mean time applied to the persons who had the letting of the house, to take it, had taken it, and got the key, under pretence of getting the house cleaned. The landlord being made acquainted with the haste his new tenants were in to take possession, and not very well liking their description, desired the mistress of the public-house, on the opposite side of the way, to have an eye to their proceedings. Accordingly, on the day when the bill became due, she observed two men enter the house, and open the parlour windows, and presently after, a third man came

came and knocked at the door, was let in, and the door shut. Attending to see the event, she thought she heard an uncommon noise, and stepping over the way, and listening, was struck with the sound of murder, pronounced in a hoarse faint voice, succeeded by a kind of groaning, which very much alarmed her; and looking through the key-hole, she saw two men dragging the third down the cellar stairs, on which she cried out violently *they're murdering a man*, knocked hard at the door, and begged the people in the street to break it open; but none would interfere. Being enraged at their brutality, she burst open the window herself, and was entering, when one of the villains opened the door, and was running off; but on the cry of "Stop thief," he was instantly taken, and the other she seized by the throat herself, and dragged him to her own house, by which this horrid contrivance was brought to light. They had robbed the poor man of his pocket-book, and had nearly throttled him to stop his noise, till they had got him into the back cellar, where they certainly designed to have murdered him, had not the woman by her fortitude providentially interposed to save his life.

8th. The clerk to the banking-house in Lombard-street was again examined before the lord mayor, with regard to the attempt of a robbery, and the manner of his treatment whilst in the house in Water-lane, Blackfriars; but he refused to take an oath, being a quaker. The lord mayor used many arguments to

induce him to do it, but in vain, whereupon his lordship bound him over to prosecute Darnford and Newton at the next session at the Old-Bailey. If the evidence of Mrs. Bouchier and her assistants do not bring the fact home to them, it is feared the two offenders will escape.

At the assizes for the county of Lincoln was tried a cause between the hon. John Manners and alderman Sanfer, for pulling down the market-cross at Grantham, and converting the same to his own use. It appeared that this cross had stood beyond memory, and was claimed as part of the manor of Grantham by the plaintiff. The defendant set up his right to take it down by a pretended grant from Charles I. or II. which gave to the corporation a market and three fairs; but the jury, which was special, found for the plaintiff, with 40l. damages.

A most dreadful storm of thunder and lightning 9th. killed a man making hay near Swansea in Glamorganshire, and set fire to the hay on which he was found. The swivel of his watch was melted, and a round hole made in the outer case, which fixed it to the inner case, but no mark appeared on his body, and only a black spot on his shirt, near to the hole made in his watch.

On the same day a horse and 18 sheep were struck dead near Uff, in Monmouthshire. They had all got together under a pear-tree, to avoid the violence of the tempest. Two horses were also killed by the lightning in a stable near Pontypool.

At the court at St. James's, the 18th of August, 1780, present, the king's most excellent majesty in council.

His majesty in council was this day pleased to order, that the parliament, which stands prorogued to Thursday, the 24th of this instant, August, should be further prorogued to Thursday, the 28th day of September next.

19th. About six o'clock in the afternoon, as the phaeton of — Mannors, Esq; son of lord W. Mannors, was standing in Arlington-street, St. James's, the horses suddenly took fright, and ran into Piccadilly at a furious rate, and threw down a man who had a child in his arms. Both the man and child were greatly bruised; but it unfortunately happened that the man had a bottle of aqua-fortis in his hand: the bottle was broke in the fall, and great part of the liquid pouring upon the child, occasioned a most shocking and terrible scene of misery and distress; nor had the man much better fortune. The cloaths of both were on fire, their bodies most horridly burnt, swelled, and their eyes closed up, &c. The cries of the child were truly pitiable. At length their cloaths were cut off (for they could not otherwise be got off), and they were put into linen furnished by the neighbours, and carried to St. George's Hospital, without hopes of their recovery.

29th. Came on at the Guildhall of the city of Bristol, before justice Nares and a special jury, the trial between Mr. Caton plaintiff, and a captain and lieutenant in the impress service de-

fendants, on an action for illegally impressing and imprisoning the plaintiff in July 1779, he having at no time acted in any other capacity than as owner or master of a vessel at sea; when the jury gave a verdict in his favour with 50l. damages. The damages were laid at 5000l.

Lately was presented to the lord mayor of York, by his Grace the Duke of Portland, a cluster of Syrian grapes, the largest, it is supposed, that ever grew in England. Its girth round was five feet nine inches, and its weight 11 pounds 10 ounces.

A shocking murder was committed at Milton, near Christ-Church, Hants, by a gang of smugglers, who went to the house of Mr. John Bussy, officer of customs, called him up, and fractured his skull in such a manner that seven pieces were taken from it. He lived in great agony till the 27th, when he expired.

Cambridge, August 18. On Monday last, Anne Jeffrey and Mary Wells, two poor women belonging to Cambridge, who had been in the fields to glean, were found by the road side in a kind of stupor, by a gentleman who was returning home. On enquiry, it appeared they had been ignorantly eating the berries of the deadly nightshade. The gentleman very humanely brought the poor women to Mr. Hoffman, chymist, on the Pease-hill, who immediately applied proper remedies, and both the women are now perfectly recovered.

Many instances might be given of the fatal effects of this plant. Two young English gentlemen, travelling

travelling in France, and being thirsty, were tempted by the inviting appearance of the berry, of which they imprudently eat, which brought on an immediate stupor, and occasioned their death. Two students in the botanic garden at Leyden also eat of the berries of the nightshade; one of them died the next day, the other with great difficulty was recovered. About seven years ago, a labourer who was at work in Trinity-College, ignorantly eat a plant of the nightshade by way of sallad, but fortunately applied to Mr. Hoffman, by whom he was cured. The method of cure, recommended by Mr. Hoffman, is to give a vomit as soon as possible, then to drink vinegar or lemon juice, about a pint diluted in an equal quantity of water, in the course of the day, and to walk the patient about to prevent sleep, which would be fatal. For the information of our readers, we add a botanical description of the plant.

Belladonna, deadly nightshade, or dwale: stem erect, forked, branched, three or four feet high; leaves oval, entire, large, hairy, soft, pointed; flowers deep purple, numerous, on pedicles from the axæ of the leaves, single; fruit, when ripe, a large black glossy berry; it grows in woods, hedges, &c. and is ripe in June, July, and August. The Italians give the name of *Belladonna* to this plant, because the ladies in Italy make use of a water distilled from the nightshade as a cosmetic; and the miniature painters prepare from the fruit a most beautiful green colour.

Soon after the accident above-mentioned, five soldiers belonging

to the Suffex regiment of militia, quartered near Dorking, Surry, were violently affected by eating of the berries of the nightshade; but fortunately, after six or eight day's illness, were all recovered.

Poland, August 7. We have received affecting accounts from Austrian Moldavia, that the locusts, which appeared in autumn last in the district of Herza in that province, having then deposited their eggs, they now appear in a thousand times greater number than last year, and are two inches long; they are divided into three formidable armies; the first extends seven leagues in length, and nine in breadth, from Herza to Potuschan; the second extends from Roman to the Danube, which is about eight leagues; and the third from Jassy to Bessarabia: they have destroyed all the grass, fruit, and even leaves of the forest trees, but have not yet touched the vines or the wheat; they are as yet too young to fly, and if, when they rise, the wind sets towards Austrian Moldavia, that fine country will be ruined.

Leghorn, August 12. We hear from Rome, that they had a *Iustrum* (or a numbering of the people) there on the 24th of June, when it appeared there were in that city 155,184 inhabitants; of whom were 36,485 house-keepers. In this number were included 3847 monks, 2827 secular priests, 1910 nuns, 1065 students, 1470 alms-house poor, 7 negroes, and 52 persons not Romans. The numbers born from June 24, 1779, to June 24, 1780, were 5223, and the burials 7181.

Paris, August 21. The king, ever attentive to give his subjects
fresh

fresh proofs of his love and equity, would have his name-day, August 25, marked by an act of benevolence to his people. In consequence, his majesty, of his own proper motion, has abolished on that day, *la question preliminaire*, (the torture) which, according to a barbarous custom, preserved since the ages of ignorance, criminals were put to, a moment before their execution. The edict, ordaining that abolition, will soon appear, and the sovereign courts, who have long lamented that custom, though obliged to put it in execution, will receive the new law with rapture.

Petersburg, August 26. This evening, at about eight o'clock, this city was terribly alarmed by a dreadful fire breaking out in the hemp magazine, which raged with such violence, that it was not only impossible to stop its burning down the warehouse, but even its communicating to several vessels that were loaded and loading with hemp, flax, oil, and cordage, which, being all combustible goods, made the conflagration very tremendous; and had not the flames taken another direction, the whole quarter of Wasily-Ostrow must have been burnt. The fire, however, communicated to a magazine which was surrounded with water, and contained great part of the last crop of tobacco which grew in the Ukraine. The fire burnt three days, and the damage done by it is reckoned at two millions of roubles; the number of people who have lost their lives is not yet known, but from various circumstances it is not doubted but it must be very great.

VOL. XXIII.

DIED, At Simanston, Mrs. Sus. Evifon, aged 108.

At Liverpool, Mr. W. Ellis, aged 130 years and 6 months.

At his seat at Antermonie, John Bell, Esq; who in 1715, 1716, 1717, 1718, accompanied, as physician and surgeon, Peter the Great's embassy to Persia, and in 1719, 1720, 1721, that to China, of which he published a particular account in 2 vols. 4to. Glasgow, 1762, since reprinted in 2 vols. 12mo.

Sir John Jefferson, Knt. aged 96.

At Epping, Mr. Ed. Brinton, aged 102.

At Blackwall, Capt. T. Welch, aged 98.

W. Raymond, Esq; aged 96.

At his house in Piccadilly, R. Hutchinson, Esq; aged 97.

At Plaistow, Capt. W. Montague, aged 97.

Rev. Mr. Richard Dillon, late of the Roman Catholic chapel in Moorfields, where he had resided for 36 years, till it was destroyed by the mob in the late riots; at the same time his house having been totally pulled down, his books and household furniture burnt, without even a bed being left for him to lie on; the shock he received from such barbarous treatment deeply affected his health and spirits, and is supposed to have hastened his death. He was a younger brother of the ancient family of Preudston, in the county of Meath, in Ireland; and his character was universally respected and esteemed by a numerous acquaintance.

Of convulsions in the stomach, occasioned by eating mushrooms stewed in a bell-metal saucepan, Ch. Maitland, Esq; of Raynham.

[P]

S E P-

S E P T E M B E R.

1st. A proclamation was issued by the king in council, for dissolving the present parliament, and declaring the calling of another; the writs for which to bear date on Saturday the 2^d day of this instant September, and to be returnable on Tuesday the 31st day of October following.

7th. This day there was a numerous meeting, in the portico of Covent Garden church, in order to elect two proper persons to represent the city of Westminster in the ensuing parliament, when the Right Hon. Lord Lincoln, Sir George Brydges Rodney, bart. and the Hon. Charles Fox, were put in nomination as candidates. The majority of hands being declared in favour of Lord Lincoln and Sir George Rodney, a poll was demanded for Mr. Fox.

8th. A court of hustings was held at Guildhall, for the election of four members to represent this city in the ensuing parliament.

Upon the separate shew of hands, the sheriffs declared the election to have fallen upon Aldermen Hayley, Bull, Sawbridge, and Newnham.

Mr. Alderman Townsend declined any contest; but the friends of Aldermen Kirkman and Clarke demanded polls, which commenced at four o'clock.

14th. A county court was held at Brentford, for the elec-

tion of two members to represent the county of Middlesex in the ensuing parliament.

About eleven o'clock the under sheriff opened the business upon a temporary hustings built for that purpose; and after reading the writ, and the acts of parliament respecting the mode of election, John Wilkes and George Byng, Esqrs. were proposed as candidates by Mr. Scott and Mr. Taylor; no other person being put in nomination, these gentlemen were declared of course unanimously elected.

This morning about half past four o'clock, a duel was fought in Hyde-Park between the Rev. Mr. Bate, of Surrey-street, and Mr. R. a student of the law, late of St. John's College, Cambridge. The quarrel arose from some circumstances relating to the conduct of the Morning-Post, in which they are both engaged. The chance of the first fire falling to Mr. B. he discharged his pistol, and hit Mr. R. in the fleshy part of the right arm; the wound, however, was not sufficient to incapacitate him from returning the fire, which he did, but without effect. The seconds now interposed, and the affair was adjourned.

At three o'clock, the poll finished at Guildhall, for 15th. four representatives for this city, when the numbers were: for Alderman

		Fr.	Sat.	M.	T.	W.	Th.	Fr.	Tot.
Hayley	-	223	424	547	951	731	583	598	4062
Kirkman	-	160	349	511	911	719	563	591	3804
Bull	-	151	294	467	698	512	478	590	3150
Newnham	-	137	272	437	793	577	425	485	3036
Sawbridge	-	152	280	347	533	492	499	604	2957
Clarke	-	110	174	239	400	349	241	258	1771
									Soon

Soon after the poll closed, advice was received from Margate, that Mr. Alderman Kirkman died on that day at that place.

This day the poll finally closed for the borough of Southwark; the numbers stood as follows:

For Sir Richard Hotham	1177
Mr. Polhill	- 1025
Mr. Thrale	- 769

16th. The event of yesterday's business is that Mr. Kirkman will be returned, as of course, and there will be a new writ issued for the election of a member in his stead, after the meeting of parliament.

17th. A most alarming tempest of thunder and lightning threw the inhabitants of Eastbourne in Kent into the utmost consternation. A stream of electrical fire fell upon the house occupied by Mr. Adair, next to that in which Prince Edward resided; and just at the close of the storm, when the severity of it was so far subsided as to leave no apprehensions of danger, two of Mr. Adair's servants were going out to view an engagement at sea, when the coachman, who was foremost, was struck instantly dead, and thrown back against the butler, who, without being sensible of the cause, fell likewise to the ground. Upon recovering his surprize, he ran up stairs in answer to the bell which was rung by the house-keeper. The butler's report suggested the necessity of enquiring after the rest of the family. Upon opening the dining-room door, Mr. Adair was found lying on the floor, apparently in a state of insensibility. He had sustained a severe stroke, which affected his whole left side, and particularly his arm, which was at first supposed to have been broken.

Amidst the hurry and confusion, the footman's absence was not noticed, who had shared in his fellow-servant's fate; he was found stretched out on the floor in the pantry, and actually dead. Miss Adair was in her room dressing, and, though the wood-work of the bed, from which she had just risen, was shivered in pieces, she very happily did not sustain the least personal injury. The house, appendages, and furniture, were much damaged, the chimney split, and partly thrown down, the windows shattered, looking-glasses broken, bell-wires in some of the rooms melted, and cornices displaced. In the room where the footman was found, a large stone, forming a part of the front-wall, was forced out of its place. A seal-ring (on Mr. Adair's finger) was cracked round the setting of the stone, and the watch which was in his pocket bore the appearance of being battered. A very extraordinary circumstance regarding the coachman was this; though it was evident, from the livid marks on his breast, that he received the fatal stroke there, the lightning had perforated a round hole in the lower part of his wig behind, which exhibited no signs of being burnt, but looked as if it had been cut with a pinking iron.—None of the neighbouring houses received damage.

This morning the lord mayor held a wardmote at 20th. Guildhall for the election of an alderman for the ward of Cheap, in the room of John Kirkman, Esq; deceased, when William Creighton, Esq; a West-India merchant, was chosen without opposition.

The same day the trials ended at the sessions house 21st. in the Old-Bailey, when seventeen

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prisoners

prisoners were tried; three of whom were convicted of felony, two of riots, and twelve were acquitted; 14 capital convicts received judgment of death.

22d. At the close of the poll this day for the city and liberty of Westminster, the numbers were as follow:

For Sir G. Bridges Rodney	5298
Hon. Charles Fox	4878
Lord Lincoln	4157

23d. Lord Lincoln having last night given up the contest for Westminster, by declining the poll, this day the high bailiff returned Sir George Rodney, and the Hon. Charles Fox, duly elected. Lord Lincoln then demanded a scrutiny, which is to begin on the 10th of October. Admiral Young, as proxy for Admiral Rodney, and Mr. Fox, were then chaired, and carried in triumph through different streets to the Duke of Rutland's, Duke of Portland's, and Duke of Devonshire's; after which they were brought back to Covent Garden to the committee room, amidst a numerous crowd of spectators.

Leipsick, Sept. 22. The famous town of Gera, so renowned for its manufactures, is now no more. A most violent fire broke out there on the 18th, which in a very short time made such rapid progress that it was impossible to extinguish it, particularly as the wind blew very strong, and carried the flakes of fire from one part to another, which, as the houses are mostly covered with wood, cut and placed in the imitation of slates, soon made the conflagration general. In short, one castle, an hospital, and some small houses, which were

out of the town, are all that are left out of 744 houses, of which that town was composed; within the walls not one house is standing. The loss in merchandize of various sorts, corn, manufactures, &c. is immense, and a very great number of persons, of all ages, are said to be missing. In short, the desolation of this once flourishing town of Gera is scarce to be equalled in history.

On the 22d ult. arrived at Stromness, the Resolution and Discovery, commanded by Captain Gore and Captain King, after a voyage of four years and four months on discoveries. Their principal object was to search for a North East or North West passage from the sea of Kamskatka to Europe. This they have determined not to exist, at least for any commercial purpose. It is said they have discovered a considerable group of new islands in the South seas, and that they have explored a tract of country on the western coast of America, of the extent of upwards of 20 degrees of latitude.

Last month a violent shock of an earthquake was felt in Flint and Denbigh shires: also in Anglesea and at Caernarvon, but not at Conway; strongly at Llanrwst, across the vale of Clwyd, at Downing and Heliwell, which last place was the furthest it could be traced in Flintshire.

Died, At Inch, in the county of Wexford, Mr. Henry Grosvenor, surveyor of the coast at Blackwater, aged 115 years. He was of French extraction, very sparing in his diet, and used much exercise; no one preserved more what the French call the youth of old age being

being an agreeable chearful companion, at the age of 100, when he married his last wife.

At Winterborne, Hants, Susan Edmonds, aged 104.

O C T O B E R.

2d. At a court of common council held at Guildhall, a motion was made that the chamberlain do immediately lay before the court an account of all monies paid out of the chamber on account of the lord mayor, which was carried in the affirmative.

The chamberlain withdrew, and returned with an account, which being read,

A motion was made that the sum of 814l. 1s. paid on account of the lord mayor's view of the river and expedition to Windsor, ought not to be defrayed by the city, being totally unnecessary and highly extravagant. This brought on great debate, which lasted for near an hour and a half, when the previous question was put, and carried in the negative; the first question was then put, and resolved in the affirmative.

In consequence of its being thrown out in the course of the debate, that the audit dinners in general were very extravagant, Mr. Sheriff Sainsbury made a motion that in future the expences at the auditing the city and Bridgehouse accounts, do not exceed 50l. which was unanimously agreed to.

A motion was made, and question put, that the chamberlain do not pay the lord mayor more than the sum of 352l. 19s. of the balance due to his lordship out of the ample allowance given by this city.

This caused fresh debates, which lasted for a considerable time; the lord mayor declined to put the question for some time, but having consented, the question being put, it was resolved in the affirmative.

Advice was this day received, that the Fairy sloop of war, and the Vestal frigate, being cruising on the Newfoundland station, they fell in with and took an American packet, on board of which was Mr. Laurens, President of the Congress.

As soon as Mr. Laurens perceived the English armed boat make up to the vessel in which he was, he threw the box that contained the letters overboard; but the lead that was annexed to it proving insufficient for sinking it immediately, one of the daring tars belonging to the Vestal leaped from the boat, and kept it afloat till the rest assisted him in recovering it.

Mr. Laurens was bound to Holland, with a commission from the Congress; and the purport of his business, it is said, was of such a nature as must have produced hostilities between this country and the States, if this accident had not intervened. The papers are of consequence which have been found in the box above-mentioned; they contain an explicit detail of his business with the States, and a full description of his powers and commission there.

On Friday, October 6th, about twelve o'clock, pursuant to an order for that purpose, Mr. Laurens was brought in a hackney coach to Lord Germaine's Office, accompanied only by Mr. Addington. The Earl of Hillsborough, Lord Vis-

count Stormont, and Lord George Germaine, three of his majesty's principal Secretaries of State, attended by his majesty's Solicitor-general, being present, Mr. Laurens went under a long examination, which lasted till near six o'clock, when a warrant of commitment was made out, signed by the three Secretaries of State, committing him a close prisoner to the Tower. Mr. Laurens was conveyed privately soon afterwards, as before, in a hackney-coach, accompanied by two military officers, and two messengers, who were likewise named in the warrant. They arrived at the Tower about seven o'clock, and delivered their prisoner into the custody of the governor.

9th. In consequence of an address to his majesty, from the House of Commons, dated the 6th of July last, the claims of a considerable number of sufferers by the late rebellious insurrections, have been laid before the Board of Works, the principal officers of which have made a report thereof to the Lords of the Treasury.

15th. A most violent whirl wind or tornado burst on Hammer-smith, Roehampton, Richmond, Kingston, and the environs. The storm seems to have come in one direction from S. to N. it beat open the S. door of Hammer-smith church, though a very strong one, and the chandelier becoming a conductor to the lightning, it past directly through the church, and beat out a very large Gothic window on the north side, which was full of strong workmanship both in iron and stone; tore down the fronts of some houses, blew down

walls, and tore up large trees by the roots; all the windows on the S. side of the church were broken by tiles from the adjacent houses. The time of its duration at Hammer-smith did not exceed four minutes. At Roehampton a barn with some poor people in it was blown down, and seven out of eleven were sent to the hospital; a stable full of horses was likewise destroyed. The effects of the lightning on the ground of the fields, and of the storm on the largest trees, was most astonishing, and still continue to draw a concourse of spectators. It has been said, but we do not vouch it, that the storm carried a large tree clear across the Thames.

The violent storm, which did so much damage in the neighbourhood of London, was still more severely felt at Cherburgh on the coast of France, where several ships were driven out of the bay; the sea rose to an alarming height; at Vologne the convent was struck with the lightning; in the forest of Tour le Ville the trees were set on fire by the flashes, which were incessant for some time: in short, the inhabitants on that part of the coast for many miles were thrown into the utmost consternation.

The council house at Salisbury, a building erected about 200 years ago, and containing the law courts, was burnt down. It was observed on fire at five in the morning, and extinguished by nine. Happily the charters, pictures, and furniture, were saved.

Mr. Langdale, the distiller, whose houses were destroyed by the rioters the beginning of June last, brought his action against the lord mayor by arrest,

rest, for the recovery of 40,000l. being a loss sustained by the negligence of the city magistrates.

The sessions ended at the 21st. Old Bailey, when the following persons received sentence of death, viz. Anne Lavendar, for stealing a metal watch, a pair of stone buckles, a diamond ring, and some apparel, the property of Mary Adams, at her house in Southampton-street, Bloomsbury; James Johnson and Richard Brown, for stealing two goldings, the property of James Crow, out of his field at Enniford, in Bedfordshire; Richard Hapgood, for stealing a quantity of wearing apparel, the property of Mr. Adams, in his house in Hatton-street; George Bishop, a letter carrier in the General Post-Office, for feloniously secreting a letter sent by the post from Burnley in Lancashire, from Mr. Greenwood, directed to Messrs. Hitchen and Wood, in Chandos-street, containing a bill of exchange to the value of 30l. and which was found concealed between two boards in a cellar, part of the apartments of the prisoner, in Jerusalem-court; Margaret McCallahan and Mary Allen, for robbing William Copping, in a dwelling house, whom they stabbed in the face, and threatened to dig out his eyes; and Richard Hill, for stealing linen to the value of 27l. in the dwelling house of Mr. Lewis, opposite the Mansion-house.

A young man was tried at the above sessions on a charge of burglary and robbery; all the facts were strongly against him, but a point of law saved his life; the breaking and entering was just upon the eve of the day, and happened not to be after dark; the

recorder therefore observed to the jury, that the prisoner was entitled to acquittal for the burglary; but he was found guilty of the felony, and the recorder immediately pronounced sentence of three years hard labour on the river Thames. The judge observed, that it was the nicety of the law question which preserved him from a capital conviction, and not any mitigation of the real fact charged; that for so heinous an offence it was necessary to make an example to deter such daring offenders in future.

A court of common-council was held at Guild-26th. hall, when a motion was made and carried to defend the lord mayor and sheriffs in the suit commenced by Mr. Langdale, after a debate, and the opinion of the recorder, which went directly to that end.

A motion to discharge an alderman with the costs of a controversy between him and his parish, as to the right of serving churchwarden, was adjourned.

The expences of courts of conservancy were limited to 300l. in every mayoralty. The vacancies in all committees were ordered to be filled up at a second court.

A motion was made, seconded, and resolved, that the court have inspection of all bills drawn upon the corporation, and that no money be paid out of the chamber without the special direction of the court of common-council. Some observations upon former accounts were mentioned, which required a nicer enquiry into all future claims, that the justice of them may be ascertained.

This day the new parliament met; his majesty as

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31st.
usual

usual ascended the throne in his royal robes; and being seated, Sir Fra. Molineux, gentleman usher of the black rod, was sent with a message to the House of Commons, commanding their attendance, when his majesty's pleasure was signified to them by the lord chancellor, that they should return to their House and chuse a speaker, to be presented to his majesty for his royal approbation the next day at two o'clock. They accordingly chose Charles Wolfran Cornwall, Esq;

This evening the ceremony of the christening of the young prince was performed in the Great Council-Chamber, by his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury. His royal highness was named Alfred. The sponsors were his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, his Royal Highness the Prince Bishop of Osnaburgh, and her Royal Highness the Princess Royal.

A session of oyer and terminer and gaol delivery of the High Court of Admiralty of England, was held before Sir James Marriot, knt. Judge of the High Court of Admiralty, and Mr. Justice Heath; when James Robinson was tried for piratically and feloniously running away with a merchant brig, called the *Hermione*, in the Jamaica trade. The jury acquitted the prisoner.

There being no other bills of indictment found by the grand jury, the court was adjourned. There were many other prisoners remanded to prison till next sessions.

Paris, Oct. 15. M. de Sartine, the minister of the marine, is dismissed. On Friday last, at two o'clock, M. Amelot, Minister and

Secretary of State, went to him in the name of the king, and demanded his state papers. It is said, that he delivered to him a letter from the king, who thanked him, in obliging terms, for his services in the marine.

The successor in the above important post, is M. de Cailfres, lieutenant general, and the commandant of the Gendarmerie; and yesterday morning he went to Marly, where the court is at present, and there took the oaths to the king in quality of minister of the marine.

Died. At Staunton, Cumberland, Mrs. M. Smith, aged 104.

At Fintray, Scotland, J. Taylor, aged 108.

At Taunton, James Codrington, Esq; aged 104.

At Winchester, Mrs. Clark, aged 105.

In Bright's Alley, Gray's-Inn-lane, Elizabeth Swanbrook, aged 111.

Mrs. Bradshaw, formerly of Drury-lane theatre. The circumstances of her death are worth relating. She had a few years ago adopted a young girl; but the uncommon care which she had taken of her education, and the fatal consequence which has attended the want of success of her adopted, makes it now believed that she was really Mrs. Bradshaw's own daughter; for, upon her return from France, she was engaged to dance at Plymouth; but whether from the length of the dance, the timidity of the performer, or the ill-nature or ignorance of the audience, she was hissed. The effect this misfortune had upon Mrs. Bradshaw was truly tragical. She fell into fits instantly, was conveyed

ed home raving mad, and died in a short time after.

N O V E M B E R.

1st. The losses sustained by various persons during the riots, as delivered to the Board of Works, amounted, previous to the advertisements from that office, to 130,000l. Since those advertisements several other articles have been given in, such as Newgate, a prison in the Borough, the toll-houses on Black-Friars-bridge, &c. So that on the present list the damages amount to about 180,000l.

Oxford, Nov. 2. Last week divers tradesmen of this city were defrauded of sums to the amount of upwards of 100l. by a female sharper of very genteel address and appearance, who had made Oxford her residence for about three weeks past, in company with a person who spoke, or affected to speak, broken English, and whom she called her husband. This fraud was effected by negotiating false and counterfeit notes on copper-plate cheques. Those put off here were filled up in an exceeding good hand, payable to Robert Pearce or order, at a banker's in Lombard-street, London; the last indorser, A. Clifford; and it seems the lady had daily practised the art of going from shop to shop in an affable way, purchasing trifles with ready money, and telling the people she should be a better customer hereafter, being come to make a considerable stay. Having thus made a slight acquaintance, the day she left Oxford she went round and took up silver and other

goods, every where taking change out of her counterfeit notes. The several articles thus taken up they likewise found means to carry off last Friday night, assisted by a third person, their accomplice, and who went off with them privately after dark in the same post chaise. Upon breaking open the door of the apartment where they lodged, in a large leather trunk (supposed to contain their wearing apparel, which they also left locked) were found only a couple of walking sticks.

In the Court of King's Bench, the Attorney General presented a bill of indictment against George Gordon, Esq; commonly called Lord Geo. Gordon, to the grand jury, which they very soon returned, finding a *true bill*.

Mr. Dunning obtained a mandamus from the court of King's Bench to transfer stock at the bank, which was refused by the directors, on pretence that bastards could not devise by will; which was held nugatory.

The report was made to his majesty in council, of the prisoners under sentence of death in Newgate, who were convicted last September sessions, when the following were ordered for execution on Wednesday the 22d instant, viz. Samuel Baker, Steward Montague, Thomas Cox, Joseph Freeman, Mary Gardner, Joseph Carter, Abraham Danford and William Newton, Benjamin Kinder, and Thomas Humphreys.

The following were respited during his majesty's pleasure, viz. John Harris, Grace Maddocks, George Duffey, and George Watson.

This evening came on by petition, before the twelve judges at Ser-

Serjeant's-Inn-hall, the case of Mr. Hart, against the benchers of Gray's-Inn, for refusing to call him to the bar on account of his having taken the benefit of an Act of Insolvency; when, after hearing counsel, they were unanimously of opinion that the petition be dismissed. All the judges were present on the occasion.

22d. This morning the following malefactors were carried in three carts from Newgate to Tyburn, where they were all executed according to their sentence, viz. William Edwards, Steward Montague, Samuel Baker, Abraham Darford, William Newton, Thomas Cox, Benjamin Kinder, Mary Gardner, and Joseph Carter, who was drawn on a sledge. They all behaved very penitently; particularly Darford, who left the following curious paper in the hands of the ordinary.

Newgate Cells, Nov. 21, 1780.

“Sensible of the injuries I have committed against many people who have been defrauded by me, and having nothing before me but the prospect of a speedy dissolution, and an ignominious one; as it is not in my power to make any restitution to the several persons who have been injured by me, but do for their satisfaction declare the principal transactions I have been guilty of, or concerned in.

The method I chiefly put in practice was forging the post mark of different towns, which I put on a piece of paper made up as a letter, and then went to the inns where the coaches came, and heard the parcels called over; then went to a public-house near, and wrote the direction on the letter the same as was on the parcel I had fixed

on. The book keepers, seeing the direction the same, and the post-mark on it, they usually gave me what I asked for, on paying their demand.

The following are the principal transactions I have been concerned in, which I can at present recollect:

In September 1777. I got a parcel sent from Norwich, directed to Smith, Wright, and Gray, which contained bills to the amount of 500*l.* and upwards; one of them for 216*l.* 5*s.* was drawn on Mr. Gaußen, in St. Helen's, which I carried for acceptance, and prevailed on him to give me the cash, allowing him the discount. I wrote John Watkins on the bill, and likewise on the draft, which Mr. Gaußen paid me; the amount I received in cash at the Bank of England. Two more of the bills I carried for acceptance, and the others I destroyed.

In July, 1778, I obtained a box at the Bell and Mouth Inn sent from Birmingham in the same manner. After hearing the several parcels called over, I fixed on a box directed to Mr. Ford, Lombard-street; I had a letter in my pocket with the Birmingham post-mark on it, and went to a public-house just by and wrote the same direction as on the box. On shewing the letter to the book-keeper, he immediately gave me the box, which I carried to Cheapside, took a coach home, opened it, and found upwards of 100*l.* in cash, and some bills; several I negotiated, and the others I returned in a cover to Birmingham, to the persons who sent them, Messrs. Whitworth and Yates. Two of these bills I negotiated at Hazard's for tickets;

tickets; two with Mr. Cox for gold; and one with Mr. Crafton for stockings, which his man carried to a box-maker, in Bishops-gate-street, where I bought a box to pack them in. I indorsed those bills in the name of Thomas Downer, Tooley-street, and afterwards conveyed the box to Mr. Ford's house, and there left it.

Soon after, I obtained a parcel directed to Sir William Lemon and Co. wherein was a letter and account, the writing of which appeared very much like mine. I copied the letter with an addition, desiring them to purchase 25 lottery tickets, which I afterwards understood they did; I desired they might be delivered to a person who would call for them; I sent a ticket porter for them, who soon returned, and said, they would not deliver them.

Soon after I began practising the invention of the post-mark, I went to the Green Dragon, in Bishops-gate-street, and fixed on a parcel from Lynn, directed, I think, to Mess. Boydells, Castle-street, Leicester-fields—I produced the letter, and received the parcel; on opening it, I found it contained only a parcel of livery cloaths, and a letter; I found by the letter that Mess. Boydells were indebted to the person who sent the cloaths about 30*l*. (I think his name was Curtis)—I wrote a letter, instead of the other, as coming from Mr. Curtis, telling them I had burnt my hand, and that I could not write myself, but had got a neighbour to write for me, and I drew a bill at sight for 25*l*. which they paid to the porter I sent for the money. I was afraid it would not suit Mess. Boydells

to pay the bill at sight; and to deceive them the more, I desired them in the letter to enquire about a ticket in the State Lottery, which I knew was drawn a 500*l*. prize a few days before, telling them it was the property of myself (meaning Curtis), and if it was a prize, I would send it to them to sell for me.

Another parcel I obtained from the Bell and Crown, Holborn, directed for Mr. Fox, Cheapside, containing a piece of Irish cloth, and several bills, two of which I negotiated; one of them was drawn on Smith, Wright, and Gray, for 50*l*. which I paid Hornsby and Pearce for lottery tickets; the others, about 20*l*. I received in cash. Another parcel I obtained from the King's arms, Snow-hill, directed to Mr. Bedford, Friday-street, containing some dimity, &c. which I sold for what I could get.

I also obtained a basket from the Spread Eagle, Gracechurch-street, directed to Mr. Stock, linen-draper, containing a goose, and a bill on Mr. Branwaite, which he accepted, and I negotiated it at a refiner's, in Castle-street, near Aldersgate-street.

I was the sole actor, and had no accomplices, in all the above frauds; and I hope no person will ever reflect on my poor wife and children, or suppose they were in any manner concerned with me. I solemnly declare they are perfectly innocent, and were never acquainted with any one fraud I have committed. I make this confession voluntarily, for the satisfaction of the many persons that have been injured by me, and prevent suspicion from being cast on innocent persons, having frequently

quently discovered that was the consequence of the frauds I practised. I declare this solemnly to be a true and voluntary confession.

ABRAHAM DANFORD."

Witness, J. VILLETE,
Ordinary of Newgate.

His majesty was pleased to respite Thomas Humphreys and Joseph Freeman, until further signification of the royal pleasure.

Of the convicts under sentence of death, the following are ordered for execution on Wednesday the 29th, viz. George Bishop, Robert Hill, and Margaret M'Lochlan.

The following are respited: Ann Lavender, Rich. Hapgood, James Johnson, and Richard Brown.

27th. This being the day appointed for the election of a representative for this city in parliament, in the room of the late Alderman Kirkman, the drawing of the lottery at Guildhall ceased at ten o'clock. About twelve, near a thousand liverymen were assembled, and the sheriffs, having waited for the lord mayor till near one o'clock, ascended the hustings in his absence, with the Aldermen Townsend, Bull, Wilkes, Sawbridge, Hayley, Thomas, Clarke, Burnell, attended by the city officers. The writ for the election, and the act of parliament against bribery being read, the lord mayor, and all the aldermen not in parliament, were then put in nomination, and distinguished accurately in the popular manner, according to ancient custom; but the whole shew of hands being in favour of Mr. Sawbridge, he was declared by the sheriffs duly elected.

This being St. Andrew's day, the Royal Society held 30th. their anniversary meeting at their apartments in Somerset-place, when the President (Mr. Banks) in the name of the society, presented the gold medal (called Sir Godfrey Copley's) to the Rev. Samuel Vince, for his paper, entitled "An Investigation of the Principles of Progressive and Rotatory Motion." The president on this occasion delivered a short but elegant oration on the great utility of Mr. Vince's paper.

DIED, At Boxford, Herts, Thomas Field, a labouring man, aged 102. His father was 104, his uncle 93, his brother 95, and scarce any of the family have died under ninety.

At Ballynakill, in Queens County, Ireland, Mr. J. Woodworth, aged 112.

At Celbridge, in the county of Kildare, Mrs. Mary M'Kee, aged 110.

Near Stevenage, Mr. J. Thorpe, age 109.

DECEMBER.

Was tried in the Court of Common-Pleas, Westminster, 2d. before Lord Loughborough, by a special jury, a cause between Justice Wilmot, for damages, by the destruction of his house at Bethnal-green and in Worship-street, and damage in his garden, plaintiff, and the inhabitants of the district of Bethnal-green, defendants. After hearing evidence, and the reports of the surveyors employed by both parties, the jury went out, and having said about half
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an hour, returned with a verdict for the plaintiff, for the repair of the houses on Bethnal-green and in Worship-street, 625l. and special, in the words of the Act, for furniture destroyed by persons assembled, 700l. also for damage done to the garden by the rioters, 30l.

Thomas Dill was tried at 7th. the Old Bailey for the murder of Robert Curson, a young surgeon, pupil to Dr. Ford. The deceased was visiting an old gentleman, who laboured under a violent paralytic complaint. The prisoner was charged with having assaulted the deceased while he was in the apartment of the old gentleman, in whose presence he was charged with having beat the deceased in a very cruel manner; and with having afterwards pushed him out of the window, three stories high into the street, by which the deceased had his skull fractured to pieces, and was killed on the spot.

There was only one witness who could speak positively to the fact; and this was the old gentleman, whom the deceased was visiting as a patient, when he was assaulted by the prisoner. He was 90 years of age, and so deaf, that it was with difficulty he could hear, and at the same time he was so afflicted with the palsy, that he could barely answer by the monosyllables Yes and No. As therefore it was impossible for him to give the court a narrative of the melancholy business, the counsel for the prosecution were going to put what they called leading questions, by which they would have told the particulars themselves, and would have required only the monosylla-

ble Yes from the witness to confirm the suggestions contained in their questions: but the court would not suffer this, as it was totally inconsistent with the practice of the courts of justice: however, this was an occasion on which this practice might perhaps have been dispensed with, without the least violation of justice: particularly as there was some ground, from what dropped from several persons examined on the trial, that this was the second murder with which the prisoner had been charged. The court, however, was determined; and as the old gentleman was disabled by infirmities from giving such testimony as the court would receive, the prisoner escaped from the hands of justice, to the visible mortification of every one in court.

The mother of the deceased was in one of the galleries; and when she understood that the prisoner was discharged, she broke out into the most frantick rage, and prayed that the blood of her child might fall upon the heads of both court and jury for suffering his murderer to escape with impunity. When she had spent her rage in bitter imprecations, she fainted away; and the court feeling no spark of resentment, for what they knew to be extremely natural in an afflicted parent, called out to the people near her, and requested that they would kindly take care of her, and see that she did not hurt herself while out of her senses.

This morning was tried in the Court of King's Bench, 9th. before Mr. Justice Ashurst, a cause wherein Mr. J. Maberley, of Little Queen-street, was plaintiff, and two gentlemen of the Hundred

Hundred of Offulton, defendants. The action was brought for the recovery of 903*l.* for repairing his houses and shops, and 1159*l.* for furniture, stock in trade and utensils, destroyed in the late riots. The court, after examining several respectable witnesses, was fully satisfied with the justice of the claims, and the jury gave their verdict accordingly, making it special for furniture and stock in trade.

The same day the session ended at the Old Bailey, when the following convicts received sentence of death, viz Patrick Madan, J. Bailey and William Chetham, for stealing in the shop of Charles Storer, in Sidney's-alley, Leicester-square, four gold watch chains and thirty-eight gold rings; Elizabeth Hylett, for stealing four guineas and a half privately from the person of James Winship; and Tho. Brown, for stealing a mare, the property of Barnard Donally; Michael Daniel, for robbing Mr. Lane on the highway near Shepherd's-bush of two guineas; William Thompson, alias Bennett, for robbing Mr. William Johnson of some money near Kilburn Wells; Joseph Cook, for robbing Anne Marfago, in Palsgrave-place, of 7*s.* or 8*s.* and using her very cruelly and indecently; Joseph Caddie, for breaking open the dwelling-house of Mary Newstead, with intent to steal her goods, &c. nine were sentenced to hard labour on the river Thames; 19 to hard labour in the House of Correction; six to be privately whipped, and one publicly; and six delivered on proclamation.

A motion was made before the Lord Chancellor,

in Lincoln's-Inn-hall, to set aside a late order against Mr. Morris, for contempt of court, in not obeying an order to bring the body of Miss Harford, with whom he had eloped in her infancy. Mr. Erskine, as council for Mr. Morris, contended, that several mal-practices had been used in the course of the late proceedings; that the affidavits were at least irregular, if not false; that the bills filed were antedated; and that though he could not undertake to invalidate the accuracy of the Register Offices, yet the plaintiffs should be obliged on oath to prove the authenticity of the dates; his client having left England previous to any process being instituted against him in Chancery, and consequently the late order should be set aside. These were the principal facts on which the motion was founded. The Lord Chancellor observed, that he could not set aside a motion of his predecessor, or suppose it improvidently granted, upon bare assertions only; and that Mr. Morris should have come prepared to contradict the grounds on which the order was made, by well-attested affidavits; that he was ready then, or at any other time, to enter into such a hearing, and to receive such testimony if it could be produced; but that till such evidence could be fairly brought before him, he could not, in his own opinion, set aside the order. The Lord Chancellor therefore declined giving any judgment, and the motion for discharging the order is to be made again *de novo*, and the whole matter re-argued.

The cause between Mr. Langdale plaintiff, and the Sun-fire office defendant, came on

to be tried before Lord Mansfield, when a verdict was given against the plaintiff, there being an exception in the policy of assurance against fires *occasioned by civil or military commotions, &c.*

17th. Two Jew ladies of eminence were baptized at the King's-chapel, St. James's, by the Rev. Dr. Bailey.

18th. Mr. Morris's adjourned motion in the Court of Chancery, to be released from the order of the late Chancellor for his commitment for a contempt, came to a final decision, after many ingenious arguments and eloquent speeches, as well by Mr. Morris's council, Mess. Macdonald, Selwyn, and Erskine, as by the counsel against him, who were the Solicitor-general, Mr. Kenyon, and Mr. Jackson. The business lasted four hours, and at the end of it, the Chancellor was pleased to determine that he would neither set aside the order nor enforce it: so Mr. Morris went out of court, and the whole affair is just as it was before it began.

A Society of Antiquaries was instituted this day at Edinburgh. An association of this nature has long been a favourite object of the Earl of Buchan. His lordship communicated the plan he had formed to some of the most accomplished and respectable gentlemen in this country, and was happy to find that it not only received their approbation, but excited the strongest wishes to see an institution, which promised so much utility to the nation, established on a firm and permanent basis. Emboldened by this encouragement, his lordship ventured at last to invite a number of persons, whom he

thought qualified to be members of such an association, to meet at his house on the 14th of November last. To these gentlemen he read a discourse, containing a view of the principal objects in the History and Antiquities of Scotland, which required elucidation, and of the regulations to be observed in the proposed society; both of which received the unanimous approbation of the members present. At a subsequent meeting, his lordship was prevailed on to permit the discourse to be printed, that the public might have proper ideas concerning an institution so interesting to the nation. It was then agreed, that a meeting should be held on Monday the 14th inst. for the purpose of electing office bearers. The members accordingly met, and the business of election being finished, a paper was read, giving an account of various Roman weapons discovered in dragging the Marle from the bottom of Doddingston Loch; and we learn that the worthy proprietor, Sir Alexander Dick, is to give specimens of them, to be preserved in the society's museum.

The following is a list of the Office-Bearers.

“ President, the Right Hon. the Earl of Bute; 1st vice president, the Right Hon. the Earl of Buchan; 2d vice president, the Hon. Sir John Dalrymple Hamilton McGill, Bart. 3d vice president, John Swinton, of Swinton, Esq; 4th vice president, Alexander Wright, Esq; advocate; 5th vice president, Wm. Tyler, of Woodhouselee, Esq; treasurer; Sir Wm. Forbes, of Pittligo, Bart. secretary; James Cummyng, Esq, keeper of the Lyon Records.”

DIED,

DIED, At Carrickfergus, in Ireland, Mr. James O'Brien, aged 114. He served as a paymaster serjeant in the wars in Ireland, in the reign of James II.

Near Buxton, Derbyshire, Sam. Fidler, aged 105. He walked from his own house to Buxton, within three days of his death, which is upwards of five miles. He has been for three years past a constant attendant at St. Anne's Well in Buxton, and was supported chiefly by the company who resorted there to drink the waters.

Mr. Francis Vivares, the celebrated landscape engraver.

At his house in the Clofe, Salisbury, in the 72d year of his age, James Harris, Esq; F. R. S. Trustee of the British Museum, and member for Christchurch, Hants, which he represented in several successive parliaments.—In the year 1763 he was appointed one of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, and was soon after removed to the Board of Treasury. In 1774 made Secretary and Comptroller to the Queen, which post he enjoyed till his death. He was the son of James Harris, Esq; and the Lady Elizabeth Ashley his wife, third daughter of Anthony, 2d Earl of Shaftesbury, and sister to Anthony, 3d earl, the celebrated author of the *Characteristics*, whose elegance and refinement of taste and manners Mr. Harris inherited. In the theory and practice of music he had few equals. He was a native of the Clofe, and educated there under the Rev. Mr. Beke, in the grammar-school now kept by the Rev. Mr. Skinner, from whence, in the year 1726, he went to Wadham College, in Oxford. He married Elizabeth, daughter of John

Clarke, Esq; of Sandford, in Somersetshire, by whom he had several children, three of whom are still living, viz. Sir James Harris, K. B. his Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary at the Court of St. Petersburg. Katharine Gertrude, and Louisa Margaret Harris. The world is indebted to him for several very ingenious and learned publications, particularly three treatises, published in 1745, on Art, Music, Painting and Poetry, and Happiness.—In 1751, he published a second volume, called *Hermes*, or a Philosophical Enquiry concerning Universal Grammar. In 1775, his *Philosophical Arrangements* made their appearance. It is with great pleasure that we learn this gentleman had finished, just before his death, another ingenious work, entitled *Philological Inquiries*. His good qualities as a man are well known to a large circle of his friends and acquaintance in this country; and his great abilities as an author acknowledged and esteemed by the literati throughout Europe.

In Harpur-street, Dr. John Fothergill, one of the people called Quakers, aged 69. He was born near Richmond, in the county of York, studied at Edinburgh, and came to London about the year 1740, without any other patron than his own merit, which brought him rapidly into a most extensive practice. He was a Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians at Edinburgh, of the Royal and Antiquarian Societies in London, and a member of other learned as well as medical institutions, in this and foreign nations, in which his great reputation as a physician is universally

fally established. The exertion of his great abilities was not confined to the practice of medicine and the study of nature, but was unremittingly employed to the promotion of the general good and happiness of mankind: and as his extensive knowledge, public spirit, and many virtues, were not less eminent than his medical skill, he will be deservedly ranked among the illustrious characters of the present age.

Near Canterbury, Sir A. Manwaring, age 96.

Near Ellesmere, Shropshire, Mrs. Eliz. Dallais, aged 103.

In Lincoln's-Inn-fields, Dr. Gilbert Kennedy, F.R.S. many years physician to the factory at Lisbon, aged 100.

At Barnes, Mr. Maycock, market-gardener at that place. His death was occasioned by the shock his spirits received from the storm in October last, during which he went to the stables to look after his horses, attended by his man, who was struck down and killed close to him by a flash of lightning, and the stable itself forced to a considerable distance from its original situation: and, to complete his alarm, part of the room in which his wife was lying-in (having been delivered but a few days) was torn away by the violence of the storm.

General Bill of all the Christenings and Burials, from December 14, 1779, to December 12, 1780.

Christened.	Buried.
Males 8531	Males 10206
Females 8053	Females 10311
In all 16634	In all 20517
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Died under two years of age 6810

Between 2 and 5	1713
5 and 10	598
10 and 20	602
20 and 30	1421
30 and 40	1833
40 and 50	2215
50 and 60	1890
60 and 70	1715
70 and 80	1183
80 and 90	455
90 and 100	78
100	2
100 and 1	1
100 and 2	0
100 and 3	1
100 and 4	0
100 and 7	0

Increased in the Burials this Year 97.

B I R T H S for the Year 1780.

JANUARY.

The lady of Lord Visc. Galway, a daughter.

Lady of Sir Roger Twissden, Bt. a daughter.

Lady of Chal. Arcedekne, Esq; a son.

Lady of the Hon. Mr. Fane; a daughter.

Lady of Right Hon. Charles Townshend, a daughter.

Lady of Sir Harry Tralawney, a son and heir.

Lady Bagot, a daughter.

FEBRUARY.

Dutchess of Beaufort, a son.

Lady of Right Hon. Thomas Townshend, a son.

Lady of Lord Viscount Mahon, a daughter.

Lady of Sir Guy Carleton, K. B. a son.

Lady of Hon. Charles Finch, a son and heir.

The Princess of Asturias of a prince

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prince, since baptized by the names of Charles, Dominico, Eusebius, Raphael, Joseph, Antonio, Johanno, Nepomuceno, Gabriello, Julianon, Vincent-Ferrer, Andre-Avelin, Louis, Ferdinand, Angelo, Francisco, Pascal, Joachino, Cayetan, Ignacio, Emanuelo, Raymond, Janiverio, Francisco de Paulo.

MARCH.

The Countess of Winterton, a daughter.

The lady of Lord de Ferrars, a son.

The Right Hon. Lady Louisa Manners, a daughter.

Lady of the Hon. and Rev. Dr. Cornwallis, Dean of Canterbury, a son.

APRIL.

The lady of the Earl of Warwick, a son.

The lady of the Earl of Harrington, a son and heir.

The lady of the Earl of Stormont, a son.

The Right Hon. Lady Kinaird, a son and heir.

MAY.

The Dutchess of Portland, a son.

The lady of Sir Matth. White Ridley, Bart. a son and heir.

The lady of — Willson, Esq; daughter of Lady Greenwich, a son.

The lady of Sir George Brydges Rodney, Bart. a daughter.

The lady of Sir John Blois, Bart. a daughter.

JUNE.

Countess of Radnor, a son.

Countess of Tankerville, a daughter.

JULY.

Countess of Shelburne, a son.

Countess Percy, a daughter.

The lady of John English Dolben, Esq; a son.

The lady of the Hon. Henry Stawell Bilson Legge, a daughter.

The lady of Sir F. Vincent, Bart. a son.

The lady of Sir Thomas Tancred, Bart. a son.

AUGUST.

Lady of Sir William Lorraine, Bart. a son.

SEPTEMBER.

Lady Porchester, a son.

22d. Her MAJESTY safely delivered of a PRINCE, at Windsor.

Lady Brownlow, a son.

OCTOBER.

Dutchess of Rutland, a son.

Lady of Sir James Pringle, Bart. a daughter.

Her Imperial Highness the Grand Dutchess of Tuscany, a princess.

Lady of Sir W. Williams Wynne, Bart. a daughter.

NOVEMBER.

Countess of Carlisle, a daughter.

Lady of Sir James Cockburn, Bart. a son.

DECEMBER.

Right Hon. Lady Galloway, a daughter.

Dutchess of Buccleugh, a daughter.

Lady of John Coxo Hippisley, Esq; a daughter.

Lady of Sir Thomas Egerton, a son.

MARRIAGES, 1780.

JANUARY.

John Cowper, Esq; to Miss Cope, sister to Sir Charles Cope, Bart.

Colonel Gordon, to Miss Bamfylde, sister of Sir Charles, Bart.

Thomas

Thomas Gage, Esq; only son of Sir Thomas Gage, Bart.

Arthur Earl of Aran, to Miss Underwood.

FEBRUARY.

Richard Aubrey, Esq; youngest son of Sir Thomas Aubrey, Bart. to Miss Digby, daughter of the late Hon. Wriothesly Digby.

Thomas Grimstone, Esq; of Kilnwick, to Miss F. Legard, daughter of the late Sir Digby Legard, Bart.

At the Castle, Dublin, Almar Lowry Corry, Esq; to the Right Hon. Lady Harriet Hobart, eldest daughter of the Earl of Buckinghamshire.

At Rome, J. Coxe Hippisley, Esq; to Miss Margaret Stuart, daughter of Sir John Stuart, Bart. of Allenbank.

MARCH.

At Calcutta, Sir John Doily, Bart. to Mrs. Coates.—And the Hon. Lieut. Anstruther, to Miss Donaldson.

APRIL.

Walter James Head, Esq; only son of Sir James Head, Bart. of Langley, Bucks, to the Hon. Miss Jane Pratt, youngest daughter of Lord Camden.

Sir Thomas Mannoch, of Gifford-hall, in the county of Suffolk, Bart. to Miss Anastasia Browne, a near relation of Lord Viscount Montague.

Francis Fortescue Turville, Esq; to Miss Barbara Talbot, niece to the Earl of Shrewsbury.

MAY.

The Hon. Mr. Clifford, eldest son of the Right Hon. Lord Clifford, to the Hon. Miss A. Langdale, daughter of the late Lord Langdale.

Richard Brooke, Esq; to Miss

Mary Carliffe, second daughter of the late Sir Robert Carliffe, Bart.

Rev. Sandford Harcliffe, Rector of Athol in the county of York, to the Dowager Countess of Moxborough.

Major Vyse, to Miss Howard, daughter of Sir George Howard, K. B.

Lord Parker, son to the Earl of Macclesfield, to Miss Drake, of Amerham.

Miss Catherine Grenville, youngest sister of Earl Temple, to Mr. Neville, son of Richard Aldworth Neville, Esq; of Billingbeare, Berkshire.

At Lisbon, the Hon. Robert Walpole, to Miss Diana Grossett, daughter of Walter Grossett, Esq;

Robert Harding, Esq; of Upcott, to Miss Wrey, second daughter of Sir Bouchier Wrey, Bart.

Earl of Balcarras, to Miss Dalrymple.

Sir William Forbes, Bart. to the Hon. Miss Sempel.

JUNE.

Sir H. Dashwood, Bart. to Miss Graham, niece to Lord Newhaven.

Earl of Tyrconnel, to Miss Hussey Delaval.

JULY.

The Hon. Thomas Fitz-William, of Woolstanton, in the county of Stafford, son to the late Lord Viscount Fitz-William, of Mount Meruin, in the kingdom of Ireland, to Miss Agnes Macclesfield, daughter and coheiress of the late — Macclesfield, of Chesherton, in the said county, Esq;

Edward Knatchbul, Esq; only son of Sir Edward, Bart. to Miss Mary Huggelen.

In Dublin, Dennis Daly, Esq; to Lady Harriet Maxwell.

AUGUST.

Hon. William Ward, to Miss Bosville.

Right Hon. Lord Grantham, to Lady Mary Grey, daughter of the Marchioness Grey and Earl of Hardwicke.

George Thornhill, Esq; to Miss Hawkins, daughter to Sir Caesar, Bart.

Alexander Murray, Esq; of Ayrton, to the Hon. Miss Mary Ogilvie, daughter to the late Lord Barff.

Grant, daughter of Leut. General Grant.

His Excellency Baron De Kutzleben, the Hessian minister, to the Hon. Miss Dorothy Wrottesley, niece to the Dutchess of Bedford, and sister to the Dutchess of Grafton and Sir John Wrottesley.

Sir George Barlow Warren, Bt. to Miss Caroline Clavering, youngest daughter of the late Sir J. Clavering, Bart.

Sir John Wedderburn, Bart. to Miss Dundas.

OCTOBER.

Captain Garrick, to Miss Leigh, daughter of Sir Gerton Leigh, Bart.

Montagu Burgoyne, Esq; son of Sir Roger Burgoyne, Bart. to Miss Hervey.

Her Serene Highness the Princess Augusta Carolina Frederica Louisa, eldest daughter of his Serene Highness the reigning Duke of Brunswick, to his Serene Highness Prince Frederick William Charles of Wirtemberg.

NOVEMBER.

The Right Hon. Lord Duncannon, son of the Earl of Beesborough, to the second daughter of Earl Spenser.

John Peter, Esq; his majesty's Consul at Ostend, to Miss Eliz. Herries, sister of Sir Robert Herries, Bart.

DECEMBER.

Right Hon. Lord St. John, of Bletfoc, to Miss Emma Whitebread, second daughter of the member for Bedford.

Rev. Mr. Tate, to Miss Moore, daughter of Sir John Moore, Bart.

Right Hon. Lord George Murray, second son to the late Duke of Athol, to Miss Ann Charlotte

PROMOTIONS, 1780.

JANUARY.

Brownlow Duke of Ancaster and Kesteven, to be Lord Lieut. of the county of Lincoln.

Dr. George Chinnery, Bishop of Killaloe, translated to the Bishoprick of Cloyne.

Dr. Thomas Barnard, Dean of Derry, promoted to the Bishoprick of Killaloe.

W. Cecil Perry, M. A. Dean of Derry.

Samuel Rastal, clerk, Dean of St. Flanan Killaloe.

Frederick Earl of Carlisle, Lord Lieut. of the East Riding of Yorkshire.

Sir Richard Worsley, Governor of the Isle of Wight, and sworn of the privy council.

FEBRUARY.

James Cunninghame, Esq; Major General of his Majesty's forces, and Captain General and Governor in Chief of Barbadoes.

Earl of Aylesbury, Lord Lieut. of Wilts.

Priscilla Barbara Elizabeth Burrel, the dignity of Baroness Willough-

Willoughby de Eresby, co. Lincoln.

Right Hon. John Scott, the reversion of Clerk of the Common Pleas in the Court of Exchequer in Ireland.

Robert Macqueen, Esq; a Lord of Justiciary in Scotland.

MARCH.

Ralph Bigland, Esq; Clarenceux king of arms, to be a principal king of English arms, and a principal officer of arms of the noble order of the Garter, and also that office which is commonly called Garter; and likewise the name Garter, with the stile, liberties, pre-eminences, and emoluments, belonging and anciently accustomed to the said office, vacant by the death of Thomas Browne, Esq; late Garter.

The Rev. Doctor George Mason, confirmed Bishop of Sodor and Man, and consecrated a Bishop at Whitehall Chapel, by his Grace the Archbishop of York.

John Doddington, Esq; to the office of fourth Port-cullis pursuivant of arms.

Peter Dore, Esq; Richmond herald, to the office of Norroy king of arms, and principal herald of the North parts of England.

The Right Rev. Doctor James Hawkins, Bishop of Dromore, to the Bishoprick of Raphoe.

William Beresford, M. A. to the Bishoprick of Dromore.

APRIL.

Hon. John Trevor, appointed minister plenipotentiary to the Elector Palatine, and minister to the Diet of Ratisbon.

Ralph Bigland the Younger, Esq; Richmond herald.

Richard Pearson, Esq; captain

in his majesty's royal navy, received the honour of knighthood.

Rev. Dr. Noel, Dean of Salisbury.

MAY.

The Earl of Dalhousie to be High Commissioner to the Church of Scotland.

Benjamin Pingo, Gent. to the office of Rouge-dragon, Pursuivant of Arms, in the room of Ralph Bigland, Esq; now Richmond herald.

The king has been pleased to order letters patent to be passed under the great seal of Ireland, containing his majesty's grants of the dignity of a baronet of the said kingdom, unto the the following gentlemen, and to their heirs male, viz. Frederick Flood, of Newton Ormond, in the county of Kilkenny, Esq; and Robert Waller, of Newport, in the county of Tipperary, Esq;

Lord Rivers, Lord Lieut. of the county of Southampton.

JUNE.

Alexander Wedderburne, Esq; late his Majesty's Attorney-general, to be Lord Chief Justice of his Majesty's Court of Common Pleas, upon the resignation of the Right Hon. Sir William De Grey, Knt. late Chief Justice thereof; and also one of his Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council.

The Right Hon. Alexander Wedderburne, Lord Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, and to his heirs male, the dignity of a Baron of Great Britain, by the name, stile, and title of Lord Loughborough, Baron of Loughborough, in the county of Leicester.

John Campbell, Esq; to be Governor

Governor of Milford Haven, in the county of Pembroke, in the room of Wynriot Owen, Esq; deceased.

Richard Pepper Arden, Esq; Lloyd Kenyon, Esq; John Lee, Esq; and William Selvon, Esq; to be of his Majesty's council learned in the law

JULY.

James Wallace, Esq; to be his Majesty's Attorney-general.

James Mansfield, Esq; to be his Majesty's Solicitor-general.

John Heath, Esq; to be one of the Judges of the Court of Common Pleas.

Sir Hugh Palliser, Bart. to be Master of his Majesty's Hospital at Greenwich.

SEPTEMBER.

Sir William Gordon, Knight of the Bath. and Lovel Stanhope, Esq; to be Clerks Comptrollers of the Board of Green Cloth.

John Buller, sen. Esq; to be one of his Majesty's Commissioners for executing the office of Treasurer of his Majesty's Exchequer, vice C. W. Cornwall, Esq;

George Darcy, Esq; to be one of his Majesty's Commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral of Great Britain and Ireland, vice John Buller. Esq.

Benjamin Langton, Esq; to be one of his Majesty's Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, vice Soame Jenyns, Esq.

Charles Wolfran Cornwall, Esq; to the offices of Warden and Chief Justice in Eyre of all his Majesty's forests, parks, chaces, and warrens, beyond Trent.

The Hon. James Cecil, Esq; commonly called Lord Vincent Cranburn, to be Treasurer of his Majesty's Household.

Christopher D'Oyley, Esq; to be

Comptroller of the Accounts of his Majesty's Army, vice Thomas Bowlby, Esq.

Thomas Bowlby, Esq; to be Commissionary General of the Musters, and chief Muster Master of all his Majesty's Forces, vice Christopher D'Oyley, Esq.

Henry Sanchez, Esq; to the office of Keeper of his Majesty's Stores, Ordnance, and Ammunition of War.

John Kenrick, Esq; to the office of Clerk of the Delivery and Deliverance of all manner of artillery, ammunition, and other necessaries whatsoever, appertaining to his Majesty's office of ordnance.

John Rols Marlye, Esq; to be Receiver General of the Stamp Duties.

Archibald Macdonald, Esq; one of his Majesty's counsel, to be his Majesty's justice of the counties of Carmarthen, Pembroke, Cardigan, &c.

The Right Hon. Lord Onslow, and Lord Bolton, to be Lords of his Majesty's Bedchamber.

Thomas Morgan, Gent. Thomas Morgan, the younger, Gent. his son, and Thomas Kynnersley, Esq; to the office or offices of Prothonotary and Clerk of the Crown in the counties of Denbigh and Montgomery.

William Adam, Esq; Treasurer and Paymaster of his Majesty's Ordnance.

Flag-officers of his Majesty's fleet; Matthew Buckle, Esq; Rob. Mann, Esq; (vice-admirals of the red) to be admirals of the blue; Hugh Pigot, Esq; Right Hon. Moynieux, Lord Shulldham, John Vaughan, Esq; (vice-admirals of the white) Rob. Duff, Esq; (vice-admiral of the blue) to be vice-admirals

admirals of the red; John Reynolds, Esq; Sir Hugh Palliser, Bart. Hon. John Byron, Matthew Barton, Esq; Sir Peter Parker, Knt. Hon. Samuel Barrington, Mariot Arburthnot, Esq; Robert Roddam, Esq; George Darby, Esq; John Campbell, Esq; (vice-admirals of the blue) to be vice-admirals of the white; James Gambier, Esq; William Lloyd, Esq; Fra. William Drake, Esq; Sir Edward Hughes, K. B. Hyde Parker, Esq; (rear-admirals of the red) John Evans, Esq; Mark Milbanke, Esq; (rear-admirals of the white) to be vice-admirals of the blue; Nic. Vincent, Esq; John Storr, Esq; Sir Edward Vernon, Knt. (rear-admirals of the white) to be rear-admirals of the red; Joshua Rowley, Esq; Richard Edwards, Esq; Thomas Graves, Esq; Robert Digby, Esq; Sir John Lockhart Ross, Bt. (rear-admirals of the blue) to be rear-admirals of the red. And the following captains were also appointed flag-officers, viz. Charles Webber, Esq; Wm. Langdon, Esq; Benjamin Marlow, Esq; Alexander Hood, Esq; Alexander Innes, Esq; rear-admirals of the white; Sir Chal. Ogle, Knt. Sir Sam. Hood, Bart. Matthew Moore, Esq; Sir Richard Hughes, Bart. Francis Samuel Drake, Esq; Rich. Kempenfelt, Esq; rear-admirals of the blue.

James Earl of Salisbury, Treasurer of the Household, sworn of the Privy Council.

Earl Talbot, and his heirs male, the dignity of a Baron of Great Britain, by the name, title, and title, of Baron Dinevor, of Dinevor in the county of Caermarthen, with remainder to his daughter, Lady Cecil Rice, widow, and her

heirs male. Lord Viscount Gage of the kingdom of Ireland, and his heirs male, the dignity of a Baron of Great Britain, by the name, title, and title, of Baron Gage of Fittle in Suffex. The following gentlemen, and their heirs male, the dignity of a Baron of Great Britain, viz. the Hon. James Brouncker, Baron Brouncker, of Deane in the county of Northampton.—The Right Hon. Sir Wm. De Grey, Knt. Baron Walsingham, of Walsingham in Norfolk.—Sir William Bagot, Bart. Baron Bagot, of Bagot's Bromley in Staffordshire.—The Hon. Charles Fitzroy, Lord Southampton, Baron of Southampton in Hants.—Hen. Herbert, Esq; Baron Portchester, of Highclere, in the county of Southampton.

The Right Hon. Frederick, Earl of Carlisle, to be Lieut. Gen. and Governor of his Majesty's kingdom of Ireland.

William Eden, Esq; to be principal Secretary to the Lord Lieut. and of his Majesty's most honourable Privy Council in the kingdom of Ireland.

Sir Thomas Pye, Lieut. Gen. of Marines.

B. Thompson, Esq; under Secretary of State for the Northern department.

NOVEMBER.

His R. H. Prince Frederick, Bishop of Osnaburg, colonel in the army, by brevet, bearing date the 1st of Nov. 1780.

Lieut. Gen. William Augustus Pitt, colonel of the 10th reg. of dragoons.

Hon. Major General Vaughan, Governor of Berwick.

Right Hon. Charles Wolfran Cornwall, speaker of the House

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of

of Commons, sworn of the Privy Council.

Thomas Wroughton, Esq; Envoy Extraordinary to the King of Sweden, to the most honourable Order of the Bath.

Sir George Brydges Rodney, Bart. Admiral of the White squadron of his Majesty's fleet, and Commander in Chief of all his Majesty's ships and vessels employed at Barbadoes and the Leeward Islands, to the most honourable Order of the Bath.

DECEMBER.

The King has been pleased to order letters patent to be passed under the great seal of the kingdom of Ireland, containing his Majesty's grants of the dignity of a baron of the said kingdom unto the following gentlemen, and their heirs male, by the names, styles, and titles, as under-mentioned, viz. James Dennis, Esq; Chief Baron of his Majesty's Court of Exchequer in Ireland, Baron Tracton, of Tracton-Abbey, in the county of Cork.

Sir Robert Tilson Deane, Bart. Baron Muskerry, in the county of Cork.

Almar Lowry Corry, Esq; Baron Belmore, of Castlecoole, in the county of Fermanagh.

Thomas Knox, Esq; Baron Welles, of Dungannon, in the county of Tyrone.

John Baker Holroyd, Esq; Baron Sheffield, of Dunamore, in the county of Meath.

Also like letters patent, containing his Majesty's grants of the dignity of a viscount of the said kingdom unto the following noblemen, and their heirs male, by the names, styles, and titles, as under-mentioned, viz.

James Baron Lifford, his Ma-

jefty's Chancellor of Ireland, Viscount Lifford, of Lifford, in the county of Donnegall.

Otway Lord Defart, Viscount Defart, of Defart, in the county of Kilkenny.

John Baron Erne, Viscount Erne, of Crum Castle, in the county of Fermanagh.

Barry Lord Farnham, Viscount Farnham, of Farnham, in the county of Cavan.

Simon Lord Irnham, Viscount Carhampton, of Castlehaven, in the county of Cork.

Bernard Lord Bangor, Viscount Bangor, of Castleward, in the county of Downe.

Penyfton Lord Melbourne, Viscount Melbourne, of Kilmore, in the county of Cavan.

James Lord Clifden, Viscount Clifden, of Gowran, in the county of Kilkenny.

John Lord Naas, Viscount Mayo, of Monecrouer.

Also like letters patent, containing his Majesty's grant of the dignities of baron and earl of the said kingdom unto Henry Lord Viscount Conyngham, and his heirs male, by the name, style, and title of Baron and Earl Conyngham, of Mount Charles, in the county of Donnegall, with remainder of the barony to his nephew Francis Pierpoint Burton, Esq; and his heirs male.

And the like letters patent, containing his Majesty's grant of the dignity of an earl of the said kingdom unto Stephen Lord Viscount Mount Cashell, and his heirs male, by the name, style, and title of Earl Mount Cashell, of Cashell, in the county of Tipperary.

The Earl of Inchiquin, John O'Neil, and Luke Gardiner, Esqrs, to be of his Majesty's most honourable

able Privy Council in the kingdom of Ireland.

The King has been pleased to order letters patent to be passed under the great seal of Ireland, containing his Majesty's grants of the dignity of a baronet of that kingdom unto the following gentlemen, and their heirs male, viz. John Stuart Hamilton, Esq; of Dunnamana, in the county of Tyrone; John Tottenham, Esq; of Tottenham-green, in the county of Wexford; and Neal O'Donnell, Esq; of Newport, in the county of Mayo.

The Right Hon. Thomas Lord Grantham, Lord Robert Spencer, the Right Hon. William Eden, the Hon. Thomas De Grey, Andrew Stuart, Edward Gibbon, Hans Sloane, and Benjamin Langlois, Esqrs; to be his Majesty's Commissioners for Trade and Plantations.

Charles Middleton, Esq; Sir John Williams, Knt. Edmund Hunt, George Marsh, Timothy Brett, William Palmer, and William Bateman, Esqrs; Sir Richard Temple, Bart. Edward Le Cras, Samuel Wallis, Paul Henry Ourry, Henry Martin, and Charles Proby, Esqrs; and Sir Andrew Snape Hammond, Knt. to be his Majesty's Commissioners, in quality of principal officers of his Majesty's navy.

The Duke of Montague, to be his Majesty's Master of the horse.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Aylesbury, to be Chamberlain of her Majesty's Household.

D E A T H S, 1780.

JANUARY.

Lady Hudden, relict of Sir Charles, Bart.

Sir Nathaniel Wombwell, Bart.

The Right Hon. Hans Stanley, F.R.S. Cofferer of the Household, Governor of the Isle of Wight, Treasurer of the Museum, and member for Southampton.

Sir John Moore, Bart. the title extinct.

Lady Head, relict of the Rev. Sir John, Bart.

Christ. Black, Esq; brother of Sir Patrick, Bart.

Miss Frances Mackworth, eldest daughter of Sir Herbert, Bart.

Dowager Lady Blois, relict of Sir Ralph, Bart.

Lady of Sir James Hereford, Bart.

Sir Thomas Fleetwood, Bart.

Lady Diana Middleton.

Right Hon. Thomas Waite, Secretary, and one of the Privy Council of Ireland.

Right Hon. Lady Jane Boyle, sister to Richard Earl of Burlington.

Miss Martha Abdy, daughter of Sir Anthony, Bart.

Her Royal Highness Louisa Amelia of Brunswick, Princess Dowager of Prussia, and mother to the Hereditary Prince of Prussia, and to the spouse of the Prince Stadtholder.

The lady of Sir Alexander Gilmour, Bart. at Alnwick.

Sir William Sharp, Bart. in Great Titchfield-street, Major General in the Portuguese service, and Governor of the province of Minho.

FEBRUARY.

Lady Fowles, relict of Sir William, Bart.

Dr. Richard Richmond, Bishop of Sodor and Man.

Lady Davers, mother of Sir Charles, Bart.

Lady

Lady Lucy Douglas, daughter of the Duke of Montrose.

Samuel Egerton, Esq; of Tatton: he was the only surviving son of John Egerton, grandson of John Earl of Bridgewater by Lady Eliz. Cavendish, daughter to John Duke of Newcastle.

Sir William Blackstone, Knt. Judge of the Court of Common Pleas.

Dowager Countess of Mildare.

Lady Catherine Pelham, ranger of Greenwich Park. She was sister of the late Duke of Leeds, and married, 1726, to the late Hon. Henry Pelham, by whom she had two sons, who died young of an epidemical fever.

Countess Dowager of Eglington.

Lady Jenkinson, mother of Sir Banks, Bart.

His Serene Highness the Duke of Modena.

His Serene Highness the Duke of Brunswick.

MARCH.

The Right Rev. Doctor John Oswald, Bishop of Raphoe.

Right Hon. Lady Mulgrave.

Lord Fortescue Aland.

Mrs. Gulton, wife of Joseph Gulton, Esq; and sister of the present Sir S. Stepney, Bart.

Miss Letitia Beauchamp, daughter of Sir W. Beauchamp Proctor, Bart.

General Desaguliers, of the artillery.

Hon. Topham Beauclerk, only son of Lord Sidney Beauclerk.

Charlotte, relict of the late Sir William Sanderson, Bart. and daughter of Sir R. Gough, of Edgebaston.

Right Hon. Lady Anne Sophia

Egerton, wife of the Bishop of Durham. Her ladyship was the daughter of Henry, late Duke of Kent, by the Lady Sophia Bentinck, daughter of the Earl of Portland.

Lady Gooch, relict of the Right Rev. Sir Thomas Gooch, Bart. late Lord Bishop of Ely. Her ladyship was the daughter of — Compton, Esq; and nearly related to the present Earl of Northampton.

Sir Francis Blake, Bart.

APRIL.

Lady Isabella Douglass, daughter of William, first Earl of March.

Sir Adolphus Oughon, Lieut. Gen. and K. B.

George Earl of Granard, one of his Majesty's most honourable Privy Council in Ireland, and a Baronet of Nova Scotia; by whose death the title and estate have devolved on his eldest son, Lord George Forbes, now Earl of Granard.

Rev. Sir Stephen Glynne, Bart.

Hon. Henry St. John, son of the late, and uncle to the present, Lord St. John of Bletsoe, captain of the Intrepid man of war, on board which he was killed, with his 1st and 2d lieutenants, by the same cannon ball, in the fight with the French fleet off Guadaloupe. He married Mary Schuyler of New York, by whom he has left issue one son Henry.

Lady Anne Hope, daughter of the Earl of Hopetoun.

MAY.

Hon. Thomas Townsend, one of the oldest Tellers of the Exchequer.

Sir Charles Hardy, Admiral of the White, and commander of the Fleet.

Hon.

Hon. Richard Nassau, brother to the Earl of Rochford.

Miss Elizabeth Eden, daughter of Sir John Eden, Bart.

Lady Sophia Neville, daughter of the late, and sister to the present Earl of Gainsborough.

Sir Godfrey Webster, Bart. of Battle Abbey in Suffex. His title descends to his eldest son, now Sir Godfrey Webster, Bart.

Sir Charlton Leighton, Bart. He is succeeded by his son, now Sir Charlton.

Lady Mary Lyon, daughter of the late Earl of Strathmore.

Sir Hen. Englefield, Bart.

Sir Anthony Buchanan, Bart.

Sir Thomas Cave, Bart.

Lady Standish, mother of Sir Frank, Bart.

JUNE.

Dame Rachael Morgan, relict of Sir William Morgan, of Tredegar, K. B. and daughter of William second Duke of Devonshire, by Rachael daughter of William Lord Russell.

Lady Jane Strickland.

Sir T. Gerrard, Bart.

Sir John Turner, Bart.

JULY.

In the 71st year of his age, at his house in Woolwich Warren, William Belford, Esq; colonel of the 1st battalion of the royal reg. of artillery, and a general in the army.

Sir J. Hobby Mill, Bart.

Miss Frances Blake, youngest daughter of Sir Patrick Blake.

Lady Goring, wife of Sir Harry, Bart.

Sir Andrew Middleton, Bart.

John Morston, Esq; Chief Justice of Chester, Attorney-general to the Queen, deputy High-steward

of the university of Oxford, and member for Wigan in Lancashire.

Lady Viscountess Dowager Tyrconnel.

Sir Charles Halford, Bart.

Lady Viscountess Mahon, daughter of the late Earl of Chatham.

The lady of the Right Hon. the Earl of Hillsborough, at his lordship's house in Hanover-square. Her ladyship was only daughter of Edward Stawell, 4th and last Lord Stawell, first married to the late Right Hon. Henry Bilson Legge, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and was created a peeress by the title of Baroness Stawell, which title descends to her son, Mr. Legge, now Lord Stawell.

Hon. Lady Susanna Houston, relict of Sir Thomas, Bart.

The Hon. Mrs. Page, relict of the late Thomas Page, Esq; and aunt to Lord Viscount Howe.

His Royal Highness Charles Alexander, Duke of Lorraine and Bar, &c. Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, &c. and Governor and Captain-general of the Austrian Netherlands.

AUGUST.

The Dowager Countess Cowper, third daughter of John Earl Granville, first married to the Hon. John Spencer, and mother of the present Earl Spencer, afterwards married to the late Earl Cowper, but was not mother of the present earl.

At Sudbury, Derbyshire, George Venables Lord Vernon. His lordship was born Feb. 9, 1709, and was created Lord Vernon, and Baron of Kinderton, May 12, 1762. He is succeeded in his title by the Hon. George Venables Vernon, born May 9, 1735.

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The Right Rev. Dr. George Chinnery, Lord Bishop of Cloyne.

Thomas George Lord Viscount and Baron Southwell. His lordship was born May 4, 1721, and succeeded his father in 1760. He married Miss Hamilton in 1741, by whom he has left issue three sons and a daughter.

At Lyons in France, the Hon. John Roper, second son to Lord Teynham.

The Hon. Mrs. Clarges, sister to Lord Barrington, and mother of Sir T. Clarges, Bart.

Right Hon. John Drummond, commonly called Lord Drummond, eldest son to the Earl of Perth.

At Knutsford, Lady Betty Warburton, relict of the late Sir Peter Warburton, and daughter of the late Earl of Derby.

Sir Theod. Boughton, Bart.

Lady Ashburnham, wife of the Bishop of Chichester.

Lord Viscount Ashbrook, of the kingdom of Ireland.

SEPTEMBER.

Hon. Lady Camilla Wallop.

Sir Thomas Dyer, Bart.

Sir John Fielding, Knt. one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the counties of Middlesex, Essex, Herts, Kent, Surry, and the city and liberty of Westminster.

Mrs. Wingfield, mother to Lady St. Aubin, and relict of the late William Wingfield, Esq. She was daughter of the late Sir William Williamson, and sister to the present Sir Hedworth Williamson, Bart.

Most noble the Marchioness of Lothian.

Right Hon. Peter Earl of Altham, Viscount Westport, Baron Mounteglate, &c.

Lieutenant-gen. Skinner, chief engineer of Great Britain.

Right Hon. Lady Widdrington.

OCTOBER.

Right Hon. Lady Hatton Boyle.

Hon. Elizabeth St. John, sister to the late Lord St. John of Bletsoe.

Anth. Chamier, Esq; under Secretary of State, M.P. and F.R.S.

Miss Nelthorpe, sister to Sir John, Bart.

Sir John Mordaunt, K. B. general, and colonel of the 14th regiment of dragoons.

NOVEMBER.

Sir George Wombwell, Bart.

Lady Pettus, relict of Sir Horace.

Right Hon. Countess of Donnegal.

Sir James Stewart Denham, Bt.

Sir Saville Slingby, Bart.

Her Imperial Majesty departed this life at Vienna on Nov. 29. about nine o'clock in the evening. Her illness, though but of short duration, was exceedingly painful.

The Hon. William Boyd, youngest brother to the late Earl of Errol.

Right Hon. Thomas Willoughby, Lord Middleton, and Baronet. His lordship was born Jan. 26, 1728, and succeeded his brother Francis, the late lord, Dec. 15, 1774. He married April 14, 1770, Miss Chadwick, by whom he has left no issue, on which account the title is supposed to be extinct.

Mrs. Hellen Duffy, Lady Braco.

DECEMBER.

Right Hon. Countess Dowager of Shelburne.

Sir Christopher Traes, Bart. colonel of the Cornish militia.

Right

Right Hon. Lady Coleraine.

Hon. Lady Mary Leslie, youngest daughter of the Countess of Rothes.

Mrs. E. Wynn, sister to the late Sir John, Bart.

Miss Frances Ewer, daughter of the late Bishop of Bangor.

Miss Aflong, only daughter of the Right Hon. Lady Frances Aflong.

Sir James Barnaby, Bart.

Right Hon. John Lord Viscount Downe.

Sir H. Lippincott, Bart.

Sir Thomas Stapylton, Bart.

APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE.

Account of the late Riots in the Cities of London and Westminster.

In the last Session of the late Parliament, an Act was passed in Favour of the Roman Catholics, intituled, *An Act for relieving his Majesty's Subjects professing the Popish Religion, from certain Penalties and Disabilities imposed on them by an Act made in the Eleventh and Twelfth Years of the Reign of King William the Third, intituled, 'An Act for the further preventing the Growth of Popery;'* of which Act, the following is an Abstract.

THE preamble recites, that it is expedient to repeal certain provisions in the act of King William; and the clauses repealed are as follow:

'That so much of the said act as relates to the apprehending, taking, or prosecuting of Popish bishops, priests, or jesuits; and also so much of the said act as subjects Popish bishops, priests or jesuits, and Papists, or persons professing the Popish religion, and keeping school, or taking upon themselves the education or government or boarding of youth, within this realm, or the dominions thereto belonging, to perpetual imprisonment; and also so

much of the said act as disables persons educated in the Popish religion, or professing the same, under the circumstances therein mentioned, to inherit or take by descent, devise, or limitation, in possession, reversion, or remainder, any lands, tenements, or hereditaments, within the kingdom of England, dominion of Wales, and town of Berwick upon Tweed, and gives to the next of kin, being a Protestant, a right to have and enjoy such lands, tenements, and hereditaments; and also so much of the said act as disables Papists, or persons professing the Popish religion, to purchase any manors, lands, profit-out of lands, tenements, rents, terms, or hereditaments, within the kingdom of England, dominion of Wales, or town of Berwick upon Tweed, and makes void all and singular estates, terms, and other interests or profits whatever out of lands, to be made, suffered, or done, from and after the day therein mentioned, to or for the use or behoof of any such person or persons, or upon any trust or confidence, mediately or immediately, for the relief of any such person or persons; shall be, and the same, and every clause and matter and thing herein before-mentioned, is and are hereby repealed.

'And

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* And be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, That every person and persons having or claiming any lands, tenements, or hereditaments, under titles not hitherto litigated, though derived from any descent, devise, limitation, or purchase, shall have, take, hold, and enjoy the same, as if the said act, or any thing therein contained, had not been made; any thing in the said act contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

‘ Provided always, and be it enacted, That nothing herein contained shall extend, or be construed to affect any action or suit now depending, which shall be prosecuted with effect, and without delay.

‘ Provided also, That nothing herein contained shall extend, or be construed to extend, to any person or persons but such who shall, within the space of six calendar months after the passing of this act, or of accruing of his, her, or their title, being of the age of twenty-one years, or who, being under the age of twenty-one years, shall, within six months after he or she shall attain the age of twenty-one years, or being of unsound mind, or in prison, or beyond the seas, then within six months after such disability removed, take and subscribe an oath in the words following:

THE TEST OR OATH.

“ I A. B. do sincerely promise and swear, That I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to his Majesty King George the Third, and him will defend, to the utmost of my power, against all conspiracies and attempts whatever that shall be made against his person, crown, or dignity; and I will do my ut-

most endeavour to disclose and make known to his majesty, his heirs and successors, all treasons and traitorous conspiracies which may be formed against him or them; and I do faithfully promise to maintain, support, and defend, to the utmost of my power, the succession of the crown in his majesty’s family, against any person or persons whatsoever; hereby utterly renouncing and abjuring any obedience or allegiance unto the person taking upon himself the style and title of Prince of Wales, in the lifetime of his father, and who, since his death, is said to have assumed the style and title of King of Great Britain, by the name of Charles the Third, and to any other person claiming or pretending a right to the crown of these realms: and I do swear, that I do reject and detest, as an unchristian and impious position, That it is lawful to murder or destroy any person or persons whatsoever, for or under pretence of their being heretics; and also that unchristian and impious principle, That no faith is to be kept with heretics: I further declare, that it is no article of my faith, and that I do renounce, reject, and abjure the opinion, That princes excommunicated by the Pope and council, or by any authority of the See of Rome, or by any authority whatsoever, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or any person whatsoever; and I do declare, that I do not believe that the Pope of Rome, or any other foreign prince, prelate, state, or potentate, hath, or ought to have, any temporal or civil jurisdiction, power, superiority, or pre-eminence, directly or indirectly.

ly, within this realm. And I do solemnly, in the presence of God, profess, testify, and declare, 'That I do make this declaration, and every part thereof, in the plain and ordinary sense of the words of this oath; without any evasion, equivocation, or mental reservation whatever, and without any dispensation already granted by the Pope, or any authority of the See of Rome, or any person whatever; and without thinking that I am or can be acquitted before God or man, or absolved of this declaration, or any part thereof, although the Pope, or any other persons or authority whatsoever, shall dispense with or annul the same, or declare that it was null or void.'

It concludes with reciting what courts of judicature the oath is to be taken, subscribed, and registered in; and with an information, that the act should not be construed to extend to any Popish bishop, priest, jesuit, or schoolmaster, who shall not have taken and subscribed the above oath, in the above words, before he shall have been apprehended, or any prosecution commenced against him.

The original motion was made in the House of Commons by Sir George Savile, and received with universal approbation, and a bill was accordingly brought in and passed both Houses without a single negative.

An extension of the same relief to the Catholics of Scotland, was also said to have been intended by parliament. The report spread an immediate alarm throughout that country; societies were formed for the defence of the Protestant faith, committees appointed, books dispersed, and, in short, every me-

thod taken to inflame the zeal of the people. These attempts being totally neglected by government, and but feebly resisted by the more liberal minded in that country, produced all their effects. A furious spirit of bigotry and persecution soon shewed itself, and broke out into the most outrageous acts of violence and cruelty against the Papists at Edinburgh, Glasgow, and elsewhere. As government did not think it advisable to repress this spirit by force, the just and benevolent intentions of the legislature were laid aside.

The successful resistance of the zealots in Scotland to any relaxation of the penal laws against Papists, seems to have given the first rise to the Protestant Association in England: for about the same time bills were dispersed, and advertisements inserted in the newspapers, inviting those who wished well to the cause, to unite under that title; and Lord George Gordon, who had been so active at the head of the malecontents in Scotland, was chosen their president. On Monday, May 29, a meeting was held at Coach-makers-hall, pursuant to public advertisement, in order to consider of the mode of presenting a petition to the House of Commons. Lord George Gordon took the chair, and after a long inflammatory harangue, in which he endeavoured to persuade his hearers of the rapid and alarming progress that Popery was making in this kingdom; he proceeded to observe, that the only way to stop it was going in a firm, manly, and resolute manner to the House, and shewing their representatives that they were determined to preserve their religious freedom.

freedom with their lives. That, for his part, he would run all hazards with the people; and if the people were too lukewarm to run all hazards with him, when their conscience and their country call them forth, they might get another president; for he would tell them candidly, that he was not a lukewarm man himself, and that if they meant to spend their time in mock debate and idle opposition, they might get another leader. This speech was received with the loudest applause, and his lordship then moved the following resolution: "That the whole body of the Protestant Association do attend in Saint George's fields, on Friday next, at ten o'clock in the morning, to accompany his lordship to the House of Commons on the delivery of the Protestant petition;" which was carried unanimously. His lordship then informed them, that if less than 20,000 of his fellow-citizens attended him on that day, he would not present their petition; and for the better observance of order, he moved, that they should arrange themselves in four divisions; the Protestants of the city of London on the right; those of the city of Westminster on the left; the borough of Southwark third; and the people of Scotland resident in London and its environs to form the last division; and that they might know their friends from their enemies, he added, that every real Protestant, and friend of the petition, should come with blue cockades in their hats.

Accordingly, on Friday, June 2, at ten in the forenoon, several thousands assembled at the place appointed, marshalling themselves

in ranks, and waiting for their leader. About eleven o'clock, Lord George arrived, and gave directions in what manner he would have them proceed, and about twelve, one party was ordered to go round over London-bridge, another over Blackfriars, and a third to follow him over Westminster. A roll of parchment, containing the names of those who had signed the petition, was borne before them. They proceeded with great decorum on their route, and the whole body was assembled, about half past two, before both Houses of parliament, on which occasion they gave a general shout.

But however peaceable and well disposed some of them might be, others soon began to exercise the most arbitrary power over both Lords and Commons, by obliging almost all the members to put blue cockades in their hats, and call out, 'No Popery!' Some they compelled to take oaths to vote for the repeal of the obnoxious act, others they insulted in the most indecent and violent manner. They took possession of all the avenues up to the very doors of both Houses of Parliament, which they twice attempted to force open. The Archbishop of York was one of the first they attacked. As soon as his coach was known coming down Parliament-street, he was saluted with hisses, groans, and hootings. The Lord President of the Council, Lord Bathurst, they pushed about in the rudest manner, and kicked violently on the legs. Lord Mansfield had the glasses of his carriage broken, the panels beat in, and narrowly escaped with life. The Duke of Northumberland had his pocket pick-

ed of his watch. The Bishop of Litchfield had his gown torn. The wheels of the Bishop of Lincoln's carriage were taken off, and his lordship escaped with life, being obliged to seek shelter in the house of Mr. Atkinson, an Attorney, where he changed his cloaths, and made his escape over the leads of the adjacent houses.

The Lords Townshend and Hillsborough came together, and were greatly insulted, and sent into the House without their bags, and with their hair hanging loose on their shoulders. The coach of Lord Stormont was broken to pieces, himself in the hands of the mob for near half an hour: he was rescued at last by a gentleman, who harangued the mob, and prevailed on them to desist. Lords Athburnham and Boston were treated with the utmost indignity, particularly Lord Boston, who was so long in their power that it was proposed by some of the peers to go as a body, and endeavour, by their presence, to extricate him; but whilst they were deliberating, his lordship escaped without any material hurt. Lord Willoughby de Broke, Lord St. John, Lord Dudley, and many others, were personally ill treated; and Wellbore Ellis, Esq; was obliged to take refuge in the Guildhall of Westminster (whither he was pursued) the windows of which were broke, the doors forced, and Justice Addington, with all the constables, expelled: Mr. Ellis escaped with the utmost hazard.

Lord George Gordon, during these unwarrantable proceedings, came several times to the top of the gallery stairs, whence he ha-

rangued the people, and informed them of the bad success their petition was like to meet with, and marked out such members as were opposing it, particularly Mr. Burke, the member for Bristol. He told them, at first, that it was proposed to take it into consideration on Tuesday, in a Committee of the House, but that he did not like delays, for the parliament might be prorogued by that time.

He afterwards came and said, 'Gentlemen, the alarm has gone forth for many miles round the city. You have got a very good prince, who, as soon as he shall hear the alarm has seized such a number of men, will no doubt send down private orders to his ministers to enforce the prayer of your petition.'

General Conway, and several other members, expostulated with him very warmly on the mischiefs that might arise from such conduct; and Colonel Gordon, a near relation of his lordship's, went up to him, and accosted him in the following manner: 'My Lord George, do you intend to bring your rascally adherents into the House of Commons? If you do—the first man of them that enters, I will plunge my sword not into his, but into your body.'

While his lordship was making his second speech to the mob, another of his relations, General Grant, came behind him, and endeavoured to draw him back into the House, and said to him, 'For God's sake, Lord George! do not lead these poor people into any danger.'—His lordship, however, made the general no answer, but continued his harangue—

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'You see, said he, in this effort to persuade me from my duty, before your eyes, an instance of the difficulties I have to encounter with from such wise men of this world as my honourable friend behind my back.'

Alderman Sawbridge and others endeavoured to persuade the people to clear the lobby, but to no purpose. The Assistant to the Chaplain of the House of Commons likewise addressed them, but gained nothing except curses. Soon after this, a party of horse and foot guards arrived. Justice Addington was at the head of the horse, and was received with hisses; but on his assuring the people that his disposition towards them was peaceable, and that he would order the soldiers away, if they would give their honour to disperse, he gained their good will. Accordingly the cavalry galloped off, and upwards of six hundred of the petitioners, after giving the magistrate three cheers, departed.

The greatest part of the day the attention of the House of Commons had been taken up in debates concerning the mob. When they had obtained some degree of order, Lord George introduced his business with informing them, that he had before him a Petition signed by near one hundred and twenty thousand of his majesty's protestant subjects, praying, 'A repeal of the act passed the last session in favour of the Roman Catholics,' and moved to have the said petition brought up.

Mr. Alderman Bull seconded the motion, and leave was given accordingly.

Having brought up the petition, his Lordship then moved to have

it taken into immediate consideration, and was again seconded by Mr. Alderman Bull.

After some debate, the House divided, and there appeared 6 for the petition, and 192 against it. Soon after this the House adjourned, and the mob having dispersed from the avenues of both Houses, the guards were ordered home.

Though order and tranquillity were re-established in this part of the town, it was far otherwise elsewhere. The mob paraded off in different divisions from Palace-yard, and some of them went to the Romish Chapel in Duke-street, Lincoln's-inn-fields, others to that in Warwick-street, Golden-square; both of which they in a great measure demolished. The military were sent for, but could not arrive time enough at either to prevent mischief. Thirteen of the rioters were however taken, and the mob, for that night, dispersed.

The riots, which were so alarming on the Friday evening, partly subsided on Saturday; but on Sunday in the afternoon, the rioters assembled again in large bodies, and attacked the chapels and dwelling-houses of the catholics in and about Moorfields. They stript their houses of furniture, and their chapels not only of the ornaments and insignia of religion, but tore up the altars, pulpits, pews, and benches, and made fires of them, leaving nothing but the bare walls.

On Monday the rioters collected again. Some paraded with the reliques of havock, which they collected in Moorfields, as far as Lord George Gordon's house in Welbeck-street, and afterwards

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burnt them in the adjacent fields. Another party went to Virginia-lane, Wapping, and a third to Nightingale-lane, East-Smithfield, where they severally destroyed the catholic chapels, and committed other outrages. Mr. Rainsforth, tallow-chandler, of Stanhope-street, Clare-market, and Mr. Maberly, of Little Queen-street, Lincoln's-inn-fields, who had appeared as evidences on the examination of those who had been committed, had each of them their houses and shops stripped, and their contents committed to the flames. Sir George Saville's house in Leicester-fields, underwent the same fate, for preparing and bringing the bill into parliament, in favour of the catholics.

This day also, which was held as the anniversary of the king's birth-day, a proclamation was issued, promising a reward of 500*l.* to those who would make discovery of the persons concerned in demolishing and setting fire to the Sardinian and Bavarian chapels. The persons formerly apprehended were re-examined, and some were discharged; others were ordered to Newgate, and were escorted there by a party of the guards, whom, on their return, the mob pelted.

On Tuesday all the military in town were ordered on duty at the Tower, both Houses of Parliament, St. James's, St. George's Fields, &c. during the day. Notwithstanding every precaution, Lord Sandwich was wounded in attempting to go down to the Parliament House to attend his duty, his carriage demolished, and himself rescued by the military with difficulty.

About six in the evening, one party went to the house of Justice Hyde, near Leicester-fields, which they destroyed; another party paraded through Long Acre, down Holborn, &c. till they came to Newgate, and publicly declared they would go and release the confined rioters. When they arrived at the doors of the prison, they demanded of Mr. Akerman, the keeper, to have their comrades immediately delivered up to them; and upon his persisting to do his duty, by refusing, they began to break the windows, some to batter the doors and entrances into the cells, with pick-axes and sledge-hammers, others with ladders to climb the walls, while several collected fire-brands, and whatever combustibles they could find, and flung into his dwelling-house. What contributed to the spreading of the flames, was the great quantity of household furniture belonging to Mr. Akerman, which they threw out of the windows, piled up against the doors, and set fire to; the force of which presently communicated to the house, from the house to the chapel, and from thence through the prison. As soon as the flames had destroyed Mr. Akerman's house, which was part of Newgate, and were communicated to the wards and cells, all the prisoners, to the amount of three hundred, among whom were four under sentence of death, and ordered for execution on the Thursday following, were released.

Not satiated with the destruction of this great building, a party was sent among the catholics in Devonshire-street, Red Lion-square; another to the house of Justice

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Cox, in Great Queen-street, which was soon destroyed; a third broke open the doors of the New Prison, Clerkenwell, and turned out all the prisoners; a fourth destroyed the furniture and effects, writings, &c. of Sir John Fielding; and a fifth desperate and infernal gang went to the elegant house of Lord Mansfield, in Bloomsbury-square, which they, with the most unrelenting fury, set fire to and consumed.—They began by breaking down the doors and windows, and from every part of the house flung the superb furniture into the street, where large fires were made to destroy it. They then proceeded to his lordship's law-library, &c. and destroyed some thousand volumes, with many capital manuscripts, mortgages, papers, and other deeds. The rich wardrobe of wearing apparel, and some very capital pictures, were also burned; and they afterwards forced their way into his lordship's wine-cellar, and plentifully bestowed it on the populace. A party of guards now arrived, and a magistrate read the riot-act, and then was obliged to give orders for a detachment to fire, when about fourteen obeyed, and shot several men and women, and wounded others. They were ordered to fire again, which they did, without effect. This did not intimidate the mob; they began to pull the house down, and burn the floors, planks, spars, &c. and destroyed the out-houses and stables; so that in a short time the whole was consumed.—Lord and

Lady Mansfield made their escape through a back door, a few minutes before the rioters broke in and took possession of the house.

It is impossible to give any adequate description of the events of Wednesday. Notice was sent round to the public prisons of the King's-Bench, Fleet, &c. by the mob, at what time they would come and burn them down. The same kind of infernal humanity was exercised towards Mr. Langdale, a distiller, in Holborn, whose loss is said to amount to near-100,000*l.* and several other Romish individuals. In the afternoon all the shops were shut, and bits of blue silk, by way of flags, hung out at most houses, with the words 'No Popery,' chalked on the doors and window-shutters, by way of deprecating the fury of the insurgents, from which no person thought himself secure.

As soon as the day was drawing towards a close, one of the most dreadful spectacles this country ever beheld was exhibited. Let those, who were not spectators of it, judge what the inhabitants felt when they beheld at the same instant the flames ascending and rolling in clouds from the King's-Bench and Fleet Prisons, from New Bridewell, from the toll-gates on Black-friars Bridge*, from houses in every quarter of the town, and particularly from the bottom and middle of Holborn, where the conflagration was horrible beyond description. The houses that were first set on fire at this last-mentioned place,

* The toll-gates at Black-friars appear to have been burnt for the sake of plunder: some lives were lost there, and one man, who was shot, ran thirty or forty yards before he dropped.

both belonged to Mr. Langdale, an eminent distiller, and contained immense quantities of spirituous liquors.—Six-and-thirty fires, all blazing at one time, and in different quarters of the city, were to be seen from one spot.—During the whole night men, women, and children, were running up and down with such goods and effects as they wished most to preserve. The tremendous roar of the authors of these horrible scenes was heard at one instant, and at the next, the dreadful reports of soldiers musquets, firing in platoons, and from different quarters: in short, every thing served to impress the mind with ideas of universal anarchy and approaching desolation.

Two attempts, in the course of the day, were made upon the Bank; but the rioters were so much intimidated by the strength with which they beheld it guarded, that their attacks were but feebly conducted, and they were repulsed at the first fire from the military. They made an effort to break into the Pay-office likewise, and met the same fate. Several of them fell in these skirmishes, and many were wounded.

Had the Bank and the public offices been the first objects of their fury, instead of the houses of individuals, the chapels, and the prisons, there can be little doubt but they would have succeeded in their attempt; and what the consequences in that case would have been, let any rational mind figure to itself!

It is impossible to ascertain the number of unhappy wretches who lost their lives in the course of this dreadful night.—Powder and

ball was not so fatal to them as their own inordinate appetites. Numbers died with inebriation, especially at the distilleries of the unfortunate Mr. Langdale, from whose vessels the liquor ran down the middle of the street, was taken up by pailfuls, and held to the mouths of the deluded multitude; many of whom killed themselves with drinking non-rectified spirits, and were burnt or buried in the ruins.

The regulars and militia had poured in so fast, in consequence of the expresses dispatched for that purpose, that the citizens on Thursday began to recover from their consternation. They were, however, so thoroughly alarmed, and so much affected by the depredations they beheld on every side, that the shops were universally shut from Tyburn to White-chapel, and no business of any kind, except at the Bank, was transacted.—The military were exceedingly active this day; and secured great numbers of disorderly persons; several were taken in the cells of Newgate, attempting to rekindle the fire in those parts which had not been totally destroyed.

The following is said to be a copy of the return made to Lord Amherst of the killed and wounded during the disturbances:

By association troops	} 109	} killed.
and guards - - -		
By light horse - - -	101	
Died in hospitals - - -	75	
Prisoners now under cure	173	
		<hr/> 458 <hr/>

The number of those who perished from inebriation, and in the

the ruins of the demolished houses, is not known, but is conceived to have been very considerable.

Friday, at eleven o'clock, a Council was held at Lord Stormont's office in Cleveland-row; in consequence of which, a warrant was issued by his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, directed to Mann and Staley, two of his Majesty's Messengers in ordinary, for the apprehending and taking into safe custody, the Right Honourable Lord George Gordon. The messengers, on receiving their warrants, instantly repaired to his house in Welbeck-street, and, getting admittance, were introduced to his lordship, whom they made immediately acquainted with the nature of their visit:—Lord George only replied,—‘If you are sure it is me you want, I am ready to attend you!’—Upon which, a hackney-coach being previously got ready, and a party of light horse having received orders to attend in an adjacent street, his lordship was conducted safely by them, about six o'clock, to the Horse-Guards.—A long examination took place in the War-office, before the Lord President, Lord North, Lord Amherst, the Secretaries of State, and several other Lords of the Privy-council; and at half an hour after nine, Lord George Gordon was committed a close prisoner to the Tower. The guards that attended him were by far the greatest in number ever remembered to guard a state prisoner. A large party of infantry preceded in front, his Lordship following in a coach, in which were two officers; two soldiers rode behind the coach, and immediately followed General

Carpenter's regiment of dragoons; after which came a colonel's guard of the foot guards, besides a party of the militia, which marched on each side of the coach. The cavalcade passed over Westminster-bridge, through St. George's Fields, the Borough, and so on to the Tower, where his lordship alighted about ten o'clock, and rested that night in the Governor's apartments.—The same day Mr. Fisher, Secretary to the Protestant Association, was taken to the Tower, examined by the Privy-council, and honourably dismissed.

The arrangement of the military, that was made on Thursday, produced so good an effect, that there was no riot or disturbances in any part of the town, in the course of the night, and the next day (Friday) peace and tranquillity were restored, and the only uneasiness felt, was, that the metropolis was subjected to martial law. This very disagreeable apprehension arose from the proclamation which was issued, declaring that orders were given to the military power to exert their utmost endeavours for the restoring of peace. In order, however, to dissipate this idea, the following hand-bill was circulated in every quarter of the town:—

‘Whereas some ill designing and malicious persons have published, for the purpose of disquieting the minds of his Majesty's faithful subjects, that it is intended to try the prisoners, now in custody, by martial law; notice is given, by authority, that no such purpose or intention has ever been in the contemplation of Government; but that the said

prisoners will be tried by the due course of law, as expeditiously as may be.'

We must not forget to mention, that attempts were made to create the same disturbances at Hull, Bristol, and Bath. By the care and attention of the civil magistrates they were frustrated: but at Bath not till a chapel and some houses were destroyed.

IN this ample detail of the tumults, which threatened the very existence of the metropolis, it cannot but be remarked, that scarce any attempt appears to have been made either to prevent them, or to check their progress. For six days successively, from Friday the 2d of June to Thursday the 8th, the cities of London and Westminster were delivered up into the hands of an unarmed and nameless mob, to be plundered at its discretion. Much blame on this account has been thrown on the magistrates of the cities, much on the king's ministers; with what justice the following authentic papers will in some measure enable our readers to judge,

Copies of the Letters which passed between the Secretaries of State, the Lord President of the Council, the Commander in Chief, and the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City of London, and also of the King's Proclamation, relative to the late Riots.

St. James's, June 3, 1780.
14 M. p. Two P. M.

MY LORD,

AS information which I have received gives me reason to apprehend that tumults may arise

within your lordship's jurisdiction, I think it my duty to convey to you immediately this information. I cannot too strongly recommend the matter to your lordship's attention, and am confident, from your known activity, that you will not omit any legal exertion of the civil power which may contribute upon this occasion to preserve the public peace.

I have the honour to be,

My lord,

Your lordship's

Most obedient humble servant,

STORMONT.

*The Right Hon. the Lord
Mayor of London.*

St. James's, June 4, 1780.
25 M. p. Ten, P. M.

MY LORD,

INFORMATION which I have just received makes me think it my indispensable duty to recommend the contents of the letter which I had the honour to write to your lordship yesterday, to your most serious consideration. I cannot but hope and trust, from your lordship's known zeal and activity, that every effectual legal method will be used by you to preserve the public peace, by guarding it against those dangers to which it stands exposed.

I am, with great respect,

My lord,

Your lordship's

Most obedient humble servant,

STORMONT.

Right Hon. the Lord Mayor.

St. James's, June 5, 1780.

MY LORD,

WE learnt with pleasure, by your lordship's verbal answer returned to Lord Stormont's letter
of

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of last night, that you were then using your best endeavours to disperse the tumultuous assembly in Moorfields, and to prevent every outrage. Those endeavours seem to have been in some degree successful for a time; but we have just received intelligence, which gives us equal concern and surprise, that there is actually a riotous meeting at the same place, and that a great number of seditious persons are employed in demolishing different dwelling-houses, and all this is done in broad day, according to our information, without the least interposition of the civil magistrates to preserve the public peace.

Under these considerations we think it our indispensable duty again to call your lordship's attention to such very serious objects, and we cannot but persuade ourselves that you will feel that a constant, uninterrupted exertion of every possible legal endeavour to prevent or quell such outrages, and to preserve or restore the public order and tranquility, and to seize and secure the principal delinquents, that they may be brought to justice, is an indispensable part of the duty of the high station in which your lordship is placed.

We have the honour to be,

My lord,

Your lordship's most obedient,
and most humble servants,

STORMONT,

HILLSBOROUGH.

*The Right Hon. the Lord Mayor
of the city of London.*

GEORGE R.

WHEREAS a great number
of disorderly persons have assu-

bled themselves together in a riotous and tumultuous manner, and have been guilty of many acts of treason and rebellion, having made an assault on the gaol of Newgate, set loose the prisoners confined therein, and set fire to and destroyed the said prison: And whereas houses are now pulling down in several parts of our cities of London and Westminster, and liberties thereof, and fires kindled for consuming the materials and furniture of the same, whereby it is become absolutely necessary to use the most effectual means to quiet such disturbances, to preserve the lives and properties of individuals, and to restore the peace of the country: We, therefore, taking the same into our most serious consideration, have thought fit, by and with the advice of our Privy Council, to issue this our royal Proclamation, hereby strictly charging and exhorting all our loving subjects to preserve the peace, and to keep themselves, their servants and apprentices, quietly within their respective dwellings, to the end that all well-disposed persons may avoid those mischiefs which the continuance of such riotous proceedings may bring upon the guilty: And as it is necessary, from the circumstances before-mentioned, to employ the military force, with which we are by law entrusted for the immediate suppression of such rebellious and traitorous attempts, now making against the peace and dignity of our Crown, and the safety of the lives and properties of our subjects, We have therefore issued the most direct and effectual orders to all our officers, by an immediate

diate exertion of their utmost force, to repress the same, of which all persons are to take notice.

Given at our Court at St. James's, the seventh day of June, one thousand seven hundred and eighty, in the twentieth year of our reign.

God save the King.

On the same day the following general orders were issued to the officers and commanders of all his majesty's forces in Great-Britain.

GENERAL ORDERS.

*Adjutant-general's office,
June 7, 1780.*

“In obedience to an order of the king in council, the military to act without waiting for directions from the civil magistrates, and to use force for dispersing the illegal and tumultuous assemblies of the people.

WM. AMHERST, Adjutant-gen.”

Several inhabitants of the city of London having proposed to arm themselves for their common preservation, the following letters passed on that subject.

Whitehall, 12th June, 1780.
S I R,

I HAVE received the favour of your letter of this date, with the several papers inclosed. If in the printed paper, with the lord mayor's name annexed, firelocks are meant by the words, “*with their arms,*” in the first article of the paper, I wholly disapprove of that intention: no person can bear arms in this country but under officers having the king's commissions.

The inhabitants of the borough of Southwark, those of the parish of Covent-garden, and some of other parishes, have formed themselves into very useful, and at the same time unexceptionable associations; and if something of the same kind was adopted in the city, there is no doubt but much use and great security would arise therefrom; but the using of fire-arms is improper, unnecessary, and cannot be approved.

I have the honour to be,
Sir, &c.

AMHERST.

Lieut. Col. Tariffleton.

Whitehall, 13th June, 1780.

S I R,

I HAVE received the favour of your letter of this date, on the subject of the inhabitants of the city being permitted to carry arms, and I cannot say more on the general subject than I mentioned in my letter to you of yesterday's date, which was a clear disapprobation of that part of the lord mayor's plan which regards the arms.

If therefore any arms are found in the hands of persons, except they are of the city militia, or are persons authorized by the king to be armed, you will please to order the arms to be delivered up to you, to be safely kept until further order.

I am, S I R,

Your most obedient,
and most humble servant,
AMHERST.

Lieut. Col. Tariffleton.

Whitehall, June 14, 1780.

S I R,

I HAVE had the honour to receive your letter of this day's date,

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date, and I have also seen Lieutenant-colonel Grinfield. I cannot say more regarding the proposal for putting arms into the hands of the inhabitants of the city, than is contained in my letters to you of Monday's and yesterday's date, and I fully approve of your conduct upon the whole of this business.

There can be no doubt that the aldermen in proposing to arm their wards, mean by way of general defence; but supposing that the assembling the inhabitants under arms was legal, the inconveniences which you have stated to the mayor, &c. as likely to arise from the motley appearance of the armed inhabitants in case of the rioters assembling again, should, I think, be sufficient to induce the magistrates of the city to drop the intention.

I have laid before the king's confidential servants all your letters upon this subject, together with copies of my answers to them; and I am very glad to inform you that your conduct has received their full approbation, as well as that of,

Sir, &c.

AMHERST.

Colonel Twissleton.

Bridge Ward Within, 15th June, 1780.

MY LORD,

WE are directed, by the unanimous resolution of a very numerous and respectable wardmote, held at Fishmongers-hall, this day, before Thomas Wooldridge, Esq; alderman, to apply to your lordship for the king's leave to associate ourselves, pursuant to the annexed plan, for the preservation of

ourselves and neighbours, against a renewal of the mischiefs so recently experienced from a lawless and licentious banditti.

As the strongest sentiments of loyalty and affection to his majesty and the constitution are our governing principles, we rely on your lordship's kind recommendation of this measure.

We have the honour to be
your lordship's, &c.

JAMES SANDERSON,
JAMES DAVIDSON,
JOSEPH HARDCASTLE,
WM. ANDERSON,
JAC. WRENCH,
M. DUKE THOMPSON,
FRAS. GARRET.

Right Hon. Lord Amherst, &c. &c.

The Plan referred to above.

A battalion company of fifty of the opulent part of the inhabitants, armed, cloathed, and taught the manual and platoon exercise, at their own expence, and not to do duty out of Bridge Ward.

Whitchall, 16th June, 1780.

S I R,

HAVING laid before the king the letter of yesterday's date, signed by several gentlemen of the Ward of Bridge Within, that you put into my hands this morning, wherein it is desired that a certain number of the inhabitants of the said ward may have leave to form themselves into a company, and be armed for the purpose of preserving themselves and neighbours in case there should be a renewal of the late mischiefs in the metropolis, or any assembly of a lawless and licentious mob; and the said proposition having been fully taken into consideration,

consideration, I am to acquaint you that it is not thought expedient that any persons should be permitted to use arms, otherwise than for the immediate defence of their houses, or being under the command of persons receiving commissions from the king.

I am, Sir, &c.

AMHERST.

Mr. Alderman Woolbridge.

In consequence of the orders from the Adjutant-general and the above letters, the following was sent to the Earl Bathurst:

Guildhall, 14th June, 1780.

MY LORD,

I AM directed by the court of aldermen to inform your lordship, that, in obedience to your lordship's orders, they have made diligent search in the several wards after those disorderly persons who have been concerned in the late dangerous riots, and have taken to their assistance the house keepers in each district, who have armed themselves, under the direction of the court, for the purpose of supporting the civil magistrate; but having communicated to the court the inclosed letter from Lord Amherst to Colonel Twissleton, who favoured me with copies of them, the court are desirous that some explanation may be given to those letters, as they now militate against the orders first received from your lordship: they also beg leave to be informed by your lordship whether the order sent to Colonel Twissleton by the Adjutant-general, directing the military to act without waiting for the directions

of the civil magistrate, is to continue in force.

I beg leave to subscribe myself,
with the greatest respect,
my lord,

your lordship's most obedient,
humble servant,

B. KENNETT, mayor.
Earl Bathurst.

ANSWER.

*Whitehall, Council-chamber,
June 15.*

MY LORD,

“ I HAVE been honoured with your lordship's letter of yesterday's date, and have laid the same before the lords of the privy-council, and am to inform your lordship, that we apprehend Lord Amherst's letter to your lordship of the 13th instant has not been properly understood; for when he speaks of the arms in the hands of the city militia, or other persons authorised by the king to be armed, he certainly includes the arms in the hands of the citizens and housekeepers, who, by virtue of an order of the court of lieutenancy, are required to keep them in their houses; and Colonel Twissleton has put the proper construction on those letters, by only taking arms from suspected persons, or those who could not give a good account of themselves. While the military, necessary for the preservation of the public peace, remain in the city, it will, no doubt, be proper that the order of the Adjutant-general for their acting without waiting for the directing of the civil magistrate should continue in force. The attention paid by the inhabitants in preserving the peace of the several

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veral wards is extremely commendable; yet the greatest care should be taken that any armed house-keepers do not expose themselves to the military, who in a tumult might not be able to distinguish them from the rioters.

I have the honour to be,
my lord,
your lordship's most obedient
humble servant,
BATHURST, P.
Right Hon. Lord Mayor.

*To which the following Reply
was sent.*

Guildhall, June 17, 1780.

MY LORD,

I AM to acknowledge the honour of your lordship's letter of the 15th, which I communicated to the court of aldermen yesterday, by whom I am directed to represent to your lordship, that if you will be pleased to refer to my letter of the 14th, your lordship will find the letters of Lord Amherst's there mentioned (copies of which were inclosed) were not addressed to me, but to Colonel Twissleton; the second of which seems to import an order to him to disarm all persons in whose hands arms should be found, except the city militia, and persons authorized by the king to be armed; which order, it is apprehended, would, if literally executed, disarm those assistants, without whom it would have been impossible to have executed, and will now be impossible to proceed in the execution of the order of council of the 9th instant; the assistance which the aldermen of

this city judged necessary to take with them in the execution of that order, in addition to the peace officers, being bodies of the inhabitants of their respective wards, who have armed themselves under the direction of the court of aldermen (not the court of lieutenancy) for the purpose of supporting the civil magistrate.

The court were the more inclined to fear, that the order in question would be so interpreted, as Lord Amherst had in his letter to Colonel Twissleton of the twelfth instant expressed it to be his opinion, that no man can bear arms in this country but under officers having the king's commission; this was what was meant by saying that those letters militate against the orders first received from your lordship, and the court desire to submit to your lordship's consideration whether some further explanation may not be necessary to prevent a construction, which would leave the civil magistrate without power to act at all, for want of necessary support, especially if it be thought proper that the Adjutant-general's order for the military to act, without waiting for the direction of the civil magistrate, should continue longer in force.

I am further directed by the court to represent to your lordship, that in forming their opinion upon this subject, and requesting a further explanation of Lord Amherst's letters, they have not forgotten the undoubted right of all his majesty's Protestant subjects, as declared by the First of William and Mary, Stat. 2. Chap. 2. to have arms for their defence suitable to their

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their condition, and as allowed by law.

I beg leave to subscribe myself,
with the greatest respect,
my lord,

your lordship's most obedient,
humble servant,

B. KENNET, mayor.
Earl Bathurst.

ANSWER.

*Whitehall, Council-chamber,
June 20, 1780.*

MY LORD,

I HAVE been honoured with your lordship's letter of the 17th instant, desiring a further explanation of the letters sent by Lord Amherst to Colonel Twisleton, &c. and have taken the first opportunity of laying your lordship's said letter before the council; and I am to say that it is the opinion of their lordships, that the matter has been fully explained in my letter to your lordship of the 15th.—But in regard to what your lordship intimates of the impracticability of proceeding in the execution of what was required by the letter from the privy-council of the 9th instant, without the assistance of the inhabitants of the several wards, who have armed themselves; the council is of opinion, that at a time like this of real danger from riots, tumults, and rebellious insurrections, a reasonable number of inhabitants, armed according to the nature and circumstance of the case, may attend the peace officers as assistants to them, for the preservation of the public peace, until the danger be over: but although his majesty's Protestant subjects may have arms for their defence suitable to their condi-

tions, and as allowed by law, yet they cannot by law assemble in bodies armed, and be mustered and arrayed without the authority of his majesty.

I have the honour to be,
my lord,

your lordship's most obedient,
humble servant,
BATHURST, P.

Right Hon. Lord Mayor.

SECOND REPLY.

Guildhall, June 24, 1780.

MY LORD,

I HAVE the honour of your lordship's letter of the 20th, informing me, "That the council is of opinion that a reasonable number of inhabitants, armed according to the nature and circumstance of the case, may attend the peace officers as assistants to them for the preservation of the peace, until the danger be over," which I have communicated to the court of aldermen, by whose directions I am to represent to your lordship, that they foresee difficulties likely to arise in the execution of their duty, if the military are to act independently of them; and therefore, as well as to quiet the apprehensions naturally arising from a large military force continuing in the capital, and not under the usual control of the civil magistrate, they submit to your lordship's consideration whether the order of the Adjutant-general for them to act without waiting for the directions of the civil magistrate should still continue, or whether it would not be more expedient in the present state of things to recall that order, and

subject

subject them as usual to the civil
magistrate.

I beg leave to subscribe myself,
with the greatest respect,
my lord,
your lordship's most obedient,
humble servant,
B. KENNETT, mayor.
Earl Bathurst.

*Proceedings at the Old Bailey, and of
the Special Commission at St. Mar-
garet's-hill, for the Trial of the
Rioters.*

ON Wednesday, June 28, the
sessions began at the Old
Bailey, when the following pri-
soners were tried, and capitally
convicted of being concerned in
the late riots; Mr. Norton and
Mr. Howarth being counsel for
the prosecution, when the latter
expatiated on the nature of the
offence with which the prisoners
stood charged, shewing it to be
felony by the statute 1 Geo. I.
William Lawrence and Richard
Roberts, were first put to the bar,
and were clearly convicted of hav-
ing aided and assisted in destroying
Sir John Fielding's house, in Bow-
street, on Tuesday night, June 6.
Thomas Taplin was next arraign-
ed, for demanding and taking
half-a-crown from Mr. Mahon,
apothecary, the corner of Bow-
street, June 7, and convicted,
though his counsel attempted to
prove him insane. William Brown
was indicted for entering the dwel-
ling-house of Francis Deacon,
cheefemonger, and holding a large
knife in his hand, making use of
the following words: "D—n
your eyes, if you do not give

" me a shilling directly, I'll bring
" a mob that will pull down your
" house about your ears." That
accordingly Mr. Deacon threw a
shilling into his hat. He was found
guilty, Death.

June 29, George Kennedy was
indicted for destroying the dwel-
ling-house of Mr. M'Cartney, a
baker, in Featherstone-street, Bun-
hill-row. The jury brought him
in guilty, but recommended him
to mercy. William M'Donald,
(a soldier with only one arm) for
destroying the dwelling-house of
John Lebarry, on the 7th of June,
in St. Catherine's-lane, Tower-
hill, was found guilty, Death.
James Henry, for destroying the
house, &c. of Mr. Thomas Lang-
dale, at Holborn-bridge, June 7,
was found guilty; and he being
the principal ring-leader upon this
occasion, the recorder informed
him, that from the circumstances
of his case, he could not expect
mercy. George Barton, for as-
saulting Richard Stowe, in Hol-
born, and feloniously taking from
him 6d. in silver, saying, "Pray
remember the Protestant reli-
gion." He was found guilty,
but recommended to mercy. John
Ellis was indicted for beginning to
pull down the house of Cornelius
Murphy, the Sun, in Golden-lane,
June 7, not guilty. Thomas
Chambers was indicted for the
same, and found not guilty.

June 30. William Pateman was
indicted for demolishing the house
of Robert Charlton, in Coleman-
street, June 7, and found guilty.
The court adjourned 'till Monday.

July 3. The important trial of
Mr. Maical, the apothecary, came
on. He was indicted for riotously
and tumultuously associating, on
the

the 7th of June, with several persons as yet unknown, and beginning to pull down the dwelling-house of the Earl of Mansfield, in Bloomsbury-square.

Richard Ingram deposed, "That he lives in Weymouth-street, and was in Bloomsbury-square at half after one on Wednesday morning the 7th of June. Hearing there was a fire near Queen's-square, and having relations there, he went towards it—He saw a mob at Lord Mansfield's, and four or five fires—that he beheld persons in the house, men, women, and children, bringing out furniture and books. He saw the prisoner (whom he has known personally for some years) standing opposite Lord Mansfield's door with his hands upon a boy's shoulder, who was putting a book in the fire—He saw nothing in his hat at that time; he thought he was encouraging the boy. He saw, at the same time, furniture carrying out, and several books burning; and from the manner in which the prisoner put his hand on the boy's shoulder, it appeared to him to be encouraging, not preventing the boy. He went on to Devonshire-street, but did not stop there, and returned in about a quarter of an hour—it was then about two o'clock. On his return, he saw the prisoner with a blue cockade in his hat, and another person holding his arm: furniture was still throwing out, and books burning; and he observed the mob were going for more books, upon which he said, books could do no harm. A person on his left hand answered, "What, sir!" in a menacing tone: he corrected himself, and said, "Lord George will get this

" bill repealed; things are going too far."

Mr. Mascal, who was on his right hand, next but one, looked over the next man's shoulder, and said, "That's a damned lie, the bill won't be repealed." Another person then said, "Mascal, you were always a seditious person." Mascal then said, "That man in the black cockade (meaning the witness) is a spy. He wears a cockade as being on the physical staff, and was surgeon to a regiment of dragoons." The man on his right hand between him and Mascal, seized him by the collar, and cried out "Spies! spies!" The mob, on that, shoved him about; but by applying to a man, he and the mob entered into an altercation, whilst he slipped away and got behind Mr. Mascal. The guard then came up. Mascal said, push forward boys, huzza'd, pulled off his hat, and cried, "No Popery!" The mob pressed close on the guard. The officer pulled off his hat, and said, "I will not hurt a hair of your heads," and desired them to disperse. He soon after saw Mascal again. A party of about twelve came up with a blue flag towards Mascal, urging "where next."—The answer, which he *believes* was from Mascal, was Duke! Duke! He was then two yards from Mascal. He afterwards saw Mascal going towards Russel-street, and saw a man present a paper to Mascal, and ask, "Why do you leave out Peterborough and Bristol?" He went out of, and came again into Russel-street, to the person who held the paper in his hand. Mascal answered, "They are not left out, I have not scratched them out;

out; but do not stay long in Devonshire, but go to the Bank; there is a million of money to pay you for your pains."

Sir Thomas Mills deposed, "That he was at Lord Mansfield's during the riot, and knows the prisoner by sight. At half past twelve, on the morning of the 7th, he heard the mob coming up the square, being then in Lord Mansfield's house. They began by breaking the parlour windows; Lady Mansfield and the ladies came down, and he conducted them to Lincoln's-inn-fields, but instantly returned in order to make the guards in the square act to save the house. He found the officer with his detachment near the house, but the officer said, the justices of the peace had all run away, and he could not act without a magistrate. The mob over-hearing this, pulled him about, and dragged him towards the fire to throw him on it. One behind cried out, "Mascal will protect you; there he is." He was then rescued, and saw the prisoner at some distance from the mob, who were at that time bringing out Lord Mansfield's gowns and wigs—that Mascal was huzzaing with others, "No Popery," and had a blue cockade. He afterwards went to search for a justice, which took up half an hour; it was then a quarter after one, but finding no justice, he returned. The mob had then got into the library—the witness at that time was in the square, and saw the prisoner upon the upper step of the house. He attempted to get up to the steps to expostulate with the prisoner; three or four well-dressed men ad-

vised him not to go further, lest he should be thrown into the area, or the fire, for they were determined to proceed. He then left them, and saw the prisoner no more that night—he returned before three—he cannot in his conscience say he heard the prisoner say any thing, saw him do any thing, or have any thing in his hand, but he appeared active—and proved the house to be demolished."

Mr. Mascal began his defence by observing, that the humanity of the English law considered every man innocent, until he was convicted; and that a jury would certainly consider it necessary that an *inducement* should be shewn sufficient to carry away a man of character and independent business to act in the manner which had been alledged against him. He had long lived in credit and reputation, and it could not be presumed that he would, in the face of his neighbours, head a mob of boys, and banditti of pickpockets.

One circumstance, he observed, deserved peculiar attention from the jury—Ingram had not given information against him from the 7th to the 17th.

He had witnesses, he said, to contradict every fact sworn against him; and observed, how extraordinary it was, that Molloy, who, it appeared by Ingram's evidence, had not departed from him, through the whole course of the night, had not been produced against him.

As for Sir Thomas Mills, he hoped his attachments, and the motives which might prompt his zeal in this cause, would have proper weight with the jury. He had

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been.

been, on a former occasion, contradicted by five affidavits against his single oath.

Baron Skynner said, that this part of the defence could not be received; he was very sorry to interrupt Mr. Mascal, but what he was going into was highly improper.

Mr. Mascal proceeded, by urging the improbability of the charge against a man situated in life as he was. He would shew by his witnesses that he did not leave his house 'till one o'clock in the morning, and at a quarter after one he admitted he was in Bloomsbury-square, viewing the fire at Lord Mansfield's house. But though he was there, he did not, as had been falsely asserted, stimulate the mob, but deplored and execrated the mischief they were perpetrating.

His fortune, his character, his life, he threw upon the verdict of the jury cheerfully: not doubting but their verdict would give satisfaction to every one not interested in procuring his death.

Mr. Mascal produced several creditable witnesses to his character, and to prove his innocence: among others,

John Cowper, cheesemonger, in Queen-street, Bloomsbury, deposed, he was in Bloomsbury-square at one o'clock, and stood about five yards from Bedford-gate. That he was at home at ten minutes past two. He saw Mr. Mascal there about five minutes after he came—Mascal stood close behind him, and behaved very quietly, but he lost sight of Mascal about five minutes before he left the square. Did not hear Mascal speak to any of the mob, nor any

of the mob speak to him, but saw him speak to spectators. Mascal spoke to the witnesses and his wife, when the witnesses said, "Good God! what shocking work is here!" And when the furniture was thrown out, Mascal said, "Good God! what a pity this is!"

Being cross examined, he said, he did not change his place many yards while he staid—that he saw Mascal go towards Great Russell-street, towards the Museum.

Mrs. Wood deposed she heard Mr. Mascal lament the loss of the furniture—that his conduct was as quiet as her own. She corroborated every circumstance sworn to by the preceding witnesses.

John Robinson deposed, he was present at Bloomsbury at about a quarter past one, and saw Mascal—that he was there above an hour, and saw him frequently, but could not observe him to have any thing to say to the fire, or the riot—saw none of the mob speak to him, nor he to any of the mob. That he came voluntarily to give his evidence, being convinced, in his conscience, that Mr. Mascal was innocent of the charge brought against him.

William Crutch deposed, he was at Lord Mansfield's at twelve o'clock, as he lives near it; he went into the house to give assistance, but he did not see Mascal there, though he saw several others very active; and he was in the square till near five, a few minutes before the military fired.

The jury, without quitting the court, brought in their verdict Not Guilty; upon which, there was a loud clapping, which the judge highly reprov'd, and said, that if

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the same was repeated within his hearing, he would commit the offenders.

Mr. Mafcal, when the jury had given their verdict in his favour, in a short speech addressed himself to them and the court, returning them thanks for their candour, attention, and patience.

Baron Skinner said in reply, that it was the duty of the court to think no time too much to dedicate to the investigation of truth, let the event go either to the acquittal or to the condemnation of a prisoner. The trial lasted seven hours.

Edward Dennis, the hangman, was found guilty of being active in assisting to demolish the house of Mr. Eoggis, in New Turnstile, Holborn.

Enoch Fleming and John Morris, (a youth about 15) for destroying the house of Ferdinand Schomberg, in Woodstock-street, Oxford Road. Both found guilty; Morris recommended to mercy.

Tuesday, July 4, Mary Roberts and Charlotte Gardiner, a negro, were indicted for aiding in the demolition of Mr. Lebart's house (already mentioned) and were found guilty, death.

John Gray was found guilty, for aiding to destroy Lord Mansfield's house, but recommended to mercy.

Richard Forster, guilty, for demolishing Mr. Schomberg's house.

Wednesday, July 5, John Gamble was indicted for committing depredations in the house of David Wilmot, Esq; at Bethnal-green. Guilty.

George Staples, for demolishing the house of Mr. Malo, in Moorfields, June 7. Guilty.

James Bulkeley, for destroying

the dwelling house of Cornelius Murphy, Golden-lane, found guilty, but recommended to mercy.

Benjamin Waters, for the same. Guilty.

Samuel Solomons, for demolishing the dwelling house of Christopher Conner, in Black-horse-yard, Whitechapel. Guilty.

Joseph Marquis, for demolishing Murphy's house, Golden-lane. Guilty, but recommended to mercy.

Susannah Clarke, for the same.

Elizabeth Lyons deposed, that on the night of the riot, she did not see Clarke do any thing, but heard her say to Walter, one of the mob, "They are Irish Catholics; if they are not, why do they keep Irish wakes?" Upon which Walter answered, "That the house shall come down;" and the mob immediately forced in, Walter being the first man that entered, her husband being present at the time. The Chief Baron in his charge said, "It is a rule of law, that no woman can be charged with any felony committed in the presence of her husband, the law presuming that the wife acts under the direction of her husband; and Murphy, though not in the present case, has, in two former trials, sworn that the husband joined with her in the fact." She was found not guilty.

Thursday, July 6, Charles Kent and Letitia Holland, were tried for pulling down Lord Mansfield's house, and both found guilty. Holland was an handsome young woman about 18.

William Avery was tried for destroying Mr. Cox's house in Great Queen-street, Lincoln's-Inn-fields: he was found guilty;

but having a very good character, was recommended to mercy.

John Cabbridge, for stealing several things in the house of Mr. Langdale. Guilty.—Sentenced to five years labour on the Thames.

Sarah Hyde, for stealing a quart pot, the property of Mr. Langdale. Sentenced to be privately whipped.

William Vanderbank, and James and Thomas Prior, for stealing several articles, the property of Mr. Langdale. Vanderbank and Thomas Prior guilty, and James Prior not guilty.

Jemima Hall and Margaret Stafford, for stealing a featherbed, the property of Christopher Conner Hall. Was found guilty of single felony.

Friday, July 7, Benjamin Bousey, a black, indicted for demolishing Mr. Akerman's house. Found guilty.

Francis Mockford, for the same offence, found guilty; but recommended to mercy.

Thomas Haycock for the same offence. Found guilty.

John Glover, a black, for the same offence. Found guilty.

Richard Hyde, for the same offence, being proved insane, was acquitted.

Theophilus Brown and Thomas Baggot, were tried for pulling down the house of Mary Crook, of White-street, Moorfields. The former was found guilty, and the latter acquitted.

Monday, July 10, James Burn, Thomas Price, and John Thompson, were indicted for pulling down the house of John Bradbury, in Golden-lane. The two former

were found guilty, and Thompson was acquitted.

John Burges, a boy about 13, found guilty of pulling down the house of John Lynch, but recommended to mercy.

James Jackson, for being the ringleader, and carrying a flag when Newgate was set on fire. Found guilty.

Jonathan Stacey was indicted for pulling down the house of Mr. Dillon, in White-street, Moorfields, and found guilty.

This day the sessions ended at the Old Bailey, in the course of which, 85 persons were tried for riots, of whom, 35 were capitally convicted, and 43 acquitted.

The first report was made to the king on Wednesday, July 5, when the following rioters were ordered for execution, near the spots where the felonies they were guilty of had been committed, viz. William McDonald, Mary Roberts, Charlotte Gardiner, Wm. Brown, Wm. Pateman, Thomas Taplin, Richard Roberts, James Henry, and Enoch Fleming.

The following were respited: George Banton, George Kennedy, Wm. Lawrence, Edward Dennis (the hangman), John Morris, Richard Forster, and John Gray.

The second report was made on Friday July 14, when the following rioters were ordered for execution, viz. John Glover*, James Jackson, Benjamin Bowley*, Samuel Solomons, John Gamble, Thomas Prince, Benjamin Waters, Jonathan Stacy, George Staples, Charles Kent, Lætitia Holland*, and John Gray.

* These marked with an asterisk were respited afterwards.

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The following were respited upon the report, viz. Joseph Marquis, James Buckley, Wm. Avery, Francis Mockford, Thomas Haycock, John Burgefs, and Theophilus Brown.

A reward having been offered by Government for the apprehension and conviction of any rioters, a question arose, Whether persons *interceded* in the conviction of the criminals were admissible as evidences against them? Which question was submitted to the opinion of the twelve judges, who unanimously agreed, that the testimony of witnesses claiming reward is admissible.

The general rule of law is, not to admit witnesses to give evidence, who, by the ties of affection, or from the motives of interest, are likely to be under undue influence. But, say the judges, there are cases of necessity that require a departure from this rule. Thus, in cases of robbery, where not only restitution of goods stolen, but the title to the parliamentary reward, depend on the conviction of the criminals, it has never been held that such interest should operate to destroy the competency of the evidence: if it did, hardly any highwayman could ever be convicted. So witnesses entitled to rewards from the bank, the post-office, and other offices, have universally been held competent. Nor can any danger be apprehended to the innocent from this practice, so long as the jury are allowed to exercise their discretion as to the credibility of witnesses, and may compare their testimony with that of others, or with circumstances attending almost every

case; but it would be dangerous to overturn this long-established practice.

THE special commission of oyer and terminer and gaol delivery, in and for the county of Surry, for the trial of the rioters, was opened on the 10th of July, at St. Margaret's Hill, before Lord Chief Justice Loughborough, Sir Henry Gould, Sir James Eyre, and Francis Buller, Esq. After the commission was opened, Lord Loughborough delivered his charge to the grand jury, of which the Hon. George Onslow was foreman.

This charge having been the topic of much conversation, we shall submit it to the judgment of our readers. The opinions of men respecting the *legal* propriety of it have been various: as a piece of oratory it has been admired; but its tendency to influence and direct the jury, and inflame their passions against men, who ought all to have been supposed innocent till found guilty by their country, has been generally spoken of in terms of indignation, by those who are jealous of the rights of humanity.

Gentlemen of the Grand Jury,

IF you are come here totally strangers to the transactions which have lately passed in this neighbourhood, or if it were possible for any of you, who were not witnesses of them, not to have heard of the devastations that have been committed, the remnants of the flames which have been lately blazing in so many parts of the metropolis, and which must have

presented themselves to you, in your way to this place, will have sufficiently declared the occasion for which you are called together.

His majesty's paternal care for the welfare of all his subjects, would not permit him to suffer offences so daring and so enormous to remain longer unexamined, than was legally necessary to convene a jury to enter upon the enquiry.

The commission under which you are assembled extends only to crimes of high treason, or of felony, charged upon persons now detained in the common gaol of this county, or who shall be detained therein between the present time and the period at which the commission will expire. It was not thought proper to blend the common business of an assize, and the examination of those offences, to the commission of which the frailty of human nature is but too liable, with crimes of so deep a guilt, and so much above the ordinary pitch of human wickedness as those which will come under your consideration.

The general circumstances under which those crimes were committed, are of too great and shameful notoriety, to require a minute description; but for your information, Gentlemen, whose duty it will be to consider the nature and quality of the charges imputed to such offenders as will be brought before you, it will be necessary to consider the several parts of those charges, and to observe the connection of those parts with the whole, always applying the circumstances to the

particular case under consideration.

I therefore think it an essential part of my duty to lay before you, in one general view, a short account of those dangers from which *this kingdom* has been lately delivered. I use this expression, because it will clearly appear that the mischief devised was—not the destruction of the lives or fortunes of individuals, or of any description of men—no partial evil—but that the blow, which it has pleased Providence to avert, was aimed at the credit, the government, and the very being and constitution of this state.

The first remarkable circumstance to be attended to, and which naturally demands our notice earliest of any, is a vast concourse of persons assembled in St. George's Fields, on the 2d of June, called together by a public advertisement, (signed in the name of a person calling himself the President of an Association) not only inviting many thousands to attend, but appointing their ensign of distinction, and prescribing the order and distribution of their march in different columns to the place of their destination. Charity induces one to believe, that in such a number, there were many went unwarily, and unconscious of any evil intended; but credulity in the extreme can scarcely induce any man to doubt, that some there were who foresaw, who intended, and who had practised to accomplish the purposes which ensued.

A very short time disclosed that one of the purposes which this multitude was collected to effectuate,

festinate, was to overawe the legislature, to influence their deliberations, and obtain the alteration of a law, by force and numbers.

A petition was to be presented to the House of Commons, for the repeal of an act, in which the petitioners had no special interest.

[His lordship here laid down the right of the subject to petition. His doctrine upon this head was liberal and manly, his language clear, strong, and emphatical.]

To petition for the passing or repeal of any act (said his lordship) *is the undoubted inherent birth-right of every British subject*; but under the name and colour of petitioning, to assume command, and to dictate to the legislature, is the annihilation of all order and government. Fatal experience had shewn the mischief of tumultuous petitioning, in the course of that contest, in the reign of Charles the First, which ended in the overthrow of the monarchy, and the destruction of the constitution; and one of the first laws after the restoration of legal government, was a statute passed in the 13th year of Charles II. ch. 5, enacting, that no petition to the king, or either house of parliament, for alteration of matters established by law in church or state, (unless the matter thereof be approved by three justices, or the grand jury of the county) shall be signed by more than twenty names, or delivered by more than ten persons.

In opposition to this law, the petition in question was signed and delivered by many thousands; and in defiance of principles more ancient and more important than

any positive regulations upon the subject of petitioning, the desire of that petition was to be effected by the terror of the multitude that accompanied it through the streets, clasped, arranged, and distinguished as directed by the advertisement.

How the leaders of that multitude demeaned themselves, what was the conduct of the crowd to the members of both houses of parliament, it is not my intention to state. I purposely avoid stating these things, because at the same time that I point out the general complexion of the transaction, and relate general facts that are unfortunately too public and notorious, I choose to avoid every circumstance that may have a direct and immediate relation to particular persons. My purpose is to inform, not to prejudice or inflame. For this reason I feel myself obliged to pass over in silence all such circumstances as cannot, and as ought not to be treated of or expressed but in stronger language, and in more indignant terms than I choose at present to employ. Towards the evening, the two houses of parliament were released from the state in which they had been held for several hours. The crowd seemed to disperse. Many of the persons so assembled, it is not to be doubted, retired to their dwellings, but some more desperate and active remained to convince the legislature, that the menaces with which they had invaded the ears of all who met them in the streets, were not fruitless; that they had not abandoned their purpose, but meant to carry it into full execution. When night fell,

the houses of two foreign ministers, in amity with his majesty, were attacked, and their chapels plundered and set on fire.

If such an outrage had been committed on one of our public ministers, resident in any of those countries the most superstitious and bigotted to its established religion, what reproach would it not have cast upon that country? What indignation and abhorrence would it not have justly excited in our breasts? Upon this tolerant and enlightened land, has that reproach been brought!

Upon the 3d of June there was a seeming quiet, *a very memorable circumstance!* for sudden tumults when they subside are over. To revive a tumult, evinces something of a settled influence, and something so like design, that it is impossible for the most candid mind not to conceive that there lies at the bottom a preconcerted, settled plan of operation. Sunday, the next day, a day set apart by the laws of God and man as a day of rest, and as a day not to be violated even by the labours of honest industry; in broad sunshine, buildings and private houses in Moorfields were attacked and entered, and the furniture deliberately brought out and consumed by bonfires. *And all this was done in the view of PATIENT magistrates!*

Some magistrates and some individuals had indeed in the beginning of the disturbances exerted themselves, and several who had been active in the demolition of the ambassadors houses had been committed. On Monday the mob, who had not been re-

sisted, but had proceeded with a success which had increased their impetuosity, thought it necessary to shew that the law should not be exercised with impunity on delinquents like themselves. It was the business of Monday to destroy the houses of the magistrates, and other persons who had been instrumental in apprehending them; but these outrages, great as they were, fell far short of those committed on the Tuesday and Wednesday, which will ever remain a stain on our annals. Fresh insults of the most daring and aggravated nature, were offered to parliament, and every one, who was in London at the time, must remember, that it bore the appearance of a town taken by storm; every quarter was alarmed; neither age, nor sex, nor eminence of station, nor sanctity of character, nor even an humble though honest obscurity, were any protection against the malevolent fury and destructive rage of the lowest and worst of men.

But it was not against individuals alone, that their operations were now directed. What has ever been in all ages, and in all countries, the last effort of the most desperate conspirators, was now their object. The jails were attacked, the felons released—men whose lives their crimes had forfeited to the justice of the law, were set loose to join their impious hands in the work.

The city was fired in different parts. The flames were kindled in the houses most likely to spread the conflagration to distant quarters, the distillers, and other places, where the instruments of trade

trade upon the premises were sure to afford the largest quantity of combustible matter! And in the midst of this horror and confusion, in order more effectually to prevent the extinguishing of the flames, an attempt to cut off the New River water, and an attack on the credit of the kingdom, by an attempt against the Bank of England, were made. Both these attempts were defeated, providentially defeated; but they were made under circumstances which evince that they were intended to be effectual, and which increase the satisfaction and the gratitude to Providence that every man must feel, when he recollects the fortunate circumstance of their having been deferred till that stage of the business.

In four days, by the incredible activity of this band of furies parading the streets of the metropolis with flaming torches, seventy-two private houses and four public gaols were destroyed, one of them the county gaol, and that built in such a manner as to justify the idea, that it was impregnable to an armed force. Religion, the sacred name of religion, and of that purest and most peaceable system of christianity, the PROTESTANT CHURCH, was made the profane pretext for assaulting the government, trampling upon the laws of the country, and violating the first great precept of their duty to God and to their neighbour,—the pretext only; for there is not, I am sure, in Europe, a man so weak, so uncandid, or so unjust to the character of the reformed church, as to believe, that any religious mo-

tive could by any perversion of human reason induce men to attack the magistrates, release felons, destroy the source of public credit, and lay in ashes the *capital of the* PROTESTANT FAITH!

I have now related to you the rise and progress of that calamity from which, by the blessing of Providence upon his Majesty's efforts for our preservation, this kingdom hath been delivered—a situation unparalleled in the history of our country—no commotion ever having had a more desperate and more fatal intention. It now remains to state to you what parts of this subject will more directly call for your attention; and as it is evident from what I have said, that among the number of persons whose cases will be submitted to your consideration, there may be some who are accused with the guilt of high treason, it will be necessary and proper to state the law with respect to those species of treason under which some of the cases may probably fall. There are two species of treason applicable. To imagine or compass the death of our sovereign lord the king, is high treason. To levy war against the king within the realm, is also high treason.

The first, that of compassing the death of the king, must be demonstrated by some overt act, as the means to effect the purpose of the heart; the fact of levying war is an overt act of this species of treason, but it is also a distinct species of treason. And as the present occasion calls more immediately for it, I must state to you more fully, in what that treason may consist.

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I am peculiarly happy, that I am enabled to state the law on the subject, not from any reasonings or deductions of my own, which are liable to error, and in which a change or inaccuracy of expression might be productive of much mischief, but from the first authority, from which my mouth only will be employed in pronouncing the law. I shall state it to you in the words of that great, able, and learned judge, Mr. Justice Foster, that true friend to the liberties of his country.

“ Every insurrection which in judgement of law is intended against the person of the king, be it to dethrone or imprison him, or to oblige him to alter his measures of government, or to remove evil counsellors from about him,—these risings all amount to levying war within the statute, whether attended with the pomp and circumstances of open war or not. And every conspiracy to levy war for these purposes, though not treason within the clause of levying war, is yet an overt-act within the other clause of compassing the king’s death.

“ Insurrections in order to throw down *all* inclosures, to alter the established law, or change religion, to enhance the price of *all* labour, or to open *all* prisons—all risings in order to effect these innovations of a *public and a general armed force*, are, in construction of law, high treason, within the clause of levying war. For though they are not levelled at the person of the king, they are against *his royal majesty*; and besides, they have a direct tendency to dissolve all the bonds of society, and to

destroy all property and government too, by numbers and an armed force. Insurrections likewise for redressing *national* grievances, or for the expulsion of foreigners in general, or indeed of any single nation living here under the protection of the king, or for the reformation of real or imaginary evils of a *public nature*, and in which the insurgents have *no special interest*,—risings to effect these ends by force and numbers, are, by construction of law, within the clause of levying war. For they are levelled at the king’s crown and royal dignity.”

In order fully to explain this, it will be only necessary to collect, repeat, and enforce the several passages in Mr. Justice Foster, relative to this subject. It may occur that in several places mention is made of an armed force. In the very same chapter, from which I have read an extract, the learned judge mentions two remarkable cases in the latter end of the reign of Queen Ann.

“ In the cases of *Damarce* and *Purchase*, which are the last *printed* cases which have come in judgement on the point of constructive levying war, there was nothing *given in evidence* of the usual pageantry of war, no military weapons, no banners or drums, nor any regular consultation previous to the rising; and yet the want of these circumstances weighed nothing with the court, though the prisoners’ counsel insisted on that matter. The number of the insurgents supplied the want of military weapons; and they were provided with axes, crows, and other tools of the like nature,
proper

proper for the mischief they intended to effect."

It is remarkable, that the men who were the leaders, or set on as part of that mob, likewise assembled under pretence of religion, and the false and wicked cry then was, that *the church of England was in danger*, on account of the just and humane indulgence, which, from the happy period of the Revolution, had been granted to dissenters.

"Upon the trial of Demaree, the cases referred to before, were cited at the bar, and all the judges present were of opinion that the prisoner was guilty of the high treason charged upon him in the indictment. For here was a rising with an avowed intention to demolish all meeting-houses in general; and this intent they carried into execution as far as they were able. If the meeting-houses of Protestant dissenters had been erected and supported in defiance of all law, a rising in order to destroy such houses in general, would have fallen under the rule laid down in Keiling, with regard to the demolishing all bawdy-houses. But since the meeting-houses of Protestant dissenters are by the toleration-act taken under the protection of the law, the insurrection in the present case was to be considered as a public declaration by the rabble against that act, and an attempt to render it ineffectual by numbers and open force."

The objects of their attack were the meeting-houses of the dissenters; they were considered by the judges to have declared themselves against the act by which the

indulgencies were granted, and as attempting to render it ineffectual by numbers and open force, and on that ground Mr. Justice Foster declares the judgment to be proper: all the judges concurred in it at the time, it has been respected by posterity, and its principle is necessary for the preservation of the constitution, which we cannot but have felt the value of, in that moment when we have seen it threatened with, and in imminent danger of, immediate dissolution.

The calendar points out a number of prisoners who may be indicted (as appears from their commitments) for burning and pulling down, or beginning to set fire to, and pull down, the King's Bench Prison, the House of Correction, and nine dwelling-houses within the county; others may be charged with breaking open the gaols, and releasing the prisoners; others again may be charged with extorting money from individuals, under terror of the mob, which is clearly and incontrovertibly a robbery. As some of you, Gentlemen, are by your professions, and all of you undoubtedly from your rank and station, acquainted with the ordinary administration of criminal justice, it is unnecessary for me to enlarge on the subject of these felonies.

Burning a house, or out-house, being parcel of a dwelling-house, though not contiguous, nor under the same roof, was a felony at the common law, and by statute, the benefit of clergy was taken away.

To set fire to any house, or out-house, though it is not burnt, is made a capital felony, by 9 Geo. I. chap. 22. And by statute

1 Geo.

1 Geo. I. chap. 5, called *The Riot Act*, the offence of beginning to pull down buildings, by twelve, or more persons, is made a capital felony. And having mentioned the riot act, let me say a few words upon it.

The two cases which I have stated, were very near this period, and the same pernicious principles which had been instilled into the minds of the lowest orders of the people, were kept alive by the arts of faction.

It is not less true than remarkable, that the same seditious spirit which had artfully been instilled into the people in the latter end of Queen Anne's time, had been continued to this time (the accession), and what a few years before had been miscalled a *Protestant Mob*, was now a mob trained, excited, and actually employed to defeat the Protestant succession. In every mug-house, in every dark alley, and lurking corner of sedition, in this great town, artful and designing men were engaged in exciting this mob to the destruction of the constitution; and therefore this act was framed to make the beginning of mischief dangerous to the perpetrators of it. To begin to pull down any place of religious worship, certified and registered by the act of toleration, or any dwelling-house or out-house, was made a capital felony. And any persons, to the number of twelve or more, unlawfully, riotously, and tumultuously assembled, being commanded or required to disperse by the magistrate, and continuing together for one hour after such command, are declared guilty of felony, without benefit of clergy.

But here I take this public opportunity of mentioning a fatal mistake into which many persons have fallen. It has been imagined, because the law allows an hour for the dispersion of a mob to whom the riot act has been read by the magistrate, the better to support the civil authority, that during that period of time, the civil power and the magistracy are disarmed, and the king's subjects, whose duty it is at all times to suppress riots, are to remain quiet and passive. No such meaning was within the view of the legislature; nor does the operation of the act warrant any such effect. The civil magistrates are left in possession of those powers which the law had given them before; if the mob collectively, or a part of it, or any individual, within and before the expiration of that hour, attempts or begins to perpetrate an outrage amounting to felony, to pull down a house, or by any other act to violate the laws, it is the duty of all present, of whatever description they may be, to endeavour to stop the mischief, and to apprehend the offender. I mention this, rather for general information, than for the particular instruction of the Gentlemen whom I have now the honour of addressing, because the riot act I do not believe will come immediately under your consideration: Fame has not reported that it was any where, or at any time, read during the late disturbances.

In all cases of burning or pulling down buildings, the being present, aiding, abetting, and encouraging the actual actors, though there be no act proved to be

be done by the party himself, is a capital felony. This is a doctrine solemnly delivered lately by the judges, and I believe will never be doubted.

Taking goods or money against the will, under the terror of a mob, is felony.

Of all these offences you are to enquire, and true presentments make.

The character and esteem in which the Gentlemen I have now the honour of addressing are justly held by their country, render any admonition from me on the subject of your duty superfluous; in you it has long placed a confidence, nor will it, I am persuaded, on this occasion, have reason to repent it.

I have to remind you, that it is your duty only to enquire, whether the party accused is charged with such probable circumstances as to justify you in sending him to another jury, who are appointed by law to hear the evidence on both sides, and to say, whether the person charged be guilty or not of the crime imputed to him in the indictment; and if upon such trial, any advantage can be derived from the nicety or caution of the law, or any favourable circumstances appear, it will be as much the inclination, as it is the duty of the learned and reverend judges with whom I have the honour of being in commission, to state such circumstances.

And if the laws declare them guilty, the offenders may still have recourse to that fountain of mercy, the royal breast, where justice is always tempered with clemency.

Such is the inestimable blessing of a government founded on law,

that it extends its benefits to all alike, to the guilty and the innocent. To the latter the law is a protection and a safe-guard; to the former it is not a protection, but it may be considered as a house of refuge: indeed there cannot be a greater proof of the excellence of that constitution, than by administering its benefits to all men indifferently.

Proceedings of the Commission at St. Margaret's Hill.

Tuesday, July 11th, Joseph Lovell and Robert Lovell, were indicted for destroying the house of Thomas Conolly, and were found guilty. They were gypsies.

William Heyter, for destroying the dwelling-house of Alexander French, in East-lane, June 7th, and found guilty, but recommended to mercy; but Baron Eyre did not approve of this recommendation.

Charles King and Ambrose Long, for destroying Conolly's house. King was found guilty; Long acquitted.

Wednesday, July 12. This day nine prisoners were tried, seven of whom were capitally convicted. viz. Edward Dorman, Thomas Murray, Henry Wauham, Mary Cooke, Susannah Howard, Samuel Lyman, and John Hyde, for destroying the house of Paul Penary, of Kent-street.

William Smith (late a brandy-merchant) was tried for hending the mob who destroyed Conolly's house.

Mr. Attorney-general informed the jury, that the prisoner had formerly been in business, but having

having met with misfortunes, was now out of business; that from his appearance it might be concluded, he would not himself be active in the work, while better instruments might be found; but that it would be proved that he was, in fact, the leader and exciter of the rioters.

Robert Chafers, of Tooley-street, about ten doors from Conolly's, deposed, that the mob came there about half past one on the 8th of June; they demolished the house, and threw out the furniture, afterwards put it in two carts, carried it away, and burnt it; that he knows the prisoner, saw him opposite the house with his hat in his hand, and rather exulting when any particular act was done, such as pulling down part of the front; saw him twice whirl his hat, but did not observe him there above ten minutes; saw him afterwards at the Ram's Head tavern; about half past three somebody said, "Soldiers were coming, and the mob would soon be dispersed." The prisoner said, "Five hundred prisoners had been released from the King's-Bench, and were coming from the Halfpenny Hatch (about three minutes walk) to join them." The prisoner and most of the rioters had blue cockades.

On his cross examination, he said it was about an hour after the beginning of the mischief when he saw the prisoner; that the prisoner, when in business, lived very near the spot; when he was in the Ram's Head tavern he seemed in liquor, but did not, in the least, see the prisoner give any advice or direction to the mob. At the public-house his behaviour was decent and sober.

William Smith, Mr. Scott, Mrs. Bolton, of the Green Park coffee-house, and several others, appeared to the prisoner's character. The jury found him not guilty.

Thursday, July 13, eleven prisoners were tried, nine of whom were capitally convicted, viz. Benj. Rowland, George Fletcher, William Imbest, Samuel Jordan, Oliver Johnson, Robert Lovel, Richard Millar, James Palmer, and Elizabeth Collins, for riotously and tumultuously assembling, and feloniously beginning to pull down the dwelling-house of Laurence Walsh.

Friday, July 14, seven prisoners were tried, five of whom were capitally convicted, viz.—John Davis, and Theodore Atkinson, for pulling down the house of Margaret Cooper, in Kent-street, on the 9th of June.—John Barton, for pulling down the house of Edward Dodd, in Lombard-street, in the Mint; recommended to mercy.—Henry Penny and John Bridport, for demolishing the house of M. Cooper; the latter recommended to mercy.

Saturday, July 15. Lord Chief Justice Loughborough passed sentence on those prisoners who had been convicted.

After which, Joseph Haynes, for destroying Conolly's house, was found guilty, but recommended to mercy. Six other prisoners were tried, and acquitted.

Monday, July 17, five prisoners were tried for demolishing the house of Benjamin Thomas, Esq; commonly called the King's-Bench prison. Not guilty.

Tuesday, July 18, William Smith was a second time indicted, for

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for that he, with divers others, did begin to demolish and pull down the house of Mr. Matthew Casey, East-lane, Tooley-street, on the 7th of June last. He was acquitted.

Lord Loughborough afterwards addressed the convicts in a very affecting manner. Two of the prisoners, he said, had been recommended to mercy, but there was one of them (Bridport) who, having been found guilty of a capital crime, ought not to expect any mercy. The part of his duty, which he would execute with the greatest pleasure, would be, he said, to represent at the foot of the throne, such favourable circumstances as had appeared in the trials. But he observed, as in compassion and justice to all the people of the kingdom, it was impossible to shew mercy to all that had been condemned, he advised each convict to look upon himself as one of those who were not to experience any mercy.

Remarkable Actions at Sea.

Admiralty-office, July 22, 1780.

Extract of a Letter from the Honourable Captain Waldegrave, of his Majesty's Ship La Prudente, to Mr. Stephens, dated Spithead, July 18, 1780.

ON the 4th instant, being on a cruize with the *Licorne* in company, at ten o'clock A. M. Cape Ortugal then bearing south by west, distance 24 leagues, the *Licorne* made the signal for seeing a sail to the N. W. and a thick

fog then dispersing, we discovered a large ship bearing down to us: I immediately made the signal to chase, soon after which the Chace hauling her wind, being then only six miles distance from us, we clearly discovered her to be a large frigate, which from her construction we concluded to be French.

As we had light winds and calms the whole day, it was half past eleven P. M. ere I found myself within close pistol shot of her. The signals she now made, both with rockets and lights, convincing me that she was an enemy, I immediately began to engage her; and at half past four A. M. she hauled down her colours to his majesty's ships *La Prudente* and *Licorne*.

She proved to be *La Capricieuse*, a French frigate, eight days from L'Orient, pierced for 44 guns, but mounting only 32; complement 308 men. She was launched in March last, measured 1100 tons, and was one of the finest frigates I ever saw.

I am very sorry to say, that the condition of the prize was such (as their lordships may observe from the report of the survey) as rendered it impracticable to escort her to England. Indeed the very heavy loss I have sustained in the action, and unfortunately having 20 sick on shore and many on board, made it absolutely impossible for me to give her the necessary assistance for that purpose; I therefore, after removing the prisoners, set her on fire.

Finding from the condition of my ship the utter impossibility of executing my orders, I have therefore given directions to Captain Cadogan,

Cadogan, the commander of his majesty's ship *Licorne*, to put them into immediate execution.

Notwithstanding our seeming superiority, I hope the return of the killed and wounded will sufficiently evince, that my officers and ship's company have acquitted themselves in the most gallant and spirited manner. Indeed I feel 'tis impossible to do justice to their merits.

In justice to Lieutenant Banks of the marines, I must beg leave to observe to their lordships, that his party behaved with the utmost steadiness and bravery, keeping up a regular and constant fire from the beginning of the action, till necessity called them to the great guns, where they shewed an equal share of spirit and good order.

But while I am thus giving those well-deserved encomiums to his Britannic Majesty's subjects, I should feel myself in honour bound to give his enemies, on this occasion, the merits they are so truly deserving, did not the condition of the ship, and the heavy loss they have sustained, sufficiently speak their praises. I must beg leave to add, in honour to M. de Chevel, who commanded *La Capricieuse* at the time she surrendered, that the colours were not hauled down till the ship had five feet water in her hold.

Mons. de Ranfanne and Mons. de Fontaine, the first and second captains, both fell in the action; but as to their farther loss, we are as yet ignorant, being unacquainted with the number of prisoners on board the *Licorne*; but from a rough calculation of their officers, they must have at least 100 killed and wounded.

It is with infinite concern that I acquaint their lordships, that Lieutenant Ellison stands foremost on the list of the wounded, having been very severely bruised in the back, and his right arm carried off by a shot. I must beg leave to recommend his misfortunes, and the great intrepidity he shewed during the action, to their lordships most particular attention.

A list of the killed and wounded on board his majesty's ship La Prudente.

<i>Killed.</i>			
Mr. John Dismond, Mr. Richard Montgomery, Mr. Thomas England, Mr. William Dismond, Midshipmen - -	}	4	
Seamen - - -			12
Marine - - -			1
Total			17

<i>Wounded.</i>			
Mr. Joseph Ellison, second lieutenant -	}	1	
Mr. William M'Carty, midshipman - -			1
Seamen - - -			25
Marines - - -			4
Total			31

<i>Since dead of their wounds.</i>			
Seamen - - -			2
Marine - - -			1
Total killed and wounded			48

L I C O R N E.
3 killed; 7 wounded.

I am, &c.
WM. WALDEGRAVE.
Purserant

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Pursuant to an order from the Hon. William Waldegrave, Commander of his majesty's ship *La Prudente*, of this day's date, to us directed, we whose names are under-mentioned, have been on board the prize frigate *La Capricieuse*, and have there taken a strict and careful survey on her, and find as follows, viz.

The fore-mast wounded in several places.

The foretop-mast over the side.

The main-mast laying fore and aft the deck, being gone about ten feet above the main deck.

The mizen-mast shot in several places.

The mizen-top-mast the same.

All her spare yards and top masts rendered unserviceable with shot.

A number of shot-holes betwixt wind and water.

Many other damages about the ship, and, when we left her, six feet water in the hold.

And we do declare we have made and taken this survey with such care and equity, that, if required, we are ready to make oath to the impartiality of our proceedings.

Given under our hands, on board the prize frigate *La Capricieuse*, at sea, this 6th of July, 1780.

JOHN RICHARDSON, Carpenter.

JOHN SPASBATT, Carpenter.

SIR James Wallace, Captain of his majesty's ship *Nonfuch*, in a letter to Mr. Stephens, dated at Falmouth, the 11th inst. gives an account that while his boats were employed in burning the frigate off the Loire, he observ-

ed three sail in the N. W. making signals to each other, to which he immediately gave chase, and about midnight came up with and closely engaged one of them; that after a defence of more than two hours she struck, and proved to be *La Belle Poule*, mounted with 32 guns, twelve pounders, commanded by the Chevalier Kergarion, and 275 men; that the captain and 24 men were killed, the second captain, with several officers and men, to the amount of 50, were wounded; and that the *Nonfuch* had three men killed and ten wounded; two of whom have since died.

Copy of a Letter from Captain William Peer Williams, of his Majesty's Ship Flora, to Mr. Stephens, dated Falmouth, the 15th of August, 1780.

S I R,

I BEG you will communicate to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty the following particulars, which I have the pleasure of transmitting to you from this port; where contrary winds have obliged me to put in.

On Thursday the 10th instant, at half past four in the afternoon, standing in under Ushant, in quest of the fleet, the wind at that time about E. N. E. we discovered through the haze a square rigged vessel and cutter under our lee, lying-to with their heads to the north-ward, distant from us about four miles; whereupon we made sail, beat to quarters, and edged towards them, which the ship perceiving, wore, hauled to the wind, backed her mizen top-sail, and

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waited

waited our approach, the cutter working off and on. At ten minutes past five we got abreast of her, and, within two cables length, upon shewing our colours, received her fire, which we instantly returned, and continued briskly on both sides for about an hour, gradually nearing each other; when our wheel being shot away, our shrouds, back stays, and running rigging much cut, we dropped on board of her, and continued the engagement in that position about 15 minutes; the enemy then deserted their great guns, attempted to board us, but were instantly repulsed with loss. Our people boarded them in return, sword in hand, struck their colours, and in a short time took possession of the ship, which proved to be a French frigate, called *La Nymphe*, commanded by the Chevalier Du Remain, who died the same evening of the wounds he received in the action. She is four years old, is copper-bottomed, mounts 32 guns, though pierced for 40, and her complement consisted of 291 men. She had been only four days out of Brest, and was employed upon reconnoitring service off that port.

Before I conclude my letter I beg leave to add, that my officers and people in general shewed the greatest coolness and intrepidity on this occasion, and indeed merit more encomiums than I can find words to express; their conduct will, I flatter myself, meet with their lordships approbation, and recommend them to their future favour.

I am, &c.

W. P. WILLIAMS.

Return of Killed and Wounded on board the Flora.

Killed. Mr. Bisset, Midshipman 1. Seamen 6. Marines 2. Total killed 9.

Wounded. Mr. Creed, master 1. Seamen 13. Marines 4. Total killed and wounded 27.

Seamen since dead 1. Marines 2.

N. B. The *Flora* mounted 36 guns, and had on board when the action began 259 men.

On board the *La Nymphe*. Killed. First captain, second ditto, first lieutenant 3. Other officers, seamen, and marines, 60. Killed 63.

Wounded. The second lieutenant, two officers of marines, two volunteers, five other officers, seamen, and marines, 63. Total killed and wounded 131.

Admiralty-office, August 26, 1780.

Copy of a Letter from Captain Macbride, of his Majesty Ship Bienfaissant, to Mr. Stephens, dated at Sea, August 13, 1780.

S I R,

I WROTE to you, for the information of their lordships, on my arrival at Cork, the intelligence I had received, and the steps I intended to take in consequence. The *Charon* arrived on the 11th instant. I sailed with the convoy next day, having the *Charon*, *Licorne*, and *Hussar* in company. As many of the convoy still remained, I ordered the *Licorne* and *Hussar* to keep off the harbour's mouth to hasten them, whilst the *Bienfaissant* and *Charon* lay-to with those that were out. At day-light we had drove down as far as the Old Head of Kinsale, when I observed a large sail in the

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the south east in chace of some of the convoy; he was soon chased in turn, the Charon in company; the other two frigates were out of sight of Cork. About half past seven we came up with her. It is something singular, that the action on both sides began with musquetry; he hoisted English colours, and kept his fire: I determined to do the same: as we ranged within pistol-shot, some conversation passed between us. In this mode we got so forward on his bow, that neither his bow or our quarter guns would bear. Being certain what the ship was, I then ordered the small arms on the poop to begin; she returned it, and hoisted her proper colours. It was some little time before I could regulate my sail, and place my ship: they had determined to board us, and acted so to favour the design. It was a daring, though unsuccessful attempt. After an hour and ten minutes smart action, her rigging and sails cut to pieces, twenty-one men killed and thirty-five men wounded, she struck, and proved to be the Comte d'Artois, of 64 guns, upwards of 644 men, a private ship of war commanded by the Chevalier Clonard, a Lieutenant de Vaisseaux, who is slightly wounded in the action. His brothers, the one a colonel, the other colonel en second, in the Irish legion of that name, are on board; likewise a Lieutenant Perry of the Monarch; and the people who were taken on board the Margaritta prize. The Bien-faisant had three killed, and twenty-two wounded; furniture cut of course; but the masts and yards not materially injured. There was one man slightly

wounded in the Charon. I brought to, to refit; and the convoy of 99 sail proceeded on with a very fresh and fair wind. The Licorne is in company; the steady gallantry of my officers and men did them honour. I beg in particular to recommend my first lieutenant Sir Thomas Lewis to their lordships notice.

I am, &c.

JOHN MACBRIDE.

Extract of a Letter from Nathaniel Davidson, Esq; his Majesty's Consul General at Algiers, to the Earl of Hillsborough, one of Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State; dated Algiers, September 8, 1780, received October 11.

THE conduct and success of Captain Edward Moor, commanding the Fame private ship of war, of Dublin, on a late occasion, will, I doubt not, be esteemed sufficiently remarkable for my troubling your lordship with the following particulars:

He sailed from Mahon the 20th of last month, and receiving advice soon after of the departure of five French vessels, all letters of marque, from Marseilles, bound for the West-Indies, determined to go in quest of them. On the 25th he descried five sail near the Spanish coast, which corresponded with his intelligence; but as they were at a distance, and the day was far spent, he judged it prudent not to make a shew of pursuing them, that he might have a better chance to succeed in getting betwixt them and the land at night, which he had the good fortune to effect. He found him-

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self

self at day-light next morning off Capede Gat, and about two leagues from the five ships, that were together, and formed in a line to receive him. At half past six, when he was within gun-shot, they hoisted French colours, and discharged their broadsides. Captain Moor bore down upon them, and though they continued their fire without interruption, reserved his till he was within pistol-shot of the largest, which struck after an engagement of three quarters of an hour. Without stopping to send any of his people on board, he proceeded to engage the second, and took her, after a short resistance. He left an officer and seven men in this prize, with orders to look after the former, till he returned from pursuing the three remaining vessels, which he observed were making sail to get away. He came up with and took two of them; the other escaped. The largest ship is called *Les Deux Freres*, pierced for twenty guns, mounting fourteen six pounders, and fifty-five men, (fifteen of whom got off in a boat); the second, *L'Univers*, (the captain of which was killed) pierced for eighteen guns, carries twelve four pounders, and forty-one men, little inferior in size to the *Deux Freres*; the third, the *Zephyr*, (formerly his majesty's sloop) pierced for fourteen guns, mounting ten three pounders, and thirty-two men; the fourth, the *Nancy*, a pink of two six pounders, two two-pounders, and eighteen men. They all got safe into this bay on the 29th of last month, about ten o'clock at night.

Captain Moor's gallant behaviour has been taken great notice

of by the officers of this regency, and his humane and generous treatment of his prisoners been admired by every body; indeed so much, that *Monf. de la Vallée*, French Consul General here, thought it incumbent on him to write a line to me to express his sense of it, in the strongest terms of encomium and gratitude.

The *Fame* mounts twenty guns, six pounders, on one deck, and four upon her quarter deck, viz. two four pounders, and two three pounders, and 108 men.

Short Account of the Desolation made in several of the West India Islands by the late Hurricanes.

ON the 3d of October last, a most dreadful convulsion of nature, almost overwhelmed the little sea-port town of Savannah-la-Mer on the island of Jamaica, with the adjacent country. About one o'clock in the afternoon, the gale began from the S. E. and continued increasing with accumulated violence until four, when it veered to the south, and became a perfect tempest, which lasted in full force till near eight; it then abated. The sea, during the last period, exhibited a most awful scene; the waves, swelled to an amazing height, rushed with an impetuosity not to be described on the land, and in a few minutes determined the fate of all the houses on the bay. Those whose strength, or presence of mind enabled them to seek their safety in the Savannah, took refuge in the miserable remains of the habitations there, most of which were blown

blown down, or so much damaged by the storm, as to be hardly capable of affording a comfortable shelter to the wretched sufferers.—In the Court-house, 40 persons, whites, and of colour, sought an asylum, but miserably perished by the pressure of the roof and sides, which fell upon them. Numbers were saved in that part of the house of Mr. Finlayson, that luckily withstood the violence of the tempest,—himself, and another gentleman had left it, when the wind forced open the door, and carried away the whole lee side of it, and sought their safety under the wall of an old kitchen, but finding they must inevitably perish in that situation, they returned to the house, determined to submit to their fate. About ten the waters began to abate, and at that time a smart shock of an earthquake was felt. All the small vessels in the bay were driven on shore, and dashed to pieces. The ships *Princess Royal*, Capt. Ruthwin; *Henry*, Richardson; and *Austin-Hall*, Austin; were forced from their anchors, and carried so far into the morass, that they will never be got off. The earthquake lifted the *Princess Royal* from her beam ends, righted her, and fixed her in a firm bed; this circumstance has been of great use to the surviving inhabitants, for whose accommodation she now serves as a house.

The morning ushered in a scene too shocking for description.—Bodies of the dead and dying, scattered about where the town stood, presented themselves to the agonizing view of those whose charity led them in quest of the remains of their unhappy fellow-

creatures! The number who have perished is not yet precisely ascertained, but it is imagined 50 whites, and 150 persons of colour, are lost.—Amongst them are numbered Doctor King, his wife, and four children, his partner, Mr. Nesbit, a carpenter, and 24 negroes, all in one house.—Dr. Lightfoot, and Mr. Antrobus, were found dead in the streets. In the whole parish, it is said, there are not five dwelling-houses, and not one set of works remaining; the plantain walks are all destroyed; every cane piece levelled; several white people, and some hundreds of negroes, killed.

In the adjoining parish of St. Elizabeth, although the face of the country wore a less horrible aspect than at Westmoreland, much damage was done, and several lives lost.

Our accounts from Lucea, though not particular, are terrible.—The town, except two houses, those of Messrs. Campbell, and the adjoining tenement of Mr. Lyons, is levelled to the ground; many lives lost, and in the whole parish of Hanover but three houses standing—not a tree, bush, or cane to be seen—universal desolation prevails! Of the persons lost, we can only as yet name Messrs. Aaron and Solomon Dias Fernandes, two ancient gentlemen of the Jewish nation, one aged 81, and the other 80, of respectable and venerable characters.—Three young ladies, Misses Samuels, at Green Island.—The elegant house of John Campbell, Esq; at Salt-spring; Kendall and Campbell-town; and that of Mr. Chambers, at Bachelor's hall.—Capt. Darling, Mrs. Darling.

Darling, and Mr. Moxham, were dragged out, barely alive, from the ruins of an arch that supported a flight of steps, under which they had sheltered themselves.—Fourteen or fifteen people of colour were buried in a store that fell in upon them.

At Montego-bay, the tempest increased (accompanied with incessant rain) to such an amazing degree, as, about dark, to threaten general ruin and destruction. The darkness of the night added fresh horror to the general apprehensions, and a circumstance which, on ordinary occasions, would be considered as peculiarly terrifying—the immense and prodigious flashes of lightning which regularly succeeded each other, was an alleviation to the general consternation, and the only security to the very few whose particular situation permitted or inclined them to venture through the streets, and afford comfort and relief to the distressed of their neighbours. From 12 o'clock, from the best of our information, and our own recollection, the storm began to abate; but the many instances of desolation and distress which even then presented themselves to our view, and which we began to be apprized of from different quarters of the town, afforded suggestions to the mind, which rendered the approach of the morning truly horrible.

It is impossible at present to recount the particular losses of every individual; many houses in this town have been destroyed; among the principal sufferers are, Mr. Vincent, Dr. Muttershed, the estate of James Lugg, Mr. Whitaker, Mr. Althert, and the

barracks at Fort Frederick. The darkness of the night rendered it impossible to attend to the fate of the ships *Ladras*, *Adventurer*, and *Lenox*, which were in the harbour when the storm commenced; the most probable and favourable conjecture which could be made upon their being missed in the morning, was their having put to sea in the night, and no symptoms of wrecks having yet appeared to discredit this conjecture, we are in hourly and impatient expectation of seeing them, or hearing of their being safe. All the smaller craft in the harbour, together with the ship *Petersfield*, which had been preserved and repaired after the shipwreck of last February, are all totally lost; and the brigantine *Jane*, which had gone down a few days before to Great River, as a place of apparent safety, has been driven ashore, but we are informed will be got off with very little damage.

Our informations from the country are truly alarming; few estates in this parish have escaped without some damage, many sets of works and dwelling-houses are thrown down, the canes in general have suffered much, but the loss of all the plantation works without exception is an aggravation of the general calamity which cannot fail of exciting sentiments of compassion and regret for the condition of our fellow-creatures, who may suffer for the loss of the most essential part of their support. What we have recited falls far short of accounts which we hourly receive of the damage done in Hanover and Westmoreland; at Lucea-bay only two houses remain, and his majesty's sloop
Badger,

Badger, lying in that harbour, has lost all her masts and run on shore.

Another furious Tempest not less violent than the former happened on the 10th, and laid waste several of the Leeward Islands.

The following is the Journal of what passed at Barbadoes from the 9th of October until the 10th.

THE evening preceding the hurricane, the 9th of October, was remarkably calm, but the sky surprisngly red and fiery; during the night much rain fell. On the morning of the 10th, much rain and wind from N. W. By ten o'clock it increased very much; by one, the ships in the bay drove; by four o'clock, the Albemarle frigate (the only man of war then here) parted her anchors and went to sea, as did all the other vessels in the harbour. Soon after, by six o'clock, the wind had torn up and blown down many trees, and foreboded a most violent tempest. At the Government House every precaution was taken to guard against what might happen; the doors and windows were barricadoed up, but it availed little. By ten o'clock the wind forced itself a passage through the house from the N. N. W. and the tempest increasing every minute, the family took to the center of the building, imagining from the prodigious strength of the walls, they being three feet thick, and from its circular form, it would have withstood the wind's utmost rage: however, by half after eleven o'clock, they were obliged to retreat to the cellar, the wind hav-

ing forced its way into every part, and torn off most of the roof. From this asylum they were soon driven out; the water being stopped in its passage, having found itself a course into the cellar, they knew not where to go; the water had rose four feet, and the ruins were falling from all quarters. To continue in the cellar was impossible; to return to the house equally so; the only chance left was making for the fields, which at that time appeared equally dangerous: it was however attempted, and the family were so fortunate as to get to the ruins of the foundation of the flag staff, which soon after giving way, every one endeavoured to find a retreat for himself; the governor, and the few that remained, were thrown down, and it was with great difficulty they gained the cannon, under the carriage of which they took shelter: their situation here was highly deplorable; many of the cannon were moved, and they had reason to fear that under which they sat might be dismounted, and crush them by its fall, or that some of the ruins that were flying about would put an end to their existence; and to render the scene still more dreadful, they had much to fear from the powder magazine, near which they were; the armoury was level with the ground, and the arms, &c. scattered about. Anxiously did they wait the break of day, flattering themselves, that with the light they would see a cessation of the storm; yet when it appeared, the tempest was little abated, and the day served but to exhibit the most melancholy prospect imaginable; nothing can be compared with

the terrible devastation that presented itself on all sides; not a building standing; the trees, if not torn up by their roots, deprived of their leaves and branches; and the most luxuriant spring changed in this one night to the dreariest winter. In vain was it to look round for shelter; houses, that from their situation it was imagined would have been in a degree protected, were all flat with the earth, and the miserable owners, if they were so fortunate as to escape with their lives, were left without a covering for themselves and family.

General Vaughan was early obliged to evacuate his house; in escaping he was very much bruised; his secretary was so unfortunate as to break his thigh. Nothing has ever happened that has caused such universal desolation. No one house in the island is exempt from damage. Very few buildings are left standing on the estates. The devastation amongst the negroes and cattle, particularly of the horned kind, is very great, which must, more especially in these times, be a cause of great distress to the planters. It is as yet impossible to make any accurate calculation of the number of souls that have perished in this dreadful calamity; whites and blacks together, it is imagined to exceed some thousands. Many were buried in the ruins of the houses and buildings. Many fell victims to the violence of the storm and inclemency of the weather, and great numbers were driven into the sea, and there perished. The troops have suffered inconsiderably, though both the barracks

and hospital were early blown down. Alarming consequences were dreaded from the number of dead bodies that lay uninterred, and from the quantity of fish the sea threw up, which however are happily subsided. What few public buildings there were, are fallen in the general wreck; the fortifications have suffered very considerably. The buildings were all demolished; for so violent was the storm here, when assisted by the sea, that a twelve-pound gun was carried from the south to the north battery, a distance of 140 yards. The loss to this country is immense, many years will be required to retrieve it.

General Vaughan's attention to the inhabitants of Bridgetown has been very great. On the 12th of October such orders were issued to the troops, and obeyed with such alacrity, that every thing was kept quiet in the town, which would otherwise have been in great danger of being plundered by the prisoners of war, &c. who were liberated by the demolition of the prisons, and are now, to the number of above 800, dispersed over the town and country; they, however, under this controul, behaved tolerably well, and have been of much service to the inhabitants, who have given them employment.

On the 13th of October the governor went to Bridgetown, issued a proclamation, and took such steps as appeared of utility to the inhabitants. The merchants, &c. formed an association, and appointed committees for the interment of the dead, the care and distribution of the provisions, &c.

They

They voted their thanks to General Vaughan and the troops; to whom they proposed, as a reward for the service they had been of in protecting their property, to give them a six-pence per diem; to which Mr. Shirley, purveyor to the navy, promised another six-pence. A sloop was on the 16th dispatched to St. Lucia to Commodore Hotham, with the melancholy tidings of the dreadful calamity that has befallen the island, requesting of him to send a frigate to England with the news.

The above is the account sent to Lieut. Gen. Vaughan, commander in chief of the Leeward Islands, and by him transmitted to Lord G. Germaine.

*Authentic Accounts from other Islands
are as follow:*

At Antigua they felt no bad effects from this hurricane.

At St. Christopher's many vessels were forced on shore.

At St. Lucia all the barracks and huts for his majesty's troops, and other buildings in the island, were blown down, and the ships were driven to sea; his majesty's ship the Amazon, Captain Finch, most miraculously escaped foundering; she was on her beam-ends for many hours; she lay down so far that her windward guns were in the water; had many men washed over-board, others drowned on her decks; was obliged to cut away all her masts and bowsprit, but under jury-masts, safely arrived at English harbour. The Albemarle blown out of Barbadoes, cut away her masts, and also put into English harbour. The

Venus cut away her foremast, lost her bowsprit, and is arrived at English harbour.

At Dominica they have greatly suffered. Every building in St. Vincent blown down, and the town destroyed. The Juno, a new French frigate of 40 guns, drove on shore, and dashed all to pieces. At Grenada, great devastation on shore; nineteen sail of loaded Dutch ships stranded and beat to pieces.

At Martinique, all the ships were blown off the island that were bringing troops and provisions.

On the 12th four ships foundered in Fort Royal Bay, and every soul perished; the other ships were blown out of the Roads, and many must of course be lost.

In the noble town of St. Pierre every house is down, and more than 1700 people perished; at Fort Royal town the cathedral, the seven churches, and other noble and religious edifices, the governor's house, the record-office, senate house, prisons, hospitals, barracks, store-houses of government and merchants, and upwards of 1400 other houses, were blown down, and an incredible number of persons lost their lives; the new hospital of Notre Dame, the most convenient and elegant in the West-Indies, in which were 1600 sick and wounded patients, was blown down, and the greatest part of them, with the matrons, nurses, and attendants, &c. buried in the ruins. Every store-house in the dock-yard is blown down, and filled with ruins; the sick-house of the ship-wrights, &c. belonging to the yard, shared the fate of that of Notre Dame, and about 100 perished.

By

By the reports of the day, the number supposed to have perished upon the island, including negroes, is computed at upwards of 9000, and the damage at upwards of 700,000 louis d'ors.

The accounts from St. Eustatia, a Dutch settlement, are (if possible) still more affecting. On the 10th, at eleven in the morning, the sky on a sudden blackened all around; it looked as dismal as night, attended with the most violent rains, thunder, lightning, and wind, ever before known. In the afternoon the gale increased. Seven ships were driven on shore near North-Point, and dashed to pieces on the rocks; they were bound for Europe, and every soul, officers and men, perished. Nineteen other ships cut their cables, and stood to sea; only one of which is returned, in a most dismal condition. In the night every house to the northward and southward was blown down, or washed away, with the inhabitants, into the sea; some few only escaping, who crawled up the mountains, and hid themselves in large holes. The houses to the east and west were not so much hurt, till the afternoon of the 11th, when the wind on a sudden shifted to the eastward, and at night it blew with redoubled fury, and swept away every house. The principal edifices left standing are the new and old fort, the States barracks and hospital, with the cathedral, and four other churches. The destruction of people on this melancholy event is reputed (whites and blacks) to be between 4 and 5000. The pecuniary loss cannot be computed.

Copies of Letters between Lord Hillsborough, and the Earl of Pembroke, on the Dismissal of the latter from the Office of Lord Lieutenant of the County of Wilts.

St. James's, Feb. 14, 1780.

My Lord,

I AM much concerned that it falls to my lot to obey the king's commands, by acquainting your lordship that his majesty has no farther occasion for your service in the offices of Lord-lieutenant, and Custos Rotulorum of the county of Wilts; and your lordship will, I hope, believe me, when I assure you I should be glad of a more agreeable opportunity of expressing the respect, with which I have the honour to be,

my lord,

your lordship's most obedient,
humble servant,

HILLSBOROUGH.

To the Earl of Pembroke, &c. &c.

*Privy Garden, Monday Night,
Feb. 14, 1780.*

My Lord,

I HAD the honour to receive your lordship's letter to-day, in which your lordship signifies his majesty's commands to you to let me know he had no farther occasion for my service in the offices of Lord-lieutenant, and Custos Rotulorum of the county of Wilts. I am much obliged to you for the concern you are so good as to express upon the occasion. Your lordship will, I flatter myself, excuse me, if, conscious as I am of my never-failing duty, attachment

ment and affection to his majesty, I am under the necessity of imputing this mark of the king's displeasure to his ministers, on account of a vote I gave as a free man, upon a public question.

I have the honour to be,
my lord,
your lordship's most obedient,
and most humble servant,
PEMERROKE.

To the Earl of Hillsborough, &c.

Proceedings in the Case of Mr. Pizzoni, the Venetian Resident.

ON Thursday the 3d of February, the Lord Chancellor and Earl Mansfield met in Lincoln's-inn-hall, to try a cause, as extraordinary as it was novel. The court itself was the first of the kind that ever sat in this kingdom; its jurisdiction was established by an act passed in the 5th of Queen Ann, which empowers the chancellor, and the two chief justices of the King's-Bench and Common Piers, or any two of them, to take cognizance of illegal attacks on the privileges of ambassadors, and to judge of them in a summary way. This accounts for Lord Thurlow and Lord Mansfield meeting on the same bench. The cause brought before them was on the complaint of the Attorney-general against a Mr. Reilly, an upholsterer, for suing out a writ against Mr. Pizzoni, the late resident from the republic of Venice; Mr. Gapper, an attorney, for having signed it; and one Cawdron, a sheriff's-officer, for having executed it, at a time when Pizzoni was entitled to

the privileges of an ambassador. The Attorney-general, assisted by the Solicitor-general, barely stated the case in a mild manner, and prayed that the court would, for the sake of example, inflict a punishment on the defendants.

It was pleaded in favour of the defendants, that Mr. Pizzoni having had his audience of leave, and his successor having been introduced to their majesties, it was very natural to suppose, that the former was no longer vested with a public character, which could protect him from arrests; and that, as the expression in the act of parliament, which allows to foreign ministers a *reasonable* time to withdraw from the kingdom, was vague and indeterminate, it was not to be wondered at, that they thought eight days a reasonable time. The counsel, therefore, hoped, that if the defendants deserved any punishment at all, it ought to be the highest that the court could possibly inflict.

The Lord Chancellor did not appear inclined to severity. He asked if the defendants had offered to make any submission. It was replied, that the attorney and officer had; but that Reilly could not, being, at the time of the arrest, himself a close prisoner in the King's-bench for the debt due to him from Pizzoni.

The Attorney-general, after having heard the defence, prayed, that, for example sake, the court would punish the defendants; but did by no means wish to overturn any thing that had been said by way of mitigation.

The Lord Chancellor observed, that the question, being a question
between

between nation and nation, was by no means a fit subject for speculation. The time allowed for ambassadors to depart the kingdom could not, and indeed ought not, to be defined; nor should their privileges be invaded, even after they have discharged their embassy, unless it should appear that they intended to sink into the rank of common subjects, by taking up their residence in this country. As to the punishment, the affair, he said, was of a delicate nature, and required some time for deliberation before judgment should be pronounced. Of the same opinion was Lord Mansfield.

Breviate of Mr. Burke's Bill for 'the better Regulation of his Majesty's Civil Establishment, and of certain public Offices; for the Limitation of Pensions, and the Suppression of sundry useless, expensive, and inconvenient Places; and for applying the Monies saved thereby to the public Service.'

The Bill sets forth,

THAT large aids having been granted to his majesty in support of the present war, have caused a considerable increase of the public debt, and subjected the people of this realm to many burthens and inconveniences.

That farther grants and burthens may be still necessary; and it is the duty of the representatives of the commons of the land that due care should be taken, by a reduction of unnecessary charges, by introducing a better order into the management of the expences

of his majesty's civil establishment, by rendering the public accounts more easy, by a farther security for the independence of parliament, and by applying the monies, which are not now so properly husbanded, to the public service; to afford all possible relief to the people of this realm, thereby adding strength to his majesty's government.

And therefore enacts,

That the office of third secretary of state, or secretary of state for the colonies, and the board of trade and plantations, shall be abolished.

There are clauses,

Declaring by whom the duties of such offices shall be performed.

The bill further sets forth,

That the constitution of his majesty's court and household being in many particulars inconvenient, and having a tendency to create expence,

Therefore the bill enacts,

That the offices of treasurer of the chamber, the treasurer of the household, and the several other offices of his majesty's household therein mentioned, with their dependencies, shall be abolished.

There are clauses,

For transferring the jurisdiction of the Green-cloth to other persons, and for providing for the tables of his majesty's household by contract—for abolishing the offices of the great wardrobe; removing wardrobe and other offices therein mentioned, with their dependencies—for abolishing the board of works, and for appointing a surveyor or comptroller of his majesty's buildings and gardens, and for providing for the expences attending

APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE. [301

tending the same by contract—for declaring that all salaries and charges of his majesty's household shall be paid at the Exchequer—that furniture and moveables of his majesty's household shall be purchased by contract—for declaring that his majesty's stables shall be supplied by contract—that the offices of master of the buckhounds, fox-hounds, and harriers, be abolished, and the duty performed by the senior equerry, and to be provided for by contract—for making regulations in the body of yeomen of the guards, and band of gentlemen-pensioners—for abolishing the office of paymaster of the pensions, directing that all pensions shall hereafter be paid at the Exchequer—for limiting the sum to be appropriated to the pension list—for regulating the private lists of pensions—to limit the sum of money to be issued for secret service in one year—for regulating the issuing of money for foreign and secret service—for regulating the method of issuing money for the purpose of special service—for classing the order of payments of his majesty's civil establishment, and for applying the balance of such accounts.

The bill sets forth,

That there having been great delays in passing the accounts of paymaster-general and treasurer of the navy;

The bill directs

The method of issuing the money for the use of those offices respectively to the Bank of England.

There are clauses,

Directing the method and times of making up their accounts, and

for compelling the payment of balances.

The bill also sets forth,

In order that no reformation made by this act should operate as a retrospective penalty, and to put an end to suits between the public and private persons:

Therefore the bill enacts,

That commissioners may be appointed by his majesty, to call before them several accountants, against whom balances are returned, in order to examine and to proceed in such manner as in the bill is mentioned.

The bill further sets forth,

That several of the chief offices in the Exchequer being held for life, and having been granted as an honourable provision for the persons or families of those who have served the state, and which the law of the land hath insured to them, and that it is equally expedient that the crown should not in future be debarred from the means of making an honourable provision for those who served the state.

The bill sets forth,

That the board of ordnance is properly a military concern, and at present attended with great expence to the public.

Therefore the bill enacts,

That the civil branch of the said board shall be suppressed.

There are clauses,

Directing in what manner the said office shall be executed, both for the land and naval service—for appointing a commission directed to certain commissioners, who are to regulate all things relative to the said ordnance, and to bring the same to a more perfect

fect conformity to military purposes.

There are also clauses

For carrying the salaries, fees, and other sums of money, saved by virtue of this act, to the sinking fund—to declare that no office shall be created in the nature, or for the purposes of those abolished by this act—for appointing commissioners to hear the representations of persons aggrieved by this act; and for giving persons displaced by this act a right to the succession to vacant offices.

Therefore the bill enacts

What shall be the salary of certain offices of the Exchequer, after the lives of the present possessors and grantees in reversion.

The bill sets forth,

That the constitution of the Mint is expensive, and that the coinage ought to be of none or little expence to the nation;

Therefore the bill enacts,

That the office of the Mint shall be abolished.

There are clauses

For paying salaries to the present officers of the Mint, who shall be removed—that the Treasury shall contract with the Bank for coinage—that the Bank shall undertake the remittance of all money for the use of his majesty's forces in foreign parts, declaring what persons shall hereafter be deputy-paymaster or army agents.

in the Administration of the public Finances.

LOUIS, &c. Being wholly occupied in establishing order and oeconomy in the expences of our household, in as great a degree as consists with the dignity of our crown, we have considered, that it will be conducive to this end to re-unite to us all the offices of our private household, part of which had been alienated by the kings our predecessors, under the titles of casual revenues, and had thereby become a heavy charge to the crown; as we shall therefore become alone interested in the number and value of these offices, we shall be more at liberty to abolish such as appear to be useless, to determine the emolument, to consult only, in these arrangements, our general views of administration. We shall refer to ourselves to examine in our justice what disadvantages may ensue to our chief officers, and those of the queen, our dearest wife and companion, from the deprivation of those casual revenues, which add nothing in splendor equal to their immense charge. We will besides preserve to them their various privileges, and they always shall be, as they at present are, eminently distinguished by the rank and dignity of the persons to whom they are entrusted.

‘ For these causes, &c.’

This Edict is composed of three articles.

Extract from the Edicts lately published by the King of France, on the Subject of national Oeconomy, quoted by Mr. Burke, in his Speech on the Necessity of Reformation

Extract from the King's Edict for the Suppression of the Charge of Comptroller-general of the King's Household, and the Money Chamber,

ber, the Lieutenant Comptroller-General of the Furniture belonging to the Crown; the Office of Comptroller-General of the Stables, of Lieutenant Comptroller-General of the Plate, Household Amusements, and Affairs of the King's Chamber; and of the two Offices of Comptroller-General of the Queen's Household; with the Establishment of a General Office for the Expence of the Household. Given at Versailles, in the Month of January, 1780.

LOUIS, &c. Having reflected, that, without essential alterations in the direction of the expences of our household, we should hardly be able to establish a permanent improvement in the conducting of them, we have begun by reducing the great number of coffers and treasuries to one only. We have, by our Edict of this day, united all the offices of our household with the casual revenues; and now, to render the plan we have prescribed to ourselves more complete, we have thought proper to suppress the offices of Comptroller-general of our household, and of the Money Chamber; that of the Lieutenant Comptroller-general of the furniture belonging to the crown; the offices of Lieutenants and Comptrollers-general of our Stables; those of Lieutenants and Comptrollers-general of the plate, the household amusements, and affairs of our chamber; the two offices of Comptrollers-general to the queen's household, our dearest wife and companion; and we will that all these offices shall be paid in ready money after their liquidation. At

the same time we have thought proper to establish a general office for the expences of our household, which shall be composed of two Magistrates taken from our Chamber of Accounts, and five Commissioners-general which shall be thrown out by this arrangement, and who, in uniting their different knowledge, will be very capable of conducting, with spirit and uniformity, the whole expences of our household. This office is to be immediately employed in a full examination of every part of it, in order to produce the greatest perspicuity, for the purpose of introducing all the improvements of every kind, which the business is capable of; and shall render an exact account of their operations both to the minister of our household, and that of finances, for the better introducing in this establishment every alteration which shall be found useful, and to the execution of which there yet remains every obstacle; that they may thus be immediately known and removed, and that our general administration being thus drawn into one common office, may receive all the lights necessary for accomplishing the plan we have approved. We keep our high and chief officers in the honourable situation of receiving our orders immediately from us, transmitting them, and watching that they are put into execution.—But they being called out on our service in our provinces and armies, and not having time to spare in inspecting the particulars of finance and œconomy, which require continual assiduity and watchfulness, we imagine they will be-

hold,

hold, without pain, this part of our administration separated from their noble offices near our person; and we have too much experienced their zeal and attachment not to be convinced that they will eagerly second the general plan for the establishment of regularity in our finances, and to

prove more and more to our faithful subjects, how much it is our desire to avoid having recourse to new taxes, till we have estimated all the resources arising from this system of order and economy.

‘ For these causes, &c.’

This Edict consists of 16 articles.

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The following authentic Extracts from the Corn-Register, are taken from Accounts collected from the Custom-House Books, and delivered to Mr. John James Catherwood, by Authority of Parliament.

An Account of the Quantities of all Corn and Grain exported from, and imported into, England and Scotland, with the Bounties and Drawbacks paid, and the Duties received thereon, for one Year ended the 5th of January, 1781.

E X P O R T E D.			
1780.	British Quarters.	Foreign Quarters.	Bounties and Drawbacks paid.
ENGLAND.			
Wheat - - - - -	63,240	7,067	£. s. d.
Wheat Flour - - -	136,939	932	
Rye - - - - -	6,305	Nil	
Barley - - - - -	32,956	2,407	70,483 13 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ Bo.
Malt - - - - -	135,077	Nil	
Oats - - - - -	8,904	8,726	29 17 1 Dr.
Oatmeal - - - - -	916	449	
Beans - - - - -	12,554	2,357	
Pease - - - - -	3,517	3,131	
SCOTLAND.			
Wheat - - - - -	773	}	7,332 3 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ Bo.
Wheat Flour - - -	15,101		
Barley and Bear - -	18,706		
Malt - - - - -	2,415		
Oats - - - - -	3,330		
Oatmeal - - - - -	4,696		
Pease and Beans - -	1,380		
	cwt. qr. lb.		
Biscuit - - - - -	12,613:1:23		

I M P O R T E D.			
1780.	Quarters.	Duties received.	
ENGLAND.			
Wheat - - - - -	1,662	£. s. d.	
Wheat Flour - - -	1,378		
Barley - - - - -	352		
Oats - - - - -	189,964	1,067 0 11	
Oatmeal - - - - -	612		
Beans - - - - -	7,406	'	
Pease - - - - -	17,719		
SCOTLAND.			
Wheat Flour - - -	873	60 11 0 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Oats - - - - -	4,667		
	cwt. qr. lb.		
Biscuit - - - - -	28 $\frac{1}{4}$ — 17		

306] ANNUAL REGISTER, 1780.

The following is an account of the average prices of corn in England and Wales, by the standard Winchester bushel, for the year 1780.

Wheat	Rye	Barley	Oats	Beans
<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>
4 5 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 9 $\frac{1}{4}$	2 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 7 $\frac{1}{4}$	2 9 $\frac{1}{4}$

N. B. The prices of the finest and coarsest sorts of grain generally exceed and reduce the average price as follows, viz.

	Wheat	Rye	Barley	Oats	Beans.
Per bushel,	6d.	3d.	3d.	3d.	6d.

PRICE

PRICES OF STOCK, FOR THE YEAR 1780.

N. B. The highest and lowest Prices which each Stock bore during the course of any Month, is put down opposite to that Month.

	Particulars	5 pr Ct. Reduc.	5 pr Ct. Confol.	3 pr Ct. B. 1726	3 pr Ct. B. 1751	3½ pr Ct. B. 1758	4 pr Ct. 1762	4 pr Ct. 17	S. Sea Stock.	S. Sea old An.	S. Sea new An.	India Stock	India 3 pr Ct. Ind. An.	India Bonds	Long Ann.	Ann. 1778.	Navy Bills.	Omniprem.
Jan.	110½	60½	60½	60½	61½	61½	61½	78½	71½	60½	60½	141½	57½	1	18½	11½	11½	—
Feb.	113	61½	60½	60½	61½	61½	61½	78½	—	61	—	141½	58½	1	17½	11½	11½	—
Mar.	114	62	61	60½	62½	62½	62½	79½	69½	60½	59½	159½	59½	0	17½	11½	11½	—
Apr.	114½	61½	61½	60½	62½	62½	62½	—	—	60½	59½	156½	58	0	16½	12½	10½	4½
May	112½	—	61	60½	61½	60½	—	73½	—	—	59½	—	—	1	16½	—	—	7½
June	112½	59½	60½	60½	59½	59½	59½	73½	—	58½	58½	156½	—	1	16½	—	11½	7½
July	111½	59½	61	60½	59½	59½	59½	73½	—	58½	59½	151	—	1	16½	12½	11	7½
Aug.	114½	61½	60½	60½	60½	60½	60½	74½	—	59½	60½	148½	57½	1	17½	12½	11½	8½
Sept.	115½	61½	61½	61½	61½	61½	61½	75½	71½	60½	61½	152½	—	1	16½	12½	11½	8½
Oct.	111½	61½	61½	61½	61½	61½	61½	75½	—	61½	60½	150½	—	1	16½	12½	11½	7½
Nov.	111½	61½	61½	61½	61½	61½	61½	75½	—	60½	59½	149½	56½	0	16½	12½	10½	—
Dec.	109½	58½	60½	60½	59½	59½	59½	72½	—	58½	59½	151	56½	0	16½	12½	11½	—
		59½	61½	61½	59½	59½	59½	73½	—	58½	58½	153½	56½	0	16½	12½	11½	—
		58½	60½	60½	58½	58½	58½	73½	—	57½	59	152½	56½	0	16½	12½	11	—

SUPPLIES granted by Parliament, for the Year 1780.

N A V Y.

DECEMBER 2, 1779.

1. **T**HAT 85,000 men be employed for the sea service, for the year 1780, including 18,779 marines.

2. That a sum, not exceeding 4l. per month per man, be allowed for maintaining the said 85,000 men, for 13 months, including ordinance for sea service 4,420,000 0 0

FEBRUARY 24, 1780.

1. For the ordinary of the navy, including half pay to the sea and marine officers, for the year 1780 - 85,381 7 6

2. Towards building, rebuilding, and repairs of ships of war in his Majesty's yards, and other extra-works, over and above what are proposed to be done upon the heads of wear and tear in ordinary, for the year 1780 ——— 697,903 0 0

MAY 18.

Towards paying off and discharging the debt of the navy ——— 1,500,000 0 0

7,003,284 7 6

A R M Y.

DECEMBER 9.

1. That a number of land forces, including 4,213 invalids, amounting to 35,005 effective men, commissioned and non-commissioned officers included, be employed for the service of the year 1780 ———

2. For defraying the charge of 35,005 effective men for guards, garrisons, and other his Majesty's forces in Great-Britain, Jersey, and Guernsey, for the year 1780 ——— 946,176 3 5

3. For the pay of the general and general staff officers in Great Britain, for the year 1780 ——— 44,875 8 3

4. For maintaining his Majesty's forces and garrisons in the plantations and Africa, including those in

garrison

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garrison in Minorca and Gibraltar; and for provisions for the forces in North America, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, Gibraltar, the Ceded Islands, and Africa, for the year 1780		—	—	1,418,059	1	2
5. For defraying the charge of five Hanoverian regiments of foot at Gibraltar and Minorca, and for provisions for the three battalions of the said troops at Gibraltar, for the year 1780		—	—	56,228	11	11½
6. For defraying the charge of 13,472 men of the troops of the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, in the pay of Great-Britain, together with the subsidy, pursuant to treaty, for the year 1780		—	—	367,892	19	4
7. For defraying the charge of two regiments of Hanau, in the pay of Great-Britain, together with the subsidy, pursuant to treaty with the hereditary Prince of Hesse Cassel, for the year 1780		—	—	35,510	19	9
8. For defraying the charge of a regiment of foot of Waldeck, in the pay of Great-Britain, together with the subsidy, pursuant to treaty with the reigning Prince of Waldeck, for the year 1780		—	—	17,529	11	9
9. For defraying the charge of 4300 men, the troops of the reigning Duke of Brunswick, in the pay of Great-Britain, together with the subsidy, for the year 1780		—	—	94,173	12	4½
10. For defraying the charge of 1447 men, the troops of the Margrave of Brandeburgh Anspach, in the pay of Great-Britain, together with the subsidy, for the year 1780		—	—	39,718	18	1½
11. For defraying the charge of a corps of foot of Anhalt Zerbit, in the pay of Great-Britain, together with the subsidy, pursuant to treaty with the reigning Prince of Anhalt Zerbit, for the year 1780		—	—	16,661	6	4½
12. For defraying the charge of provisions for the foreign troops serving in North America, in the pay of Great Britain, for the year 1780		—	—	48,801	10	6
13. For defraying the charge of artillery for the foreign troops in the pay of Great-Britain, pursuant to treaties, for the year 1780		—	—	27,741	10	0
14. For defraying the charge of the embodied militia of the several counties of South Britain, and of four regiments of fencible men in North Britain, for the year 1780		—	—	653,926	2	0
15. For defraying the charge of the cloathing for the embodied militia in South Britain, for the year 1780		—	—	96,183	4	2
16. For defraying the charge of additional companies and additional to the embodied militia in South Britain, for the year 1778		—	—	8,943	13	8
		[U]	3		17.	For

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17. For defraying the charge of the new levies ordered to be raised, for the year 1780 ——— 258,206 18 0

APRIL 11.

1. For defraying the charge of Lieut. Colonel Fullarton's corps, from the 24th day of February, 1780, to the 24th day of December following, both inclusive, being 305 days ——— 8,623 17 6

2. For defraying the charge of one additional troop, with a lieutenant-colonel, to Lieut. Colonel Holroyd's corps of light dragoons, from the 25th day of December, 1779, to the 24th day of December, 1780, both inclusive, being 306 days ——— 3,179 12 6

3. For defraying the charge of Major General Rainsford's regiment of foot, from the 24th day of February, 1780, to the 24th day of December following, both inclusive, being 305 days ——— 12,929 9 2

4. For defraying the charge of Lieut. Colonel Humberstone's corps, from the 24th day of February, 1780, to the 24th day of December following, both inclusive, being 305 days ——— 8,623 17 6

5. Towards defraying the charge of the out pensioners of Chelsea-Hospital, for the year 1780 ——— 87,718 0 0

MAY 13.

1. For defraying the charges of additional companies and additional to the embodied militia in South Britain, including cloathing, for the year 1780 11,712 9 6

2. To make good the deficiency on the pay of additional companies and additional to the embodied militia in South Britain, for the year 1779 ——— 468 15 8

3. For defraying the charge of the new levies, from the commencement of their respective establishments to the 24th day of December, 1779 ——— 30,296 16 8

MAY 22.

1. On account of the reduced officers of his Majesty's land forces and marines, for the year 1780 - 82,905 2 0

2. For defraying the charge for allowances to several private gentlemen of the two troops of horse guards reduced, and to the superannuated gentlemen of the four troops of horse guards, for the year 1780 ——— 608 6 6

MAY 23.

Towards defraying the extraordinary expences of his Majesty's land forces, and other services incurred, between the 31st Jan. 1779, and the 1st Feb. 1780, and not provided for by parliament ——— 2,418,805 18 11½

6,797,506 18 9

ORDNANCE.

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ORDNANCE.

DECEMBER 15, 1778.

1. For the charge of the office of Ordnance for the land service, for the year 1780	458,136	9	11
2. For defraying the expence of services performed by the office of Ordnance for land service, and not provided for by parliament in the year 1779	591,466	0	11
	<u>1,049,602</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>10</u>

MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES.

DECEMBER 20, 1779.

To be paid to William Smith, Doctor of Physic, in recompence for his constant and humane attendance upon the sick and deceased prisoners in the several gaols in the county of Middlesex, city of Westminster, and borough of Southwark, for near four years last past, and for repaying the said William Smith the several sums of money by him expended in purchasing proper medicines for such sick and diseased prisoners	1,200	0	0
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DECEMBER 21.

To be advanced to the governor and company of the merchants of England, trading into the Levant sea, to be applied in assisting the said company in carrying on their trade	10,000	0	0
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For the expences of the new roads of communication, and building bridges, in the Highlands of North-Britain, in the year 1780	6,997	4	3
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MARCH 7, 1780.

Towards enabling the Trustees of the British Museum to carry on the execution of the trusts reposed in them by Parliament	3,500	0	0
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MAY 18.

1. To make good the like sum issued by his Majesty's orders in pursuance of the addresses of the House	15,700	0	0
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2. To replace the sum issued by his Majesty's orders to Mr. Duncan Campbell, for the expence of confining, maintaining, and employing convicts on the River Thames	14,348	2	9
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MAY 30.

1. To make good the sum issued by his Majesty's orders, to be applied for the relief and benefit of sundry American civil officers, and others who have suffered on account of their attachment to his Majesty's government	57,910	12	0
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JUNE 1.

1. For defraying expences attending general surveys of his Majesty's dominions in North America, for the year 1780	1,832	5	0
		2.	For

[U] 4

2. For defraying the charges of the following civil establishments in America, and other incidental expences attending the same, for the year 1780 :

1. His Majesty's island of St. John's 3150l.
2. His Majesty's colony of Georgia 2966l.
3. His Majesty's colony of Nova Scotia 4796l.
4. His Majesty's colony of East Florida 3950l.
5. His Majesty's colony of West Florida 3900l.

18,662 0 0

3. For repairing, maintaining, and supporting the British forts and settlements on the coast of Africa, for the year 1780

13,000 0 0

4. Towards carrying on the buildings at Somerset House, for 1780

25,000 0 0

168,149 19 9

LOANS DISCHARGED.

APRIL 4, 1780.

1. For paying off and discharging the Exchequer bills made out by virtue of an act, passed in the last session of parliament, intituled, " An act for enabling his Majesty to raise the sum of one million, for the uses and purposes therein mentioned," and charged on the first aids to be granted in this session of parliament

1,000,000 0 0

2. For paying off and discharging the Exchequer bills made out by virtue of an act, passed in the last session of parliament, intituled, " An act for raising a certain sum of money by loans or Exchequer bills, for the service of the year 1779," and charged on the first aids to be granted in this session of parliament

1,500,000 0 0

3. For paying off and discharging the Exchequer bills made out by virtue of an act, passed in the last session of parliament, intituled, " An act for raising a farther sum of money, by loans or Exchequer bills, for the service of the year 1779"

1,900,000 0 0

4. For discharging and paying off the prizes of the lottery of the year 1779

490,000 0 0

4,890,000 0 0

DEFICIENCIES.

MAY 23.

1. To replace to the sinking fund, the like sum paid out of the same, to make good the deficiency on the 5th July, 1779, of the fund established for paying annuities, granted by an act made in the 31st year of his late Majesty, toward the supply granted for the year 1758

37,372 18 9 $\frac{1}{2}$
2. To

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2. To replace to the sinking fund, the like sum paid out of the same, to make good the deficiency on the 5th July, 1779, of the fund established for paying annuities, granted by an act made in the 18th year of his present Majesty, towards the supply granted for the year 1778 — 332,856 4 5½

3. To replace to the sinking fund, the like sum paid out of the same, to make good the deficiency on the 5th July, 1779, of the fund established for paying annuities, granted by an act made in the 18th year of his present Majesty, towards the supply granted for the year 1778 — 167,036 14 1½

4. To make good the deficiency of the grants for the service of the year 1779 — 300,687 0 7

To make good the deficiency of the land tax - 250,000 0 0

To make good the deficiency of the malt tax - 200,000 0 0

1,287,952 17 11½

Total of supplies — 21,196,496 12 9½

WAYS and MEANS for raising the above Supplies, granted to his Majesty, for the Service of the Year 1780.

DECEMBER 4, 1779.

1. That the sum of four shillings in the pound, and no more, be raised within the space of one year, from the twenty-fifth day of March, one thousand seven hundred and eighty, upon lands, tenements, hereditaments, pensions, offices, and personal estates, in that part of Great Britain called England, Wales, and the town of Berwick upon Tweed: and that a proportionable cefs, according to the ninth article of the treaty of union, be laid upon that part of Great Britain called Scotland — 2,000,000 0 0

2. That the duties upon malt, mum, cyder, and perry, which, by an act of parliament of the nineteenth year of his present Majesty's reign, have continuance to the twenty-fourth day of June, one thousand seven hundred and eighty, be further continued, and charged upon all malt which shall be made, and all mum which shall be made or imported, and all cyder and perry which shall be made for sale, within the kingdom of Great Britain, from the twenty-third day of June, one thousand seven hundred and eighty, to the twenty-fourth day of June, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-one -- 705,000 0 0

MARCH 7, 1780.

That towards raising the supply granted to his Majesty, the sum of twelve millions be raised by an-

nuities,

nuities, and the further sum of four hundred and eighty thousand pounds by a lottery, in manner following; that is to say,

That every contributor towards raising the said sum of twelve millions shall, for every one hundred pounds contributed and paid, be entitled to an annuity of four pounds, to continue for a certain term of seven years and one quarter, to commence from the fifth day of January, one thousand seven hundred and eighty, subject to redemption by parliament after the expiration of the said term, and not sooner; and also be entitled, in respect of every such one hundred pounds so contributed, to a further annuity of one pound sixteen shillings and three-pence, to continue for a certain term of eighty years, from the said fifth day of January, one thousand seven hundred and eighty, and then to cease: the said annuity of four pounds to be paid at the Bank of England, for one quarter of a year from the said fifth day of January, one thousand seven hundred and eighty, to the fifth day of April following, and from that time shall be added to, and made, one joint stock, with certain annuities, after the rate of four pounds *per centum per annum*, which were established by an act of the seventeenth year of the reign of his present Majesty, and from thenceforth shall be paid and payable at the Bank of England, on the tenth day of October, and the fifth day of April, in every year: and the said annuity of one pound sixteen shillings and three-pence *per centum*, to be payable in respect of every one hundred pounds to be contributed as aforesaid, shall be added to, and made one joint stock with, certain annuities payable at the Bank of England, which were granted for ninety-nine and ninety-eight years, and were consolidated and made one joint stock by an act of the fourth year of the reign of his said present Majesty, and shall be paid and payable half yearly at the Bank of England, on the fifth day of July, and the fifth day of January, in every year:

That the said annuities, so to be payable on the said twelve millions, shall be charged, and chargeable upon, and payable out of, a fund to be established in this session of parliament for payment thereof, and for which the sinking fund shall be a collateral security:

That every contributor towards raising the said sum of twelve millions shall, for every one thousand

pounds

pounds contributed, be entitled to four tickets, in a lottery to consist of forty-eight thousand tickets, amounting to four hundred and eighty thousand pounds, upon payment of the further sum of ten pounds for each ticket, the said four hundred and eighty thousand pounds to be distributed into prizes, for the benefit of the proprietors of the fortunate tickets in the said lottery, which shall be paid in money at the Bank of England to such proprietors, upon demand, as soon after the first day of March, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-one, as certificates can be prepared, without any deduction whatsoever:

That every contributor shall, on or before the eleventh day of this instant March, make a deposit of fifteen pounds *per centum* on such sum as he or she shall chuse to subscribe towards raising the said sum of twelve millions, with the chief cashier or cashiers of the governor and company of the Bank of England; and also, a deposit of fifteen pounds *per centum* with the said cashier or cashiers, in part of the monies to be contributed towards raising the said sum of four hundred and eighty thousand pounds by a lottery, as a security for making the future payments respectively, on or before the days or times hereinafter limited; that is to say,

On £.12,000,000 to be raised by annuities,

- £.10 *per centum* on or before the 28th day of April next.
- £.10 *per centum* on or before the 26th day of May next.
- £.10 *per centum* on or before the 23d day of June next.
- £.10 *per centum* on or before the 28th day of July next.
- £.15 *per centum* on or before the 29th day of August next.
- £.10 *per centum* on or before the 26th day of September next.
- £.10 *per centum* on or before the 24th day of October next.
- £.10 *per centum* on or before the 24th day of November next.

On the lottery for £480,000.

- £.10 *per centum* on or before the 12th day of May next.
- £.25 *per centum* on or before the 14th day of July next.
- £.20 *per centum* on or before the 12th day of September next.
- £.20 *per centum* on or before the 10th day of October next.

That all the monies so to be received by the said chief cashier or cashiers of the governor and company of the Bank of England shall be paid into the receipt of the Exchequer, to be applied from time to time to such services as shall then have been voted by this House in this session of parliament:

That every contributor who shall pay in the whole of his or her contribution money towards the sum of

twelve millions, to be contributed for annuities as aforesaid, at any time before the twenty-third day of October next, or on account of his or her share in the said lottery, on or before the eleventh day of September next, shall be allowed an interest by way of discount, after the rate of three pounds *per Centum per Annum*, on the sum so compleating his or her contribution respectively, to be computed from the day of compleating the same to the twenty-fourth day of November next, in regard to the sum to be paid for the said annuities, and to the tenth day of October next, in respect of the sum to be paid on account of the said lottery; and that all such persons as shall make their full payments on the said lottery shall have their tickets delivered as soon as they can conveniently be made out. — 12,480,000 0 0

APRIL 13.

1. That, towards raising the supply granted to his majesty, there be issued and applied the sum of six hundred and fifty thousand four hundred and fifty-seven pounds; eighteen shillings, and one farthing, remaining in the receipt of the Exchequer on the 5th day of April, 1780, for the disposition of parliament, of the monies which had then arisen of the surplusses, excesses, or overplus monies, and other revenues, composing the fund commonly called the sinking fund

650,457 18 0 $\frac{1}{4}$

2. That, towards raising the supply granted to his majesty, there be applied the sum of 25,560 pounds remaining in the receipt of the Exchequer on the 5th day of April, of the deduction of sixpence in the pound out of all monies paid upon all salaries, pensions and annuities and other payments from the crown

25,560 0 0

3. That, towards raising the supply granted to his majesty, there be applied the sum of three thousand seven hundred sixty-one pounds thirteen shillings and four-pence half-penny, remaining in the receipt of the Exchequer on the fifth day of April, one thousand seven hundred and eighty, subject to the disposition of parliament, exclusive of the surplus monies then remaining of the sinking fund

3,761 13 4 $\frac{1}{2}$

MAY 18.

That, towards raising the supply granted to his majesty, the sum of one million five hundred thousand pounds be raised by loans or Exchequer bills, to be charged upon the first aids to be granted in the next session of parliament; such Exchequer bills, if

not

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not discharged, with interest thereupon, on or before the 5th day of April, 1781, to be exchanged and received in payment, in such manner as Exchequer bills have usually been exchanged and received in payment

1,500,000 0 0

JUNE 1.

1. That, towards raising the supply granted to his majesty, there be issued and applied the sum of one million eight hundred forty-nine thousand five hundred and forty-two pounds, one shilling, and eleven pence three farthings, out of such monies as have arisen, or shall or may arise, of the surplusses, excesses, or overplus monies, and other revenues composing the fund commonly called the sinking fund

1,849,542 1 11 $\frac{3}{4}$

2. That, towards raising the supply granted to his majesty, the further sum of one million nine hundred thousand pounds be raised, by loans or Exchequer bills, to be charged upon the first aids to be granted in the next session of parliament; and such Exchequer bills, if not discharged with interest thereupon on or before the fifth day of April, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-one, to be exchanged and received in payment in such manner as Exchequer bills have usually been exchanged and received in payment

1,900,000 0 0

3. That a sum, not exceeding fourteen thousand four hundred and five pounds, eighteen shillings, and six-pence, being the amount of several sums arising from stoppages for provisions for the detachment of artillery serving in North America, be applied towards making good the supply granted to his majesty towards defraying the extraordinary expences of his majesty's land forces, and other services incurred between the thirty-first day of January, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-nine, and the first day of February, one thousand seven hundred and eighty, and not provided for by parliament

14,405 18 6

4. That a sum, not exceeding twenty thousand seven hundred and seventeen pounds, seven shillings, and four-pence, out of the monies or savings remaining of the grant in this session of parliament, for the charge of the new levies ordered to be raised for the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty, be applied towards making good the supply granted to his majesty towards defraying the extraordinary expences of his majesty's land forces, and other services, incurred between the thirty-first day of Ja-

nuary,

nuary, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-nine, and the first day of February, one thousand seven hundred and eighty, and not provided for by parliament

20,717 7 4

5. That a sum, not exceeding one hundred and thirteen thousand nine hundred and ninety-eight pounds, seven shillings, and four-pence, arising from the savings of the sums voted by parliament for the pensions of Widows of officers of the army, in the years one thousand seven hundred and seventy-five, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-six, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-seven, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-eight, and one thousand seven hundred and seventy-nine, be applied towards making good the supply granted to his majesty towards defraying the extraordinary expences of his majesty's land forces, and other services incurred, between the thirty-first day of January, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-nine, and the first day of February, one thousand seven hundred and eighty, and not provided for by parliament

113,998 7 4

6. That a sum, not exceeding ten thousand pounds, out of the savings (occasioned by death and promotions) of the half pay of reduced officers of the army, from the twenty-fifth day of June, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-seven, to the twenty-fourth day of December, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-nine, be applied towards making good the supply granted to his majesty towards defraying the extraordinary expences of his majesty's land forces, and other services incurred between the thirty-first day of January, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-nine, and the first day of February, one thousand seven hundred and eighty, and not provided for by parliament

10,000 0 0

7. That a sum, not exceeding forty-eight thousand three hundred pounds, being the amount of the sums ordered to be reserved in the hands of the Paymaster-general of his majesty's forces, out of the monies voted for the subsistence of an augmentation to sundry regiments of foot in the year one thousand seven hundred and seventy-nine, pursuant to his majesty's warrant of the twentieth of April, one thousand seven hundred and eighty, authorizing such deductions, be applied towards making good the supply granted to his majesty towards defraying the extraordinary expences of his majesty's land

forces,

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forces, and other services incurred between the thirty-first day of January, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-nine, and the first day of February, one thousand seven hundred and eighty, and not provided for by parliament —

48,300 0 0

8. That, towards raising the supply granted to his majesty, there be applied the sum of ten thousand five hundred and six pounds, five shillings, and two pence farthing, remaining in the receipt of the Exchequer of the sum granted out of the supplies for the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty, towards making good the deficiency of the grants for the year one thousand seven hundred and forty-nine, being part of the sum provided for paying the arrears of the marine regiments that were disbanded in the year one thousand seven and forty-eight —

10,506 5 2½

9. That, towards raising the supply granted to his majesty, there be applied the sum of five thousand pounds remaining in the receipt of the exchequer, which, by an act of the fifth year of the reign of his present majesty, was granted for building a Lazaret —

5,000 0 0

10. That such of the monies as shall be paid into the receipt of the Exchequer after the fifth day of April, one thousand seven hundred and eighty, and on or before the fifth day of April, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-one, of the produce of the duties charged by two acts made in the fifth and fourteenth years of his present majesty's reign upon the importation and exportation of Gum Senega and Gum Arabic, be applied towards making good the supply granted to his majesty

Total of ways and means	—————	—————	21,382,249 11 8½
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Excess of ways and means	—————	—————	185,752 18 11¼
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Note, *A vote of credit of one million was also granted this session, and is charged on the next aids.*

The additional public debt funded and provided for this year, amounts to twelve millions; the interest of which, at 4 per cent, per ann. is —

480,000 0 0

The annuity for eighty years, of 11. 16s. 3d. per cent. per ann. —

216,150 0 0

In all per ann. —

696,150 0 0

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This sum (by acts passed in pursuance of different resolutions) is proposed to be raised in the following manner :

Additional duty on malt of 6d. per bushel	310,000	0	0
Ditto, on low wines of 1d. per gallon	20,617	0	0
Do. on spirits of 3d. per Ditto	34,557	0	0
Do. on brandy of 1s. per Do.	35,310	0	0
Do. on rum of 1s. per Do.	70,958	0	0
Do. on foreign wines of 4l. per ton on Portugal wines, and of 8l. per ton on French wines	72,000	0	0
A duty on coals exported of 4s. per Newcastle chaldron	12,859	0	0
Additional duty of 5l. per cent. on the above duties	46,193	0	0
Additional duty of 1s. 10d. per bushel on salt	69,000	0	0
Do. on advertisements of 6d. each.	9,000	0	0
A stamp duty on the receipt for any legacy, or for any share of a personal estate divided under the statute of distributions, or the custom of any province or place of 2s. 6d. if the value shall not exceed 20l. and of 5s. if above 20l. and not amounting to 100l. and of 20s. if 100l. or upwards	12,000	0	0
On dealers in coffee, tea, and chocolate, for a licence 5s. annually	9,000	0	0
In all	701,534	0	0
Excess of taxes	5,384	0	0

S T A T E

S T A T E P A P E R S.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech to both Houses of Parliament. Thursday the 25th of November, 1779.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I MEET you in parliament at a time when we are called upon by every principle of duty, and every consideration of interest, to exert our united efforts in the support and defence of our country, attacked by an unjust and unprovoked war, and contending with one of the most dangerous confederacies that ever was formed against the crown and people of Great Britain.

The designs and attempts of our enemies to invade this kingdom, have, by the blessing of Providence, been hitherto frustrated and disappointed. They still menace us with great armaments and preparations; but we are, I trust, on our part, well prepared to meet every attack and repel every insult. I know the character of my brave people: the menaces of their enemies, and the approach of danger, have no other effect on their minds, but to animate their courage, and to call forth that national spirit, which has so often checked, and defeated, the projects of ambition and injustice, and enabled the British

fleets and armies to protect their own country, to vindicate their own rights, and at the same time to uphold, and preserve the liberties of Europe, from the restless and encroaching power of the House of Bourbon.

In the midst of my care and solicitude for the safety and welfare of this country, I have not been inattentive to the state of my loyal and faithful kingdom of Ireland. I have, in consequence of your addresses, presented to me in the last session, ordered such papers to be collected and laid before you, as may assist your deliberations, on this important business; and I recommend it to you to consider what further benefits and advantages may be extended to that kingdom, by such regulations, and such methods, as may, most effectually, promote the common strength, wealth, and interests of all my dominions.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

The proper estimates shall, in due time, be laid before you. I see, with extreme concern, that the necessary establishments of my naval and military forces, and the various services and operations of the ensuing year, must inevitably be attended with great and heavy expences;

expences; but I rely on your wisdom and public spirit for such supplies, as the circumstances and exigencies of our affairs shall be found to require.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I have great satisfaction in renewing the assurances of my entire approbation of the good conduct and discipline of the militia, and of their steady perseverance in their duty; and I return my cordial thanks to all ranks of my loyal subjects who have stood forth in this arduous conjuncture, and by their zeal, their influence, and their personal service, have given confidence as well as strength to the national defence. Trusting in the Divine Providence, and in the justice of my cause, I am firmly resolved to prosecute the war with vigour, and to make every exertion in order to compel our enemies to listen to equitable terms of peace and accommodation.

The humble Address of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in Parliament assembled.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

WE, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in parliament assembled, beg leave to return your majesty our humble thanks for your most gracious speech from the throne.

The just sense we have of the blessings under your majesty's government, and the indignation we feel at the unprovoked and unwarrantable aggression of our enemies, who seek to deprive us of those blessings, and threaten your majesty's kingdoms with invasion,

will continue to animate our resolutions, and redouble our efforts in the national defence. We trust, that those efforts, seconded by the zeal of a faithful and loyal people, will, under the Providence of God, be fully sufficient to repel every attack, to frustrate the hopes, and defeat the designs of any confederacy that may be formed against your majesty's crown and dominions.

In such a crisis, the approach of danger can serve only to call forth that national spirit, which always rises with the occasion that demands it, but never displayed itself in a more important conjuncture, though it has so often protected the liberties of these kingdoms, and of Europe in general, and has enabled the British fleets and armies to withstand, and defeat the designs of that restless and aspiring ambition, which has so frequently disturbed the peace and invaded the rights of mankind.

We are deeply sensible of your majesty's paternal goodness, which does not confine itself to one part of your dominions, but is anxious for the prosperity of the whole, and, in the midst of your care and sollicitude for the safety and welfare of this country, has led your attention to the state of your loyal and faithful kingdom of Ireland. Guided by the same sentiments which prompted the humble address we presented to your majesty the last session, we will continue our attention to those important objects your majesty's wisdom recommends, and after deliberately weighing the whole, will consider, what further benefits may be extended to that kingdom, by such regulations, and such methods, as may

may most effectually promote the common strength, wealth, and interests of all your majesty's dominions.

Your majesty's approbation of the good conduct and discipline of the militia, and of their steady perseverance in their duty, and the satisfaction your majesty expresses in the conduct of your loyal subjects of all ranks, who have stood forth in this arduous conjuncture, must redouble that zeal, extend that influence, and increase those personal exertions, which have given confidence as well as strength to the national defence.

We see, with great satisfaction, that your majesty, trusting in the Divine Providence, and in the justice of your cause, is firmly resolved to prosecute the war with vigour, and to make every exertion, in order to compel our enemies to listen to equitable terms of peace and accommodation. Such spirited and vigorous measures must be conducive to so desirable an end; and we humbly beg leave to assure your majesty, that they will meet with our most hearty concurrence and firmest support.

His Majesty's most gracious Answer.

My Lords,

I THANK you for this dutiful and loyal address. The spirit and resolution with which you stand forth in the national defence, and the support you promise to the vigorous measures I am determined to pursue, must tend to restore, upon fair and equitable terms, that general tranquillity, which I have ever endeavoured to maintain; and your attention to those important objects I have re-

commended to you, will, I doubt not, increase the general prosperity of all my subjects, which is my constant and invariable aim.

The humble Address of the House of Commons to the King.

Most gracious Sovereign,
WE, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Great Britain in parliament assembled, beg leave to return your majesty the thanks of this House, for your most gracious speech from the throne.

We are truly sensible that, in the present arduous situation of affairs, we are called upon by every principle and every sentiment of duty to your majesty, and to those we represent, to exert and to unite our utmost efforts in the support and defence of our country against a most unjust war, and one of the most dangerous confederacies that was ever formed against the crown and people of Great Britain.

We see and revere the goodness of Divine Providence, in frustrating and disappointing the designs of our enemies to invade this kingdom: and whenever they attempt to carry their menaces into execution, we trust that their attacks will be repelled, and their enterprise defeated, by the blessing of the same Providence on the valour and intrepidity of your majesty's fleets and armies; and that your majesty's gracious and endearing declaration of your confidence in the character and courage of your people will be justified, by the most convincing proofs, that they are still animated by the same ar-

dour, and the same spirit, that have in former times carried this nation through so many difficulties and dangers, and have so often enabled their ancestors to protect their country and all its dominions, and to save not only their own rights, but the liberties of other free states, from the restless ambition and encroaching power of the House of Bourbon.

We acknowledge, with thankfulness, your majesty's goodness and attention to the address of this House, respecting your loyal and faithful kingdom of Ireland, in being pleased to order such papers to be communicated to this House, as may assist our deliberations on this important business: and we beg leave to assure your majesty, that we will not fail to take into our consideration what further benefits and advantages may be extended to that kingdom by such regulations, and such methods, as may most effectually promote the common strength, wealth, and interests of all your dominions.

Permit us, Sir, to return our humble thanks to your majesty, for the gracious manner in which your majesty renews and confirms your entire approbation of the good conduct and steady discipline of the national militia; and to assure your majesty that we concur most sincerely with your majesty, in acknowledging and applauding the meritorious zeal and services of those loyal subjects who stood forth in the hour of danger, and who have added confidence, as well as strength, to the national defence.

Your majesty's faithful commons receive with gratitude, and take a sincere part in, your majesty's pa-

ternal expressions of concern, that the various and extensive services and operations of the ensuing year must unavoidably be attended with great and heavy expences: yet, when it is considered how much the commerce, the prosperity, and the safety, of Great Britain depend on the issue of this contest, we doubt not that such powerful considerations and motives will induce all your majesty's subjects to sustain, with cheerfulness and magnanimity, whatever burthens shall be found necessary, for raising such supplies as may enable your majesty to prosecute the war with vigour and effect, and to make every exertion, in order to compel your enemies to listen to equitable terms of peace and accommodation.

Address of the Archbishop, Bishops, and Clergy of the Province of Canterbury, in Convocation, assembled, presented to his Majesty on the 17th of November, 1780.

Most gracious Sovereign.

WE your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the archbishop, bishops, and clergy of the province of Canterbury, in convocation assembled, humbly beg leave to approach your throne, and with the deepest sense of gratitude for the protection we continue to enjoy under your majesty's reign, to offer our unfeigned congratulations on the further security of your majesty's illustrious House, by the birth of another prince, and on the happy recovery of our gracious queen, the patroness of religion and virtue.

We are, on this occasion, particularly

cularly obliged to acknowledge and admire a late instance of your majesty's attention to the interests of Christianity, in your royal munificence to the pious designs of the society for the propagation of the gospel in foreign parts, erected by a charter from your glorious predecessor, King William, and now restored to its former activity, by the liberal contributions of your subjects, encouraged by your majesty's example.

Amidst all the protection and favour we derive from the goodness of your majesty's heart, we lament the necessity of confessing, that the licentiousness of the times continues to counteract your paternal care for the state of national religion. Bad men and bad books are the produce of all times; but we observe with particular regret, that the wickedness of the age hath of late been directly pointed at the fences of piety and virtue, established by God himself, and apparently secured by law.

The open violation of the Lord's day, and the invitations of men to desert the religious duties of that day for amusements, frivolous at best, appears to call for the aid of the civil magistrate, to check the progress of an evil so dangerous both to church and state, by suppressing on the Lord's day, places of resort for pleasure, where the interposition of the ministers of religion is impracticable. We humbly assure your majesty, that so far as any exertion of ours can reach, we shall not fail to admonish and rebuke, both by word and example.

We have the comfortable hope, Sir, that it will appear to your majesty, that Popery is less preva-

lent than it has been in this part of your dominions. We are too zealously attached to Protestantism not to oppose the errors of the Church of Rome, as well in controversial attacks, as in the more successful way of teaching the doctrines of our Apostolical Church; adhering, at the same time, invariably to the principles of the reformation, which direct us to oppose error of every kind, by argument and persuasion, and to disavow all violence in the cause of religion.

May Almighty God, who, for our sins, hath permitted your majesty to be involved in a war, just, indeed, and necessary, but in its own nature productive of much calamity, bless your majesty's efforts with decisive success!

It becomes us, as ministers of the gospel, to praise God for every victory which has a tendency to the blessings of peace; and whenever it shall please his infinite wisdom to restore them to this nation, we shall further beseech him to grant to your majesty the full enjoyment of those blessings for many years, in the prosperity and unanimous loyalty of your subjects.

To which Address his Majesty was pleased to return the following most gracious Answer:

I THANK you for your congratulations on the increase of my family, and the happy recovery of the queen.

I hear with pleasure the zeal you express for the interests of our holy religion; and I shall continue to make it my constant endeavour to support them upon the

[X] 3

principles

principles of the reformation, against the encroachments of licentiousness or superstition.

Trusting to the justice of my cause, I rely on the continuance of the blessings of Providence on my endeavours to restore to my people a safe and honourable peace.

PROTEST OF THE LORDS.

Die Martis, Feb. 8vo.

Moved,

THAT a committee be appointed, consisting of members of both Houses, possessing neither employment nor pension, to examine without delay into the public expenditure, and the mode of accounting for the same; more particularly into the manner of making all contracts, and at the same time to take into consideration what savings can be made consistent with public dignity, justice, and gratitude. By an abolition of old or new created offices, the duties of which have either ceased, or shall on enquiry prove inadequate to the fees or other emoluments arising therefrom, or by the reduction of such salaries or other allowances and profits as may appear to be unreasonable; that the same may be applied to lessen the present ruinous expenditure, and to enable us to carry on the present war against the House of Bourbon, with that decision and vigour which can alone result from national zeal, confidence, and unanimity.

After a long debate, the House

divided at half past one, when there appeared

For the motion 55. Against it 101, including proxies.

Majority against the motion 46

DISSENTIENT,

1st. Because, however the waste of public money, and the profusion of useless salaries, may have been heretofore overlooked in the days of wealth and prosperity, the necessities of the present time can no longer endure the same system of corruption and prodigality.

The scarcity of money, the diminished value of land, the sinking of rents, with the decline of trade, are melancholy proofs that we are almost arrived at the end of taxation, and yet the demands are annually increased, while the hopes of peace are every year put to a greater dilance.

Let any man consider the increasing debt beyond the possibility of payment, with the present accumulation of taxes upon every article, not only of luxury, but of convenience and even of necessary use; and let him carry his thoughts forward to those additional duties which must immediately be imposed to make good the interest of the approaching loan, and of that debt which will remain unfunded, he will find that at least one million and a half of interest must be provided for, besides what may be further necessary to make good the deficiencies of the late taxes.

Under these circumstances, the savings of a strict and vigilant economy in every branch, and the application of overgrown salaries, unmerited pensions, and useless places

places to the public service, are almost the only resource left in the exhausted state of our finances. But besides this strong argument of necessity that presses upon the present moment, such and so great are the abuses in the management and expenditure of the public money as would call for the strictest enquiry and animadversion even in the best of times. The practice of expending immense sums without consent of parliament, under the fallacious head of contingencies and extraordinaries, the greater part of which might easily be comprised in an estimate; but because some unforeseen articles are not capable of such precision, the minister has, under that colour, found out a method of expending the public money first *ad libitum*, and when it has been so expended, has found means to induce parliament to think itself bound in honour to ratify and make it good, deserves the highest censure; and no minister who shall dare to stake the public credit, for money that has not been voted, ought to be justified by a less authority than an Act of Indemnity. The millions which remain in consequence unexplained and unaccounted for; the shameful facility of admitting almost every claim; the improvident bargains made for the public service; the criminal neglect and even contempt of the few checks established in the Board of Treasury, besides great part of the money being shared in its passage among a tribe of collectors, clerks, agents, jobbers or contractors, or paid away by official extortion, or stopped in its course to breed interest for some ingrossing individuals, are

grievances which the present motion has in view to remedy.

2dly. But great and important as the motion is in this view of it, it is still more important in another, as it tends to narrow the wide spreading influence of the crown, that has found its way into every corner of the kingdom.

It is sufficient to allude to this grievance, without any farther enlargement; but this argument, though perhaps the strongest in favour of the motion, has been turned into an objection to it, as if it meant to abridge the rights of monarchy, and make the crown dependent on the parliament.

If the objection means to insinuate that corruption is necessary to government, we shall leave that principle to confute itself by its own apparent iniquity.

That this motion is intended to diminish the constitutional power of the crown, we deny. The constitutional power of the crown we are no less solicitous to preserve, than we are to annihilate its unconstitutional influence. The prerogative rightly understood, not touched or intended to be touched by this motion, will support the crown in all the splendour which the king's personal dignity requires, and with all the authority and vigour necessary to give due effect to the executive powers of government.

It has been argued, that this is not a proper time for reformation, when all the attention of the kingdom should be employed upon the war, as the great and only object in the present time of distress: to which we beg leave to insist that the present is, for that very reason,

son, the properest time, because nothing is so essential to the conduct and prosecution of the war as the frugal management of that supply by which only it can be carried on with any prospect of success. Nor ought the plan of economy to be any longer delayed at the risk of a general bankruptcy; and from the history of this, as well as other countries, times of necessity have been always times of reform.

3dly. Because we conceive that the mode of a committee, which might act with a committee of the other House, and might, if necessary, be rendered durable, and vested with due powers by an act of the whole legislature, might bring back the public expenditure to its constitutional principle, might devise proper regulations for opening contracts to the proposals of every fair bidder, for reforming the abuses of office, and the enormity of fees, with a variety of other abuses, particularly that of large sums of money lying in the hands of individuals, to the loss of the state.

An objection has been strongly urged on the ground of an apprehension expressed by some lords, as if they seriously entertained it, of its producing a quarrel between the two Houses of parliament; in consequence of which, the public business might be obstructed, by a claim on the part of the House of Commons to an exclusive right of considering and providing for the subjects of this motion.

Such a claim certainly cannot be supported, as a consequence of the claim of that House to originate money bills. Not a single Lord appeared to entertain an idea

that such a claim would be well founded. In truth, the objection, supposes it to be ill-founded, and that therefore the House will resist it; and yet it assumes that the House of Commons will advance and persist in this ill-founded claim. We cannot discover any colour for such a supposition, unless we were to adopt the insinuations of those who represent the corrupt influence (which it is our wish to suppress) as already pervading that House. Those who entertain that opinion of one House of parliament, will hardly think less disrespectfully of the other. To them it will seem a matter of indifference, whether the motion is defeated by the exertion of that influence, to excite a groundless claim in the one House, or by a groundless apprehension of such a claim in the other. But we, who would be understood to think with more respect of both, cannot entertain an apprehension so injurious to the House of Commons, as that they would at this time especially, and on this occasion, have advanced such a claim.

The motion has likewise been objected to on account of its disqualifying persons possessing employments or pensions, to be of the proposed committee. We are far from supposing that the possession of place or pension necessarily corrupts the integrity of the possessor. We have seen, and the public have seen, many illustrious instances of the contrary; yet we cannot but suppose that the public expectation of advantage from this measure would have been less sanguine, if they had seen persons possessing offices selected to distinguish

guish how far their officers were useful or their salaries adequate; they perhaps would not think the possessor of a pension or office the fittest judge how far that pension or office had been increased or was necessary. We cannot therefore think the motion justly exceptionable on this ground; it rather appears to us to have been drawn with a proper attention to noble lords in that predicament, exempting them from a situation which they must necessarily wish to decline.

We conceive ourselves warranted in the mode proposed, by precedent as well as reason, and it was stated to the House to have been recommended by the most approved constitutional authors who have written since the revolution; but having offered to meet any other proposition which might carry with it substantial remedy, and no such being offered, notwithstanding the time this proposition has lain before the House, we cannot help considering the present negative as going to the substantial as well as formal part of the motion, and hold ourselves obliged to avail ourselves of our right of entering our protest against the rejection of the above proposition.

4thly. We are farther impelled to press this motion, because the object of it has been seconded and called for by a considerable majority of the people, who are associating for this purpose, and seem determined to pursue it, by every legal and constitutional method that can be devised for its success; and however some may affect to be alarmed, as if such associations tended to disturb the peace, or encroach upon the delegated power

of the other House, we are persuaded they have no other view but to collect the sense of the people, and to inform the whole body of the representatives, what are the sentiments of the whole body of their constituents, in which respect their proceedings have been orderly, peaceable, and constitutional. And if it be asked, what farther is to be done if these petitions are rejected? The best answer is, that the case cannot be supposed; for although upon a few separate petitions it may be fairly said that the other House ought not to be decided by a part only of their constituents, yet it cannot be presumed they will act in defiance of the united opinion of the whole people, or indeed of any great and notorious majority. It is admitted they have a power to vote as they think fit; but it is not possible to conceive that so wise an assembly will ever be rash enough to reject such petitions, and by that means cause this dangerous question to be broached and agitated, *Whether they have not broke their trust?* The voice of the people will certainly be complied with.

Ministers may, as they have done in recent instances, deprive any man of what he holds at their pleasure, for presuming to exercise his undoubted right of thinking for himself on these or other public subjects: but it will not be wise in them to treat these associations with contempt, or call them by the invidious name of Faction, a name by which the minority in both Houses of parliament have been so frequently and so falsely calumniated, because the name so applied will recoil back upon themselves, when acting against the

the general sense of the nation; nor will they be able to represent these numbers, so respectable in rank and property (as they did but too successfully the discontented Americans), as a mob of indigent and seditious incendiaries, because the people to whom this is addressed, are the very people that are abused, and every man bears within himself the testimony of its falsehood.

The ministers, on this particular occasion, cannot deceive the people.

Fortescue,	Abingdon,
Harcourt,	Pembroke and
De Ferrars,	Montgomery,
Beaulieu,	Fitzwilliam,
Camden,	Rutland,
Coventry,	Nugent Temple,
Richmond,	Bolton,
Manchester,	Courtenay,
Derby,	Stamford,
Effingham,	Tankerville,
Grafton,	J. S. Asaph,
Portland,	Wycombe,
Ferrers,	Craven,
Cholmondeley,	Rockingham,
King,	Scarborough,
Abergavenny,	Jersey,
J. Peterborough,	Devonshire.

Dissentiente, without reasons, Radnor.

For all the above reasons, except the fourth, Osborne.

Dilectus, Mart. &c.

Moved,

THAT whereas the Right Hon. the Marquis of Carmarthen was dismissed from his office of Lord Lieutenant of the East-Riding of Yorkshire, on the morning of the 8th of February, when his opinion was known concerning a question that was to be agitated in this house on the even-

ing of that day; and whereas the Right Hon. the Earl of Pembroke was likewise dismissed from the office of Lord Lieutenant of Wiltshire, a few days after he had given his vote upon the same question; therefore this house have reason to suspect that they were dismissed in consequence of the said votes; it is resolved therefore that an humble address be presented to his Majesty, beseeching him to be graciously pleased to inform the house, whether he was advised, and by whom, to dismiss the said two noble lords for their conduct in parliament.

After a long debate, the question being put,

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DISSENTIENT,

I. Because we cannot entertain a doubt, but that the two noble lords, whose removals from their licutenancies have given rise to this motion, suffered this mark of his Majesty's displeasure for their conduct in parliament.

The facts expressed of the motion were sufficient in themselves to satisfy any reasonable person, that this was the sole cause of their dismissal, and might well have justified an immediate censure on the advisers of that unconstitutional measure. But the motion, at the same time that it was calculated to point the censure at those advisers by name, if it should have been merited, gave them an opportunity of being exculpated if guiltless, by the solemn testimony which his Majesty would, in such case, have given of their innocence.

II. Because the offer made by the noble lord who proposed this address that it should be withdrawn, if any one of his Majesty's ministers

ministers would declare upon his honour, that these removals were for any other cause than 'that' which has been alledged, and the silence with which ministers thought fit to receive this proposal, although called upon by almost every lord who spoke for the motion, is an additional reason for confirming us in our belief, that his Majesty has been advised to remove the two noble lords from their lieutenancies for their conduct in parliament.

III. Because we consider this dismissal of lords from high and honourable offices, on account of their proceedings in parliament, to be a violation of the Bill of Rights, which declares, "That proceedings in parliament ought not to be impeached or questioned (much less punished) in any court or place out of parliament." And we are greatly apprehensive of the consequences, if this daring attempt to subvert one of the most sacred principles of our constitution, should pass with impunity and grow into precedent.

IV. Because the mischievous tendency of such influence is greatly augmented by the connection which the offices in question (lieutenancies of counties) have with the proper constitution of the militia. That important branch of the national defence has been so altered as to have almost lost sight of the original principles of an English militia. The notorious abuses introduced into it, and the disregard paid to the few wholesome regulations remaining in it, would soon make the militia a dangerous instrument in the hands of the minister, were it not

for the exemplary zeal of those gentlemen, who, sacrificing every degree of domestic comfort, and submitting to unnecessary and distant removals from their counties, still endeavour to maintain its purity in the character of its officers; and we consider these alterations and abuses as giving the more just grounds of apprehension and jealousy, as they tend to assimilate the militia in principle and in habits to the standing army, in which also dangerous innovations appear daily taking place; innovations, which though charged in the debate, were neither denied nor defended.

Lastly, because when ministers, in the same moment that they are exerting the influence of the crown in a most corrupt and unconstitutional manner, think fit to assert, in contradiction to the evidence of all our senses, that it is not increased, and is not formidable, we can have little hope that such ministers will ever suffer that influence to be diminished, although its diminution is one of the principal objects of the prayer and petition of the people, founded on a feeling sense of the increased, increasing, and formidable extent of it.

Harcourt,	Manchester,
Wycomb,	Rockingham,
Craven,	Rutland,
Camden,	Abingdon,
De Ferrars,	Abergavenny,
Ponsonby,	Fitzwilliam,
King,	Richmond,
Derby,	Essingham,
Beaulieu,	Radnor.
Devonshire,	

Die Veneris, Aprilis 14mo.

Moved,

THAT the bill, intituled a bill for the exclusion of contractors from the lower house of parliament, be read a second time and committed.

After some debate, the question being put, there appeared

For the commitment - 41

Against it - 60

Majority - 19

It was then moved to reject the bill.

The question was put thereupon, and resolved in the affirmative.

DISSENTIENT,

I. Because the commons, desirous of re-establishing the reputation and authority of parliament, and of giving satisfaction to the people, at a time when the most cordial and unsuspecting confidence between the representative and constituent bodies is essentially necessary, have come to a resolution, 'That it is necessary to declare, that the influence of the crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished.'

This resolution we conceive to be undeniably true, and highly reasonable. Their commencement of the diminution (which they have solemnly engaged to make) by the bill here rejected, is no less judicious. In the midst of a war, in which nothing (among all its unhappy circumstances) is more remarkable than the prodigality with which it is carried on, it appears peculiarly necessary to remove from parliament the suspicion that the rash adoption, the obstinate continuance, and the corrupt

supply of military arrangements, are connected with the support of a court majority in parliament.

II. Because the people, oppressed with actual impositions, and terrified with the certain prospect of farther and heavier burthens, have a right to be assured, that none should have a power of laying those burthens, who have an interest in increasing them. Neither is it fit that they who are the principal subjects of complaint, should sit as the controllers of their own conduct. Contracts can never be fairly made, when the parliamentary service of the contractor is a necessary, understood part of the agreement, and must be reckoned into the price. But the most unexceptionable contract being a matter of great advantage to the contractor, it becomes a means of influence even when it is not a principle of abuse. It is the greatest of all the bribes a minister has to bestow; and one day's jobb may be worth the purchase of the fee of most of the places and pensions that are held in that house.

III. Because no reasons have been assigned for the rejection of this bill, but such as appear to us frivolous or dangerous. It was argued as necessary to abate the phreazy of virtue, which began to shew itself in the House of Commons. This new species of phrenzy we look upon to be rather a character of soundness, than a symptom of insanity; and we fairly declare, that, as we frequently come into contact with the other House, we heartily wish that that distemper may become contagious. Another reason assigned against this bill, that it is not possible for vast

vast pecuniary emoluments to have any influence on members of parliament, appears to originate from so perfect a puerility of understanding, or such a contempt of that of the house and the nation, that it is mentioned as a matter to be animadverted upon, not answered. Of the same nature is the argument drawn from the supposed improbability of abuses in contracts, because the law has left in the hands of ministers the means of prosecuting at law the supporters of their power, and the accomplices of their own fraud and malversation. These arguments will give little satisfaction to those who look at the House of Lords as a barrier against some possibly sudden and mistaken warmth of the House of Commons, that might be injurious to the just prerogatives of the crown, or the rights of the people; but we will not bear the gross abuse of this constitutional power; or that this House should set itself as an obstruction to the most honourable, manly, and virtuous resolution ever come to by an House of Commons; a resolution made in direct conformity to the petitions of their constituents. We protest, therefore, against our standing in the way of even the first steps taken towards promoting the independence, integrity, and virtue of a house of parliament.

De Ferrars,	J. St. Asaph,
Rockingham,	Beaulieu,
Abergavenny,	Osborne,
Fortescue,	Colnondale,
Courtenay,	M. chester,
Wycombe,	Coventry,
Pontony,	St. John,
Percy,	Fitz-William,
Ferrers,	Abingdon,

Pembroke, and Portland,
Montgomery, Devonshire,
Scarborough, Harcourt,
Richmond, Jersey.

For the first and third reasons, adopting however very heartily in the present state of parliamentary representation the sound principles contained in the second, which yet I conceive inapplicable to this bill.

RADNOR.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech to both Houses of Parliament, June 19, 1780.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE outrages committed by bands of desperate and abandoned men, in various parts of this metropolis, broke forth with violence into acts of felony and treason, had so far overborne all civil authority, and threatened so directly the immediate subversion of all legal power, the destruction of all property, and the confusion of every order in the state, that I found myself obliged, by every tie of duty and affection to my people, to suppress, in every part, those rebellious insurrections, and to provide for the public safety, by the most effectual and immediate application of the force entrusted to me by parliament.

I have directed copies of the proclamations issued upon that occasion, to be laid before you.

Proper orders have been given for bringing the authors and abettors of these insurrections, and the perpetrators of such criminal acts, to speedy trial, and to such condign punishment as the laws of their country prescribe, and as the vindication of public justice demands.

Though

Though I trust it is not necessary, yet I think it right at this time, to renew to you my solemn assurances, that I have no other object but to make the laws of the realm, and the principles of our excellent constitution in church and state, the rule and measure of my conduct; and I shall ever consider it as the first duty of my station, and the chief glory of my reign, to maintain and preserve the established religion of my kingdoms, and as far as in me lies, to secure and to perpetuate the rights and liberties of my people.

*The humble Address of the Lords
Spiritual and Temporal, in Par-
liament assembled.*

Die Lunæ, 19^o Janii, 1780.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lords spiritual and temporal, in parliament assembled, beg leave to return your Majesty our humble thanks for your most gracious speech from the throne.

We feel the utmost abhorrence and detestation of the outrages committed in various parts of this metropolis, by bands of desperate and abandoned men; outrages that broke forth with such violence into acts of felony and treason, and which threatening so directly the immediate subversion of all legal authority, the destruction of all property, and the confusion of every order in the state, called loudly for the speediest and most effectual application of the force entrusted to your Majesty by law.

We beg leave to testify our warmest gratitude to your Majesty, for your paternal care and concern for the protection of your subjects, so manifest in the measures your wisdom directed in this urgent necessity, to suppress in every part, these rebellious insurrections, and to provide for the general safety, by the restoration of public peace.

We thank your majesty for the communication you have been pleased to make to this house, of the proclamations issued in this alarming conjuncture.

We learn with satisfaction that orders have been given for bringing the offenders to speedy trial, and to such condign punishment as the law prescribes, and the vindication of public justice demands.

Although the uniform tenor of your Majesty's conduct rendered unnecessary the renewal of your gracious assurances to your parliament, yet the manner in which they are given, raises in us the warmest emotions of gratitude, affection, and duty. Such a declaration of the just and wise principles that are the rule and measure of your Majesty's government, must endear your Majesty more and more to all your subjects, and meet with the fullest return of attachment, confidence, and zeal.

His Majesty's most gracious Answer.

My Lords,

I thank you heartily for this address, so full of duty to me and of zeal for your country. Your abhorrence of the rebellious insurrections, and your unanimous approbation of the measures taken to suppress them, must have the most salutary

salutary effects. Nothing can give me greater satisfaction than the confidence you repose in me. It shall be justified by the whole tenor of my reign.

We learn with satisfaction, that proper orders have been given for bringing the offenders to speedy trial, and to such punishment, as, upon conviction of their crimes, the laws prescribe, and the vindication of public justice certainly demands.

Although the constant tenor of your Majesty's just and constitutional government, made a renewal of your Majesty's royal assurances to your parliament unnecessary, yet we cannot but receive with great thankfulness, so signal a mark of your Majesty's gracious attention; and we beg leave, on our part, to assure your Majesty, that this condescending and endearing declaration, cannot fail of securing to your Majesty, in the hearts of your people, the most affectionate returns of confidence, attachment, and support.

The humble Address of the House of Commons.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the commons of Great-Britain, in parliament assembled, beg leave to return your Majesty the humble thanks of this house, for your most gracious speech from the throne; and for the communication which your Majesty has been pleased to make to this house, of the proclamations issued during the late most dangerous and alarming disturbances.

We think it our indispensable duty to express, in the strongest terms, our abhorrence of the proceedings of those tumultuous assemblies, and of the criminal acts of outrage and violence committed by those desperate bands of men, and our highest indignation against the authors, promoters, and perpetrators of them; and to acknowledge, with the warmest emotions of gratitude, duty, and affection, your Majesty's paternal care and concern for the protection of your subjects, in the measures which your Majesty, as the father of your people, and the guardian of public safety, took in the hour of extreme and imminent necessity, for the immediate and effectual suppression of those rebellious insurrections.

His Majesty's Answer to the Address of the House of Commons.

Gentlemen,

I return you my cordial and particular thanks for this loyal, affectionate, and unanimous address.

Union at this time, must have the best and most important consequences: nothing can more powerfully assist me in preserving the public safety and securing reverence for the laws, and obedience to legal government. Be assured that it is my constant and ardent desire to promote the happiness of all my subjects, and to deserve the confidence and support of a free people.

On

On Saturday, July 8, his Majesty closed the Session of Parliament with the following Speech.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

IT gives me great satisfaction to find myself able to determine this long session of parliament, that you may be at liberty to return to your several countries, and attend to your private affairs, after so laborious a discharge of your duty in the public service; and I take this occasion to express my sincere acknowledgement for the fresh proofs you have given me of your affectionate zeal for the support of my government, and of your just estimation of the real and permanent interests of your country.

Your magnanimity and perseverance in the prosecution of this just and necessary war have enabled me to make such exertions as will, I trust, by the assistance of Divine Providence, disappoint the violent and unjust designs of my enemies, and bring them to listen to equitable and honourable terms of peace.

These exertions have already been attended with success by sea and land; and the late important and prosperous turn of affairs in North America affords the fairest prospect of the returning loyalty and affection of my subjects in the colonies, and of their happy reunion with their parent country.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I feel myself under particular obligations to thank you for the large and ample supplies you have

so cheerfully granted, and for the confidence you repose in me. No attention shall be wanting, on my part, to render them effectual, and to see them faithfully applied.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

Let me earnestly recommend to you to assist me, by your influence and authority in your several countries, as you have by your unanimous support in parliament, in guarding the peace of the kingdom from future disturbances, and watching over the preservation of the public safety. Make my people sensible of the happiness they enjoy, and the distinguished advantages they derive from our excellent constitution in church and state. Warn them of the hazard of innovation—point out to them the fatal consequences of such commotions as have lately been excited; and let it be your care to impress on their minds this important truth, That rebellious insurrections to resist, or to reform the laws, must end either in the destruction of the persons who make the attempt, or in the subversion of our free and happy constitution.

And afterwards the Lord Chancellor, by his Majesty's command, said:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

It is his Majesty's royal will and pleasure, that this parliament be prorogued to Thursday, the twenty-fourth day of August next, to be then here holden; and this parliament is accordingly prorogued to Thursday, the twenty-fourth day of August next.

By

By the KING.

Dublin-Castle, September 2.

A PROCLAMATION,
For dissolving this present Parliament, and declaring the calling of another.

GEORGE R.

WHEREAS we have thought fit, by and with the advice of our privy-council, to dissolve this present parliament, which now stands prorogued to Thursday the 28th day of this instant September: We do, for that end, publish this our royal proclamation; and do hereby dissolve the said parliament accordingly: and the lords spiritual and temporal, and the knights, citizens, and burgeses, and the commissioners for shires and burghs, of the house of commons, are discharged from their meeting and attendance on Thursday the said 28th day of this instant September. And we being desirous and resolved, as soon as may be, to meet our people, and to have their advice in parliament, do hereby make known, to all our loving subjects, our royal will and pleasure to call a new parliament; and do hereby further declare, that, with the advice of our privy-council, we have, this day, given order to our chancellor of Great-Britain to issue out writs, in due form, for calling a new parliament; which writs are to bear teste on Saturday the 2d day of this instant September, and to be returnable on Tuesday the 31st day of October following.

Given at our court at St. James's, the 1st day of September, 1780, in the twentieth year of our reign.

God save the King.

VOL. XXIII.

THIS day his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant went in state to the House of Peers with the usual solemnity; and, the Commons being sent for, gave the royal assent to such bills as were ready; after which his Excellency made the following most gracious speech to both Houses of Parliament:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I am happy at length to congratulate you on the conclusion of this session of parliament, though the important measures under deliberation must have made your attendance less irksome to you.

If your long absence from your several counties has been productive of any inconvenience, such inconvenience is fully compensated by permanent and solid benefits, the successful consequences of your labours.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I thank you, in his Majesty's name, for the liberal supplies you have granted. Your cheerfulness in giving, and your attention to the ease of the subject in the mode of raising them, must be very acceptable to his Majesty; on my part, I assure you they shall be faithfully applied.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The satisfaction with which the heart of every Irishman must exult at the scene of prosperity now opening to this country, may equal, it cannot exceed, the glow of my private feelings. And, whilst you applaud the conduct of Great-Britain in removing the restrictions

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restrictions upon the trade of this kingdom, you cannot but particularly acknowledge the unequivocal demonstrations of her sincere affection, in admitting you, upon the most liberal plan, to an immediate, free, and equal intercourse with her colonies.

The wise and salutary laws which you have framed naturally lead to the most beneficial enjoyment of that intercourse; and when I reflect on these objects, and on your meritorious attention to the trade, agriculture, and manufactures of this kingdom, so conspicuously manifested by the laws passed for granting ample bounties on the export of your corn, your linen and your sail-cloth; by the premiums for encouraging the growth of hemp and flax-seed, and by the judicious provisions for the better regulation of your manufactures, I feel a conscious satisfaction, that the commerce of this kingdom has been established upon an extended, firm, and lasting basis; and that Ireland must, in the course of her future prosperity, look back to this era, the labours of the present parliament, and the diffusive indulgence of his Majesty, with the most grateful veneration.

Your own discreet judgment will naturally suggest the expediency, when you return to your several counties, of impressing upon the minds of all ranks of men, the various blessings of their present situation. Demonstrate to them, that every effectual source of commercial wealth is now their own, and invites that industry, without which the wisest commercial regulations remain a dead letter, and the bounties of nature

are lavished in vain. Cherish such a spirit of industry; and convince them of the effectual advantages they derive from their free and excellent constitution, the maintenance of every branch of which, in its just vigour and authority, can alone secure their liberties, and preserve their happiness.

After which the Lord Chancellor, by his Excellency's command, said,

My Lords and Gentlemen,

It is his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant's pleasure, that this parliament be prorogued to Tuesday the 10th day of October next, to be then here held; and this parliament is accordingly prorogued to Tuesday the 10th day of October next.

To the Honourable the Commons of Great-Britain, in Parliament assembled:

The Petition of the Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders of the County of York,

Sheweth,

THAT this nation hath been engaged for several years in a most expensive and unfortunate war; that many of our valuable colonies, having actually declared themselves independent, have formed a strict confederacy with France and Spain, the dangerous and inveterate enemies of Great-Britain; that the consequence of those combined misfortunes hath been a large addition to the national debt, a heavy accumulation of taxes, a rapid decline of the trade, manu-
factures,

stures, and land-rents of the kingdom.

Alarmed at the diminished resources and growing burthens of this country, and convinced that rigid frugality is now indispensably necessary in every department of the state, your petitioners observe with grief, that notwithstanding the calamitous and impoverished condition of the nation, much public money has been improvidently squandered, and that many individuals enjoy sinecure places, efficient places with exorbitant emoluments, and pensions unmerited by public service, to a large and still increasing amount; whence the crown has acquired a great and unconstitutional influence, which, if not checked, may soon prove fatal to the liberties of this country.

Your petitioners conceiving that the true end of every legitimate government is not the emolument of any individual, but the welfare of the community; and considering that by the constitution of this realm the national purse is intrusted in a peculiar manner to the custody of this honourable house; beg leave further to represent, that until effectual measures be taken to redress the oppressive grievances herein stated, the grant of any additional sum of public money, beyond the produce of the present taxes, will be injurious to the rights and property of the people, and derogatory from the honour and dignity of parliament.

Your petitioners therefore appealing to the justice of this honourable house, do most earnestly request, that, before any new burthens are laid upon this country, effectual measures may be taken

by this house to enquire into and correct the gross abuses in the expenditure of public money; to reduce all exorbitant emoluments; to rescind and abolish all sinecure places and unmerited pensions; and to appropriate the produce to the necessities of the state in such manner as to the wisdom of parliament shall seem meet.

And your petitioners shall ever pray, &c. &c.

The following counties presented petitions nearly in the same words:

Middlesex,	Dorset,
Chester,	Devon,
Hants,	Norfolk,
Hertford,	Berks,
Suffex,	Bucks,
Huntingdon,	Nottingham,
Surry,	Kent,
Cumberland,	Northumberl.
Bedford,	Suffolk,
Essex,	Hereford,
Gloucester,	Cambridge,
Somerset,	Derby.
Wills,	

Also the cities of London, Westminster, York, Bristol, and the towns of Cambridge, Nottingham, Newcastle, Reading, and Bridgewater. — The county of Northampton agreed to instruct their members on the points of the petition.

To the Honourable the Commons of Great-Britain in Parliament assembled:

A Representation and Petition of the Planters, Merchants, and other Persons interested in the Island of Jamaica.

THAT your petitioners, in all duty and humility, beg
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leave to lay before this honourable house several circumstances which they presume it is important for the house to know, and to which they are certain it is of the utmost importance to them that a due attention should be paid.

Your petitioners represent to this honourable house, that the island of Jamaica has not been protected: They represent, that the temporary safety which it has enjoyed has been owing to the direction of the enemy's force towards other objects, and not to any intrinsic means of defence provided for that island by his Majesty's ministers. They conceive, that the safety of such a possession as Jamaica ought not to have been left to chance. They represent, that the island of Jamaica is inferior in value to none of the dependencies of Great-Britain; that great part even of what appears to be the interior wealth of Great-Britain itself is, in reality, the wealth of Jamaica, which is so intimately interwoven with the internal interest of this kingdom, that it is not easy to distinguish them; that a great part of the trade and navigation, a large proportion of the revenue, and very much of the mercantile and the national credit, and the value of the landed interest, depend immediately on its preservation; that its defence is therefore an object as important to Great-Britain as any part of Great-Britain itself; and that it is an object to be provided for with still greater care and foresight, because its natural means of home defence are infinitely less considerable.

They solemnly declare, that, conscious of their invariable loy-

alty to the crown of Great Britain, and their unbounded attachment to the prosperity of the whole empire, they are not able to conjecture for what offence, real or pretended, they have so long been put under this proscription. If your petitioners had been active by factious clamours, or delusive representations, by concealing true or suggesting false information, in betraying their sovereign and their country into war, they might have the less reason to complain of the neglect by which they have suffered so many distresses, and have been exposed to so many dangers. It is in the recollection of this honourable house, that, at an early period of the present unhappy troubles, the body of the West-India planters and merchants did humbly state their apprehensions to parliament, and deprecated the unhappy measures which were then taken. It is the misfortune of the public, as well as theirs, that no attention was paid to their humble prayers, and that their most dutiful and faithful representations were totally neglected.

They affirm, that they have not deserved to be thus abandoned, from a want of having purchased for a valuable consideration the protection of the state. The planters have seen, not only with acquiescence but pleasure, their trade almost wholly confined to the mother country, the place of residence of the greater part, and the object of the tenderest affection to all of them. Both planters and merchants have had the produce of their estates as largely taxed in Great-Britain, to the common support, as any others. The assembly of the island of Jamaica has,

has, beyond any former example of liberality, and far beyond their abilities, laid destructive impositions on their estates and properties within the island. Vast personal services, burthensome in the extreme, and nearly ruinous to the present value of all they possess, have been cheerfully given. They have borne patiently the heavy losses and burthens, the fatal, though not unforeseen consequences of their separation from North America. After all these impositions and taxes in England, these taxes and personal services in Jamaica, and after sufferings of every kind in this war, on suggestion from friends of government, they have had resort in their individual characters to their almost exhausted purses, and made a large private subscription for their own defence.

They represent, that they have been credibly informed, that at the time when administration declined to provide the necessary forces, either by sea or land, for their defence, that his Majesty's secretary at war publicly declared, that his Majesty did then command more numerous forces, by sea and land, than the most formidable monarch of the world had under his orders, when his power alarmed all Europe; and they are informed, that large additions to his Majesty's forces were made some time after. They now also feel, that they are amongst those who are taxed for the maintenance of an army of upwards of seventy thousand men employed in North America; and they presume, that the suppression of no rebellion whatever can be a more near and urgent concern of any government than the pro-

tection of its loyal and useful subjects.

They represent, that they have not been wanting to themselves, by every representation in their power, and every solicitation, to call upon his Majesty's ministers for the necessary protection. For though, from the duty of their station, and their high trust, his Majesty's ministers ought to have shewn an anxious and provident care of all his Majesty's dominions, even if individuals, through ignorance, or want of foresight, had neglected their own private interest in them; yet they humbly inform the house, that many strong remonstrances were made on this subject to his Majesty's ministers by your petitioners, beginning so early as 1773, and continued to the 8th of December, 1779; and that addresses on the same were made to his Majesty by the assembly of Jamaica, as also a representation of the want of men, ships, stores, arms, ammunition, and of every other means for their defence; yet they never did, at any time, receive from the said ministers any answers, other than excuses, on account of the number of ships employed on the American and home service, and certain loose general assurances, from which they received little comfort, and have reaped no advantage; and that even the positive assurances of the governor to the assembly of the island, of his Majesty's gracious intention that the squadron on that station should be considerably reinforced, have not been fulfilled.

Your petitioners most humbly request the attention of this house to their past and present situation, pledging themselves to prove, be-

yond a doubt, the truth of their allegations. In the mean time, your petitioners acquaint this honourable house, that, unless a strong regular force be permanently established in Jamaica during the war, and a considerable fleet stationed there, they cannot think that island in a state of security. This they conceive themselves as Englishmen bound to lay before the representatives of the people of Great-Britain, humbly claiming protection as their undoubted right; and looking back with horror at the dangers from which (by the sole disposition of the Divine Providence) they have escaped, whilst sundry of their fellow-subjects are now obliged to prostrate themselves at the foot of the throne of the French king, to implore the mercy of that monarch, instead of the protection of their natural sovereign.

The Memorial presented by Sir Joseph Yorke, the English Ambassador Extraordinary at the Hague, the 21st Day of March, was to the following Purport:

High and mighty Lords,

THE King, my master, has always cultivated the friendship of your High Mightinesses, and has always looked upon the alliance which has so long subsisted between the two nations as founded on the wisest principles, and essential to their mutual welfare. The principal objects of that alliance, supported upon the strong basis of common interest, are the security and prosperity of the two states, the maintenance

of public tranquillity, and the preservation of that just equilibrium which has been so often troubled by the ambitious policy of the House of Bourbon.

When the Court of Versailles, in direct violation of public faith, and the common right of all sovereigns, broke the peace by a league made with his Majesty's rebellious subjects, which was avowed and formally declared by the Marquis de Noailles, when France, by immense preparations, manifested a design to annihilate the maritime power of England, the king thought your High Mightinesses too sensible not to see that the welfare of the Republic was so closely connected with that of Great-Britain, as to induce you to hasten to its succour. One of his Majesty's first cares was to inform your High Mightinesses of all the circumstances of that unjust war, and in the critical situation in which the king found himself he did not forget the interests of his ancient allies, but on the contrary, shewed the sincerest desire to favour the trade and free navigation of the Republic as much as the welfare of his people would permit; he even refrained a long time to reclaim the succours stipulated by treaty, and though he fulfilled his own engagements, did not require the same from your High Mightinesses; the reclamation in question was not made till the united forces of France and Spain were ready to fall upon England at once, and attempt a landing, with the assistance of a formidable fleet. Although they were frustrated in that enterprize, the king's enemies are still meditating the same projects; and it is

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by the express order of his Majesty, that the underwritten again renews, in the most formal manner, the demand of the succours stipulated by different treaties, and particularly that of 1716.

Hitherto your High Mightinesses have been silent upon this essential article, whilst you insisted upon a forced interpretation of the treaty of commerce of the year 1674, against the abuse of which Great-Britain at all times protested. This interpretation cannot be reconciled with the clear and particular stipulation of the secret article of the treaty of peace of the same year. An article of a treaty of commerce cannot annul so essential an article of a treaty of peace, and both are expressly comprehended in the principal treaty of alliance of 1678, by which your High Mightinesses are obliged to furnish his Majesty with the required succours. You are too wise and too just not to feel that all the engagements between powers ought to be mutually and reciprocally observed, and although they were agreed upon at different periods, do alike bind the contracting parties. This incontestable principle is the more applicable here, as the treaty of 1716 renews all the anterior engagements between the Crown of England and the Republic, and in a manner includes them in one.

The underwritten had further orders to declare to your High Mightinesses, that he was ready to enter into conference with you to regulate, in an amicable manner, all that was necessary to prevent a misunderstanding, and every other disagreeable event, by con-

certing measures which should be both equitable and advantageous to the subjects of both countries; but this amicable overture was refused in a manner as unexpected and extraordinary as unusual between two friendly powers: and without paying any attention either to the repeated public and private representations relative to convoys, your High Mightinesses not only granted these convoys to different sorts of naval stores, but more particularly ordered that a certain number of men of war should be ready for the future to convoy naval ammunition of all sorts, to the ports of France, and that at a time when the subjects of the republic enjoyed by treaty a liberty and extent of commerce far beyond what the right of nations grants to neutral powers.

This resolution, and the orders given to Rear-admiral Count Bylandt, to oppose by force the searching of the merchant-ships brought on an incident which the friendship of the king desired much to prevent; but it is notorious, that that admiral, in consequence of his instructions, fired first at the boats under English colours, which were sent to examine the ships in the manner prescribed by the treaty of 1674.

This then is a manifest aggression, a direct violation of that same treaty which your High Mightinesses seem to look upon as the most sacred of all. His Majesty had before-hand made reiterated representations upon the necessity and justice of the examination, which had taken place in all analogous circumstances, and is fully authorized by the treaty. They were apprized in London,

that a number of vessels were at the Texel, laden with naval stores, and particularly masts, and large ship building timber, ready to sail for France, with or under a Dutch convoy. The event proved the truth of these informations, as several of these vessels were found even under the said convoy, the greatest part of them escaped, and furnished France with very efficacious supplies, of which they stood in great need. Whilst your High Mightinesses thus assisted the king's enemies, by favouring the transportation of these succours, you imposed a heavy penalty on those subjects of the Republic who should supply the garri-son of Gibraltar with provisions, although that place is comprehended in the general guarantee of all the British possessions in Europe, and although at that moment Spain had disturbed the trade of the Republic in an unprecedented and outrageous manner.

It is not only on these occasions that the conduct of your High Mightinesses towards the king, and towards the enemies of his majesty, holds up a striking contrast to the impartial eyes of all the world. No one can be ignorant of what has passed in Paul Jones's affair: the asylum granted to that pirate was directly contrary to the treaty of Breda in 1667, and to your High Mightinesses Placard in 1756; besides which, although your High Mightinesses have, and still continue to keep an absolute silence relative to the just reclamations of his majesty, yet, upon the simple request of the king's enemies, you assured them you would observe a strict and unlimited neutrality, without any

exceptions of the ancient engagements of the Republic, founded on the most solemn treaties.

Notwithstanding all this, the king is willing to persuade himself, that all that has passed is less to be attributed to the real sentiments of your High Mightinesses than to the artifices of his enemies, who, after sowing discord between the members of the States, have by threats and promises endeavoured to set them against their ancient ally.

His majesty cannot think that your High Mightinesses have resolved to abandon a system that the Republic has kept to for more than a century with so much success and so much glory.

But if such is the resolution of your High Mightinesses; if you are determined to break the alliance with Great Britain by refusing to fulfil your engagements, things will bear a new face; the king will see any such change with a very sensible regret, but the consequences will be necessary and inevitable. If by an act of your High Mightinesses the Republic cease to be an ally of his majesty, the relations between the two nations are totally changed, and they have no other connections, no other ties, than those which subsist between neutral powers in friendship and unity. Every treaty being reciprocal, if your High Mightinesses will not fulfil your engagements, the consequence must be, that those on the part of the king cease to be any longer binding. It is in departing from these incontestable principles, that his majesty has ordered the underwritten to declare to your High Mightinesses, in the
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most amicable, but yet the most serious manner, that if, contrary to his just expectations, your High Mightinesses do not, in the course of three weeks, from the day of the presentation of this memorial, give a satisfactory answer relative to the succours reclaimed eight months ago: his majesty will look upon such conduct as breaking off the alliance on the part of your High Mightinesses, and will not look upon the United Provinces in any other light than on the footing of other neutral powers, unprivileged by treaty, and consequently will suspend, till further orders, all the particular stipulations of the treaties made in favour of the subjects of the Republic, particularly those of the treaty of 1674, and will only hold to the general principles of the right of nations, which serves as a rule for neutral and unprivileged powers.

Done at the Hague, March 21,
1780. (Signed)

JOSEPH YORKE.

The following provisional Answer was given to the above Memorial.

THAT their High Mightinesses are very desirous to coincide with the wishes of his British majesty, by giving a positive answer to the memorial delivered by his ambassador, but that their High Mightinesses foresee, that from the nature of the government of the Republic, it is impossible to return an answer in three weeks time, as the memorial must be deliberated upon by the different provinces, and their resolutions waited for. That their High Mightinesses are assured his ma-

jesty would not wish rigorously to keep to the before-mentioned time, that their High Mightinesses might be able to conclude upon an answer in a manner conformable to the constitution of the Republick, in which they had no right to make any alteration, and they promise to accelerate the deliberations upon that head as much as possible.

Declaration of the Court of Great Britain, April 17th, 1780.

WHEREAS since the commencement of the war in which Great Britain is engaged by the unprovoked aggression of France and Spain, repeated memorials have been presented by his majesty's ambassador to the States General of the United Provinces, demanding the succours stipulated by treaty; to which requisition, though strongly called upon in the last memorial of the 21st of March, their High Mightinesses have given no answer, nor signified any intention of complying therewith: and whereas by the non-performance of the clearest engagements, they desert the alliance that has so long subsisted between the crown of Great Britain and the Republic, and place themselves in the condition of a neutral power, bound to this kingdom by no treaty, every principle of wisdom and justice requires that his majesty should consider them henceforward as standing only in that distant relation in which they have placed themselves: his majesty therefore having taken this matter into his royal consideration, doth, by and with

with the advice of his privy council, judge it expedient to carry into immediate execution those intentions which were formally notified in the memorial presented by his ambassador on the 21st of March last, and previously signified in an official verbal declaration, made by Lord Viscount Stormont, one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, to Count Welderen, envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary from the Republick, nearly two months before the delivery of the aforesaid memorial: for these causes, his majesty, by and with the advice of his privy council, doth declare, that the subjects of the United Provinces are henceforward to be considered upon the same footing with those of other neutral states not privileged by treaty; and his majesty doth hereby suspend, provisionally, and till further order, all the particular stipulations respecting the freedom of navigation and commerce, in time of war, of the subjects of the States General, contained in the several treaties now subsisting between his majesty and the Republick, and more particularly those contained in the marine treaty between Great Britain and the United Provinces, concluded at London, December $\frac{1}{11}$, 1674.

From a humane regard to the interests of individuals, and a desire to prevent their suffering by any surprize, his majesty, by and with the advice of his privy council, doth declare, that the effect of this his majesty's order shall take place at the following terms, viz.

In the channel and the North

seas, twelve days after the date hereof.

From the channel, the British seas, and the North seas, as far as the Canary Islands inclusively, either in the ocean or Mediterranean, the term shall be six weeks from the aforesaid date.

Three months from the said Canary Islands as far as the equinoctial line or Equator.

And lastly, six months beyond the said line or Equator, and in all other parts of the world, without any exception or other more particular description of time and place.

STEPH. COTTREL.

The Memorial presented to their High Mightinesses by Prince Gallitzin, the Russian Minister, on the Part of the Empress his Sovereign.

High and Mighty Lords,
THE underwritten envoy extraordinary from the Empress of all the Russias has the honour to communicate to you a copy of the declaration which the empress his sovereign has made to the belligerent powers. Your High Mightinesses may look upon this communication as a particular mark of the attention of the Empress for the Republick, which is equally interested in the reasons which occasioned the declaration. He has further orders to declare to your High Mightinesses, in the name of her Imperial Majesty, that how desirous soever she may be on the one hand to maintain the strictest neutrality during the present war, yet her majesty is as
deter-

determined to take the most efficacious means to support the honour of the Russian flag, the security of the trade, and the navigation of her subjects, and not suffer either to be hurt by any of the belligerent powers; that, in order to prevent on this occasion any misunderstanding or false interpretation, she thought it necessary to specify in the declaration the limits of a free trade, and what is called contraband. That, if the definition of the former is founded upon the clearest notions of natural right, the latter is literally taken from the treaty of commerce between Russia and Great Britain, by which her Imperial Majesty means incontestably to prove her good faith and impartiality towards each party; that she consequently apprehends that the other trading powers will immediately come into her way of thinking relative to neutrality.

From these considerations, her Imperial Majesty has ordered the underwritten to invite your High Mightinesses to make a common cause with her, as such an union may serve to protect the trade and navigation, and at the same time observe a strict neutrality, and to communicate to your High Mightinesses the regulation she has in consequence taken.

The same invitation has been made to the Courts of Copenhagen, Stockholm, and Lisbon, in order that by the united endeavours of all the neutral maritime powers, a natural system, founded on justice, might be established and legalised in favour of the trade of neutral nations, which by its real advantages might serve for a rule for future ages.

The underwritten does not doubt but your High Mightinesses will, without delay, take the invitation of her Imperial Majesty into consideration, and concur in immediately making a declaration to the belligerent powers, founded on the same principles as that of the empress, explaining at the same time the nature of a free and contraband trade, conformable to their respective treaties with the other nations.

For the rest the underwritten has the honour to assure your High Mightinesses, that if, to establish such a glorious and advantageous system upon the most solid basis, they wished to open a negotiation with the above-mentioned neutral powers on this subject, the empress, his sovereign, is ready to join you.

Your Mightinesses will easily see the necessity of accelerating your resolutions upon objects of such importance and advantage for humanity in general. The underwritten begs of you to give him a speedy answer.

DEMETRI PRINCE GAL-
LITZIN.

Hague, April 3, 1780.

*Declaration from the Empress of
Russia to the Courts of London,
Versaille, and Madrid.*

THE Empress of all the
Russias has so fully mani-
fested her sentiments of equity and
moderation, and has given such
evident proofs, during the course
of the war, that she supported
against the Ottoman Porte, of the
regard she has for the rights of
neutrality and the liberty of uni-
versal

verfal commerce, as all Europe can witness. This conduct, as well as the principles of impartiality that ſhe has diſplayed during the preſent war, juſtly inſpires her with the full'eſt confidence, that her ſubjects would peaceably enjoy the fruits of their induſtry and the advantages belonging to a neutral nation. Experience has nevertheleſs proved the contrary. Neither the above-mentioned conſiderations nor the regard to the rights of nations have prevented the ſubjects of her Imperial Majeſty from being often moleſted in their navigation, and ſtopped in their operations by thoſe of the belligerent powers.

Theſe hindrances to the liberty of trade in general, and to that of Ruſſia in particular, are of a nature to excite the attention of all neutral nations. The empreſs finds herſelf obliged therefore to free it by all the means compatible with her dignity and the well-being of her ſubjects; but, before ſhe puts this into execution, and with a ſincere intention to prevent any future infringements, ſhe thought it but juſt to publiſh to all Europe the principles ſhe means to follow, which are the propereſt to prevent any miſunderſtanding, or any occurrences that may occaſion it. Her Imperial Majeſty does it with the more confidence, as ſhe finds theſe principles coincident with the primitive right of nations which every people may reclaim, and which the belligerent powers cannot invalidate without violating the laws of neutrality, and without diſavowing the maxims they have adopted in the different treaties and public engagements.

They are reducible to the following points:

First, That all neutral ſhips may freely navigate from port to port, and on the coaſts of nations at war.

Secondly, That the effects belonging to the ſubjects of the ſaid warring powers ſhall be free in all neutral veſſels, except contraband merchandiſe.

Thirdly, That the empreſs, as to the ſpecification of the above-mentioned merchandiſe, holds to what is mentioned in the 10th and 11th articles of her treaty of commerce with Great Britain, extending her obligations to all the powers at war.

Fourthly, That, to determine what is meant by a blocked-up port, this is only to be underſtood of one which is ſo well kept in by the ſhips of the power that attacks it, and which keep their places, that it is dangerous to enter into it.

Fifthly, That theſe principles ſerve as a rule for proceedings and judgments upon the legality of prizes.

Her Imperial Majeſty, in making theſe points public, does not hesitate to declare, that to maintain them, and to protect the honour of her flag, the ſecurity of the trade and navigation of her ſubjects, ſhe has prepared the greateſt part of her maritime forces. This meaſure will not, however, influence the ſtrict neutrality ſhe does obſerve, and will obſerve, ſo long as ſhe is not provoked and forced to break the bounds of moderation and perfect impartiality. It will be only in this extremity that her fleet have orders to go wherever

wherever honour, interest, and need may require.

In giving this solemn assurance with the usual openness of her character, the empress cannot do other than promise herself that the belligerent powers, convinced of the sentiments of justice and equity which animate her, will contribute towards the accomplishment of these salutary purposes, which manifestly tend to the good of all nations, and to the advantage even of those at war. In consequence of which, her Imperial Majesty will furnish her commanding officers with instructions conformable to the above-mentioned principles, founded upon the primitive laws of people, and so often adopted in their conventions.

Answer from the Court of Great Britain to the Declaration of the Empress of Russia; sent to the British Envoy at Petersburg, April 23, 1780.

DURING the course of the war, wherein his Britannick Majesty finds himself engaged through the unprovoked aggression of France and Spain, he hath constantly manifested his sentiments of justice, equity, and moderation, in every part of his conduct. His majesty hath acted towards friendly and neutral powers according to their own procedure respecting Great Britain, and conformable to the clearest principles generally acknowledged as the law of nations, being the only law between powers where no treaties subsist, and agreeable to the tenour of his different engagements with other powers; those

engagements have altered this primitive law, by mutual stipulations, proportioned to the will and convenience of the contracting parties.

Strongly attached to her Majesty of all the Russias, by the ties of reciprocal friendship, and common interest, the king, from the commencement of those troubles, gave the most precise orders respecting the flag of her Imperial Majesty, and the commerce of her subjects, agreeable to the law of nations, and the tenour of the engagements stipulated by his treaty of commerce with her, and to which he shall adhere with the most scrupulous exactness.

The orders to this intent have been renewed, and the utmost care will be taken for their strictest execution.

It may be presumed, not the least irregularity will happen; but in case any infringements, contrary to these repeated orders, take place, the Courts of Admiralty, which in this, like all other countries, are established to take cognizance of such matters, and in all cases do judge solely by the law of nations, and by the specifick stipulations of different treaties, will redress every hardship in so equitable a manner, that her Imperial Majesty shall be perfectly satisfied, and acknowledge a like spirit of justice which she herself possesses.

Answer from the King of France to the Declaration of the Empress of Russia.

THE war in which the king is engaged having no other object than the attachment of his majesty

jeity to the freedom of the seas, he could not but with the truest satisfaction see the Empress of Russia adopt the same principle, and resolve to maintain it. That which her Imperial Majesty claims from the belligerent powers is no other than the rules already prescribed to the French marine, the execution of which is maintained with an exactitude known and applauded by all Europe.

The liberty of neutral vessels, restrained only in a few cases, is the direct consequence of neutral right, the safeguard of all nations, and the relief even of those at war. The king has been desirous, not only to procure a freedom of navigation to the subjects of the Empress of Russia, but to those of all the states who hold their neutrality, and that upon the same conditions as are announced in the treaty to which his majesty this day answers.

His majesty thought he had taken a great step for the general good, and prepared a glorious epocha for his reign, by fixing, by his example, the rights which every belligerent power may, and ought to acknowledge, to be due to neutral vessels. His hopes have not been deceived, as the empress, in avowing the strictest neutrality, has declared in favour of a system which the king is supporting at the price of his people's blood, and that her majesty adopts the same rights as he would wish to make the basis of the maritime code.

If fresh orders were necessary to prevent the vessels of her Imperial Majesty from being disturbed in their navigation by the subjects of the king, his majesty would immediately give them; but the

empress will no doubt be satisfied with the dispositions made by his majesty in the regulations he has published. They do not hold by circumstances only, but they are founded on the right of nations, and quite suitable to a prince who finds the happiness of his own kingdom in that of general prosperity. The king wishes her Imperial Majesty would add to the means she has fixed to determine what merchandizes are reckoned contraband in time of war, precise rules in the form of the sea-papers with which the Russian ships will be furnished.

With this precaution, his majesty is assured nothing will happen to make him regret the having put the Russian navigators on as advantageous a footing as can be in time of war. Happy circumstances have more than once occurred to prove to the courts how important it is for them to explain themselves freely relative to their respective interests.

His majesty is very happy to have explained his way of thinking to her Imperial Majesty upon so interesting a point for Russia, and the trading powers of Europe. He the more sincerely applauds the principles and views of the empress, as his majesty partakes of the same sentiments which have brought her majesty to adopt those measures which must be to the advantage of her own subjects, and all other nations.

Versailles, April 25, 1780.

*Answer from the King of Spain;
to the Declaration of the Empress
of Russia.*

THE king, being informed of the empress's sentiments with respect

spect to the belligerent and neutral powers, by a memorial remitted to the Comte de Florida Blanca, on the 15th inst. by Mr. Etienne de Zinowief, Minister to her Imperial Majesty: the king considers this as the effect of a just confidence which his majesty has on his part merited; and it is yet more agreeable that the principles adopted by this sovereign should be the same as have always guided the king, and which his majesty has for a long time, but without success, endeavoured to cause England to observe, while Spain remained neuter. These principles are founded in justice, equity and moderation; and these same principles Russia and all the other powers have experienced in the resolutions formed by his majesty; and it has been entirely owing to the conduct of the English navy, both in the last and the present war (a conduct wholly subversive of the received rules among neutral powers) that his majesty has been obliged to follow their example; since the English paying no respect to a neutral flag, if the same be laden with effects belonging to the enemy, even if the articles should not be contraband, and that flag not using any means of defending itself, there could not be any just cause why Spain should not make reprisals, to indemnify herself for the great disadvantages she must otherwise labour under. The neutral powers have also laid themselves open to the inconveniencies they have suffered, by furnishing themselves with double papers, and other artifices, to prevent the capture of their vessels; from which have

followed captures and detentions innumerable, and other disagreeable consequences, though in reality not so prejudicial as pretended; on the contrary, some of these detentions have turned to the advantage of the proprietors, as the goods, being sold in the port where they were condemned, have frequently gone off at a higher price than they would have done at the place of their destination.

The king, nevertheless, not contented with these proofs of his justification, which have been manifest to all Europe, will this day have the glory of being the first to give the example of respecting the neutral flag of all the courts that have consented, or shall consent, to defend it, till his majesty finds what part the English navy takes, and whether they will, together with their privateers, keep within proper bounds. And to shew to all the neutral powers how much Spain is desirous of observing the same rules in time of war as she was directed by whilst neuter, his majesty conforms to the other points contained in the declaration of Russia. To be understood, nevertheless, that, with regard to the blockade of Gibraltar, the danger of entering subsists, as determined by the fourth article of the said declaration. These dangers may, however, be avoided by the neutral powers, if they conform to those rules of precaution established by his majesty's declaration of the 13th of last March, which has been communicated to the Court of Petersburg by his minister.

FLORIDA BLANCA.

At Awarjuz, 13 April, 1780.

Decla-

Declaration of the King of Denmark and Norway, to the Courts of London, Versailles, and Madrid.

IF the most exact and perfect neutrality, with the most regular navigation, and the most inviolable respect to treaties, could have kept free the commerce of the subjects of the King of Denmark and Norway, from the inroads of the powers with whom he is at peace, free and independent, it would not be necessary to take measures to insure to his subjects that liberty to which they have the most incontrovertible right. The King of Denmark has always founded his glory, and his grandeur, upon the esteem and confidence of other people. It has been his rule, from the beginning of his reign, to testify to all the powers, his friends, a conduct the most capable of convincing them of his pacific intentions, and of his desire to contribute to the general happiness of Europe. His proceedings have always been conformable to these principles, against which nothing can be alledged; he has not, till now, addressed himself, but to the powers at war, to obtain a redress of his griefs; and he has never wanted moderation in his demands, nor acknowledgments when they have received the success they deserved: but the neutral navigation has been too often molested, and the most innocent commerce of his subjects too frequently troubled; so that the king finds himself obliged to take proper measures to assure to himself and his allies, the safety of commerce and navigation, and

the maintenance of the inseparable rights of liberty and independence: If the duties of neutrality are sacred, the law of nations has also its rights avowed by all impartial powers, established by custom, and founded upon equity and reason. A nation independent and neuter, does not lose by the war of others the rights which she had before the war, because peace exists between her and all the belligerent powers. Without receiving or being obliged to follow the laws of either of them, she is allowed to follow, in all places (contraband excepted) the traffic which she would have a right to do, if peace existed with all Europe, as it exists with her. The king pretends to nothing beyond what the neutrality allows him. This is his rule, and that of his people; and the king cannot accord to the principle, that a power at war has a right to interrupt the commerce of his subjects. He thinks it due to himself, and his subjects, faithful observers of these rules, and to the powers at war themselves, to declare to them the following principles, which he has always held, and which he will always avow and maintain, in concert with the Emperors of all the Russias, whose sentiments he finds entirely conformable with his own.

I. That neutral vessels have a right to navigate freely from port to port, even on the coasts of the powers at war.

II. That the effects of the subjects of the powers at war shall be free in neutral vessels, except such as are deemed contraband.

III. That nothing is to be understood under the denominations of contraband, that is not expressly

preſſly mentioned as ſuch in the third article of his treaty of commerce with Great Britain, in the year 1670, and the 26th and 27th articles of his treaty of commerce with France, in the year 1742; and the king will equally maintain theſe rules with thoſe powers with whom he has no treaty.

IV. That he will look upon as a fort blocked up, into which no veſſel can enter without evident danger, on account of veſſels of war ſtationed there, which form an effectual blockade.

V. That theſe principles ſerve for rules in procedure, and that juſtice ſhall be expeditiouſly rendered, after the rules of the ſea, conformably to treaty and uſage received.

VI. His majeſty does not heſitate to declare, that he will maintain theſe principles with the honour of his flag, and the liberty and independence of the commerce and navigation of his ſubjects; and that it is for this purpoſe he has armed a part of his navy, although he is deſirous to preſerve, with all the powers at war, not only a good underſtanding, but all the friendſhip which the neutrality can admit of. The king will never recede from theſe principles, unleſs he is forced to it: he knows the duties and the obligations, he reſpects them as he does his treaties, and deſires no other than to maintain them. His majeſty is perſuaded, that the belligerent powers will acknowledge the juſtice of his motives; that they will be as averſe as himſelf to doing any thing that may oppreſs the liberties of mankind, and that they will give their orders to their admiralty and to

their officers, conformably to the principles above recited, which tend to the general ſuppleneſs and intereſt of all Europe.

Copenhagen, July 8, 1780.

Declaration of the King of Sweden to the ſame Courts.

EVER ſince the beginning of the preſent war, the king has taken particular care to manifeſt his intentions to all Europe: He impoſed unto himſelf the law of a perfect neutrality; he fulfilled all the duties thereof with the moſt ſcrupulous exactitude; and in conſequence thereof, he thought himſelf entitled to all the prerogatives naturally appertaining to the qualification of a ſovereign perfectly neuter: But notwithſtanding this, his commercial ſubjects have been obliged to claim his protection, and his majeſty has found himſelf under the neceſſity to grant it to them.

To effect this, the king ordered laſt year a certain number of men of war to be fitted out. He employed a part thereof on the coaſts of his kingdom, and the reſt ſerved as convoys for the Swediſh merchant ſhips in the different ſeas which the commerce of his ſubjects required them to navigate. He acquainted the ſeveral belligerent powers with theſe meaſures, and was preparing to continue the ſame during the courſe of this year, when other courts, who had likewiſe adopted a perfect neutrality, communicated their ſentiments unto him, which the King found entirely conformable to his own, and tending to the ſame object.

The Empress of Russia caused a declaration to be delivered to the Courts of London, Versailles, and Madrid, in which she acquainted them of her resolution to protect the commerce of her subjects, and to defend the universal rights and prerogatives of neutral nations. This declaration was founded upon such just principles of the law of nations and the subsisting treaties, that it was impossible to call them into question. The king found them entirely concordant with his own cause, and with the treaty concluded in the year 1666, between Sweden and France; and his majesty could not forbear to acknowledge and to adopt the same principles, not only with regard to those powers, with whom the said treaties are in force, but also with regard to such others as are already engaged in the present war, or may be involved therein hereafter, and with whom the king has no treaties to reclaim. It is the universal law, and when there are no particular engagements existing, it becomes obligatory upon all nations.

In consequence thereof, the king declares hereby again, "That he will observe the same neutrality, and with the same exactitude as he has hitherto done. He will enjoin all his subjects, under rigorous pains, not to act in any manner whatever contrary to the duties which a strict neutrality imposes unto them; but he will effectually protect their lawful commerce, by all possible means, whenever they carry on the same, conformably to the principles here above mentioned.

Explanation which the Court of Sweden has demanded, relative to the Proposal which the Court of Russia has made for the reciprocal Protection and Navigation of their Subjects.

I. **H**OW and in what manner a reciprocal protection and mutual assistance shall be given.

II. Whether each particular power shall be obliged to protect the general commerce of the whole, or if in the mean time it may employ a part of its armament in the protection of its own particular commerce.

III. If several of these combined squadrons should meet, or, for example, one or more of their vessels, what shall be the rule of their conduct towards each other, and how far shall the neutral protection extend.

IV. It seems essential to agree upon the manner in which representations shall be made to the powers at war, if, notwithstanding our measures, their ships of war, or armed vessels, should continue to interrupt our commerce in any manner. Must these remonstrances be made in the general name of the united powers, or shall each particular power plead its own cause only.

V. Lastly, it appears essentially necessary to provide against this possible event, where one of the united powers seeing itself driven to extremities against any of the powers actually at war, should claim the assistance of the allies in this convention to do her justice; in what manner can this be best concerted? A circumstance which equally

equally requires a stipulation, that the reprisals in that case shall not be at the will of such party injured, but that the common voice shall decide: otherwise an individual power might at its pleasure draw the rest against their inclinations and interests into disagreeable extremities, or break the whole league, and reduce matters into their original state, which would render the whole fruitless and of no effect.

Answer of the Court of Russia.

I. **A**S to the manner in which protection and mutual assistance shall be granted, it must be settled by a formal convention, to which all the neutral powers will be invited, the principal end of which is, to insure a free navigation to the merchant ships of all nations. Whenever such vessel shall have proved from its papers that it carries no contraband goods, the protection of a squadron, or vessels of war, shall be granted her, under whose care she shall put herself, and which shall prevent her being interrupted. From hence it follows:

II. That each power must concur in the general security of commerce. In the mean time, the better to accomplish this object, it will be necessary to settle, by means of a separate article, the places and distances which may be judged proper for the station of each power. From that method will arise this advantage, that all the squadrons of the allies will form a kind of chain, and be able to assist each other; the particular arrangement to be confined only to the knowledge of the al-

lies, though the convention in all other points, will be communicated to the powers at war, accompanied with all the protestations of a strict neutrality.

III. It is undoubtedly the principle of a perfect equality, which must regulate this point. We shall follow the common mode with regard to safety. In case the squadrons should meet and engage, the commanders will conform to the usages of the sea service, because, as is observed above, the reciprocal protection, under these conditions, should be unlimited.

IV. It seems expedient that the representations mentioned in this article be made by the party aggrieved; and that the ministers of the other confederate powers support those remonstrances in the most forcible and efficacious manner.

V. We feel all the importance of this consideration; and, to render it clear, it is necessary to distinguish the case.

If any one of the allied powers should suffer itself to be drawn in by motives contrary to the established principles of a neutrality and perfect impartiality, should injure its laws, or extend their bounds, it cannot certainly be expected that the others should espouse the quarrel; on the contrary, such a conduct would be deemed an abandoning the ties which unite them. But if the insult offered to one of the allies should be hostile to the principles adopted and announced in the face of all Europe, or should be marked with the character of hatred and animosity, inspired by resentment, these common mea-

tures of the confederacy, which have no other tendency than to make, in a precise and irrevocable manner, laws for the liberty of commerce, and the rights of every neutral nation, then it shall be held indispensable for the united powers to make a common cause of it (at sea only) without its being a ground-work for other operations, as these connections are purely maritime, having no other object than naval commerce and navigation.

From all that is said above, it evidently results, that the common will of all, founded upon the principles admitted and adopted by the contracting parties, must alone decide, and that it will always be the fixed basis of the conduct and operations of this union. Finally, we shall observe, that these conventions suppose no other naval armament than what shall be conformable to circumstances, according as those shall render them necessary, or as may be agreed. It is probable that this agreement, once ratified and established, will be of the greatest consequence; and that the belligerent powers will find in it sufficient motives to persuade them to respect the neutral flag, and prevent their provoking the resentment of a respectable communion, founded under the auspices of the most evident justice, and the sole idea of which is received with the universal applause of all impartial Europe.

Papers which were communicated by Sir Joseph Yorke, by express Orders from the King his Master, to his Serene Highness the Prince

Stadtholder, and which were taken out of Mr. Laurens's Trunk.

THE following are the outlines of a treaty of commerce, which, agreeably to the orders and instructions of Mr. Engelbert Francis Van Berkel, Counsellor and Pensionary of the city of Amsterdam, directed to me, John de Neufville, citizen of the said city of Amsterdam, I have examined, weighed, and regulated with William Lee, Esq; commissioner from the Congress, as a treaty of commerce, destined to be or as might be concluded hereafter, between their High Mightinesses the States-General of the Seven United Provinces of Holland, and the United States of North America.

Done at Aix-la-Chapelle, the 4th of September, 1778.

Signed, JOHN DE NEUFVILLE.

I hereby certify that the above is a true copy.

Signed, SAMUEL W. STOKTON.

No. I. *Treaty of Amity and Commerce between the Republic of Holland and the United States of America.*

THE preamble recites, that the said contracting states of Holland and America, wishing to establish a treaty of commerce, have resolved to fix it on the basis of a perfect equality, and the reciprocal utility arising from the equitable laws of a free trade; provided that the contracting parties shall be at liberty to admit, as they think good, other nations to partake of the advantages arising from the said trade. Actuated

ed by the above equitable principles, the forementioned contracting parties have agreed on the following articles:

Art. I. There shall be a permanent, unalterable, and universal peace and amity, established between their High Mightinesses of the Seven Provinces of Holland, and the United States of North America; as well as between their respective subjects, islands, towns and territories, situate under the jurisdiction of the respective states above mentioned, and their inhabitants, without any distinction whatsoever of persons or sexes.

II. The subjects of the United Provinces of Holland shall be liable only to such duties as are paid by the natives and inhabitants of North America, in all the countries, ports, islands, and towns belonging to the said states; and shall enjoy the rights, liberties, privileges, immunities and exemptions in their trade and navigation, common to the said natives and inhabitants, when the subjects of Holland shall have occasion to pass from one American state to another, as well as when bound from thence to any part of the world.

III. The privileges, &c. granted by the foregoing article to the States of Holland, are, by the present, confirmed to the inhabitants of North America.

IV. The respective subjects of the contracting parties, as well as the inhabitants of the countries, islands, or towns belonging to the said parties, shall be at liberty, without producing a written permission, private or public pass, to travel by land or water, or in whatever manner they think best,

through the kingdoms, territories, provinces &c. or dominions whatever, of either of the confederated states, to have their free egress and regress, to remain in the said places, and during the whole time be at liberty to purchase every thing necessary to their own subsistence and use: they shall also be treated with every mark of reciprocal friendship and favour. Provided nevertheless, that in every circumstance they demean themselves in perfect conformity with the laws, statutes, and ordinances of those said kingdoms, towns, &c. where they may sojourn; treating each other with mutual friendship, and keeping up among themselves the most perfect harmony, by means of a constant correspondence.

V. The subjects of the contracting powers, and the inhabitants of all places belonging to the said powers, shall be at liberty to carry their ships and goods (such as are not forbidden by the law of the respective states) into all ports, places, &c. belonging to the said powers, and to tarry, without any limitation of time: to hire whole houses, or in part: to buy and purchase from the manufacturer or retailer, either in the public markets, fairs, &c. all sorts of goods and merchandize not forbidden by any particular law: to open warehouses for the sale of goods and effects imported from other parts: nor shall they be at any time forced against their consent, to bring the said goods and wares to the markets and fairs; provided, nevertheless, that they do not dispose of them by retail, or elsewhere: they shall not, however, be liable to any tax

or duties, on this or any other account, except those only which are to be paid for their ships or goods, according to the laws and customs of the respective states, and at the rate stipulated by the present treaty. Moreover, they shall be entirely at liberty to depart, without the least hindrance, (this extends also to their wives, children, and such servants who may be desirous to follow their master) and to take with them all goods bought or imported at any time; and for such places as they may think proper, by land, or sea, or rivers, or lakes; all privileges, laws, concessions, immunities, &c. to the contrary notwithstanding.

VI. In regard to religious worship, the most unbounded liberty shall be granted to the subjects of the said confederate states, for themselves and families. They shall not be compelled to frequent the churches, &c. but shall have full liberty to perform divine service, after their own manner, without any molestation in either church or chapel, or private houses (*apertis foribus*). It is farther provided, that any subject of one of the contracting powers dying, in any place belonging to the other, shall be interred in decent and convenient places, allotted for that purpose, and, in fine, that no insult shall, at any time, or in any manner whatever, be offered to the dead or interred bodies.

VII. It is farther agreed and settled, that in all duties, imposts, taxes, &c. laid on goods, persons, merchandize, &c. of each and every subject of the contracting powers, under any denomina-

tion whatsoever, the said subjects, inhabitants, &c. shall enjoy equal privileges, franchises, immunities, either in the courts of justice, and in every matter of trade, commerce, or any other case, and shall be treated with the same favour and distinction hitherto granted, or hereafter to be granted to any foreign nation whatsoever.

VIII. Their High Mightinesses, the States General of the Seven United Provinces, shall use the most efficacious means in their power, to protect the ships and goods belonging to any of the United States of America, be they private or public property, when in the ports, roads, or seas adjoining the said islands, &c. belonging to their said High Mightinesses, and to use all their endeavours to bring about a restitution to be made to the owners, or their agents, of all vessels and goods captured within their jurisdiction; and the ships of war belonging to their said High Mightinesses shall take under their protection, and convey the ships belonging to the said American States, or any of the subjects or inhabitants thereof, following the same course, and defend the said ship as long as they sail in company, against all attacks, violence, or oppression, in like manner as they are in duty bound to defend the ships of their High Mightinesses the Seven United Provinces of Holland.

IX. By this article, the same obligation is laid on the American States, in favour of the shipping, &c. belonging to those of Holland.

X. Their High Mightinesses the States of Holland shall interfere,

pose, and employ their good offices in favour of the said American States, their subjects and inhabitants, with the Emperor of Morocco, the Regencies of Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, and all along the coast of Barbary and Africa, and with the subjects of the said powers, that the ships, &c. of the said American States, be as much as possible, and to the best advantage, protected against the violences, insults, depredations, &c. of the abovesaid princes and subjects on the coast of Barbary and Africa.

XI. It shall be permitted and granted to each and every subject and inhabitant of the contracting powers, to leave, bequeath, or dispose of, in case of sickness, or at their death, all effects, goods, merchandises, ready money, &c. being their property, at or before their decease, in any town, island, &c. belonging to the respective contracting powers, in favour of such person or persons, as they may think proper. Moreover, whether the said subjects should die after having made such wills, or intestate, their lawful heirs, executors, or administrators, dwelling in any part of the possessions of the contracting powers, or aliens coming from other countries, shall be at liberty, without hindrance or delay, to claim, and take possession of, all such goods and effects, conformably to the respective laws of each country. Nor shall their right be disputed, under pretence of any prerogative, peculiar to any separate province, or person whatsoever. Provided, nevertheless, that the claim to the effects of a person who died intestate, be supported

by such proofs as the laws of either of the contracting powers have provided in such cases; all laws, statutes, edicts, *droits d'Aubaine*, &c. to the contrary notwithstanding.

XII. The effects and property of the subjects of either of the contracting powers, dying in any town, island, &c. belonging to the other, shall be sequestered for the use of the lawful heirs and successors of the deceased. The council, or public minister of the nation, to which the person thus dying belonged, shall take an inventory of all such goods, effects, papers, writings, and books of accounts of the deceased. The said inventory to be delivered into the hands of three merchants of known and approved integrity, who shall be nominated for the purpose of acting as trustees to the heirs, executors, &c. or creditors of the deceased: nor shall any court of judicature interfere, unless the said heirs, &c. should require it in the due course of law.

XIII. The respective subjects of the contracting parties, shall be at liberty to choose for themselves advocates, attornies, notaries, solicitors, and agents; to this end, that such advocates, &c. shall, by the judges of the courts aforesaid, be called in, if the said judges should, by the parties, be required so to do.

XIV. The merchants, commanders, or owners of ships, sailors of every denomination, ships or vessels, effects, and goods in general, belonging to either party, or any of its subjects or inhabitants, shall, at no time, for any private or public purpose, by virtue of any edict whatsoever, be

taken, or detained in the countries, ports, islands, &c. belonging to either of the contracting parties, to be employed in the service, to forward military expeditions, or any other purpose; and much less for the private use of any one, by violence, or other means made use of to molest or insult the said subjects. It is farther strictly forbidden to the said subjects, on both sides, not to take away, violently, the property of each other; but, the consent of the proprietor once obtained, they shall be at liberty to purchase, paying ready money for the same. This article, however, is not to be understood as extending to such cases, where the seizure shall be made, or the embargo laid by the authority of the legislative power for debts incurred, or crimes committed, which shall be tried by the due course of law.

XV. It is farther provided and agreed, that all merchants, commanders of ships, and other subjects belonging to their High Mightinesses the States of the Seven United Provinces, shall regulate their private affairs by themselves, or by such agents as they may chuse, in all and every place within the jurisdiction of the United States of America: nor shall they be compelled to employ, or pay any interpreter or broker, but such as they think fit to appoint. Moreover, in the lading, or unlading of ships, the masters shall not be obliged to employ persons appointed for that purpose, by public authority; but shall be at full liberty to do it themselves, or call in the assistance of any one they shall chuse, without being liable to pay any fee or

retribution to any body else. Neither shall they be compelled to land any particular merchandize, to put them on board other ships, to take others on board their own, without their free consent; or to remain laden longer than they shall think proper. The subjects and inhabitants of the United States of America, shall fully enjoy the same privileges in all the dominions of the States of Holland.

XVI. In case any dispute or controversy should arise between the master of a ship and his crew, belonging to one of the two nations, and then in any port within the dominions of the other, concerning the payment of wages, or any other matter to be determined by the civil law, the magistrate of such port, or place, shall only require the defendant to deliver to the plaintiff, a declaration under his hand, and witnessed by the said magistrate; by which the said defendant shall bind himself to appear, and answer the complaint laid against him, before a competent judge in his own country. This being done, the said crew shall not be permitted to leave the ship, or prevent the master from following his course. The merchants of either nation shall be authorized to keep their books in what language and manner they may think best, without the least hindrance or molestation. But, in case it should be necessary, in order to settle a point of law, for them to produce their books, they shall bring them into court for examination; in such a manner, however, that neither the judge, nor any one else, whatsoever, shall be permitted to peruse

peruse any article in the said books, but such as may be absolutely necessary to ascertain the authenticity and regularity of the said books. Nor shall any one, under any pretence whatever, presume to force the said books and writings from the owners, or detain them: cases of bankruptcy alone excepted.

XVII. The ships of either nation, bound to the respective ports, shall, upon a just cause of being suspected, either in regard to their destination or their cargoes, be obliged to produce, either at sea, in the roads, or ports, not only their passports, but also certificates, witnessing that the goods they have on board are not prohibited by the respective laws.

XVIII. If, upon such certificates being produced, the examining party should discover that some of the goods mentioned in the bills of lading are prohibited by this treaty, or bound to some port belonging to the enemy; in such case it shall not be lawful to break into any part of the ship, or force any trunk, boxes, barrels, &c. nor even to displace any part of the cargoes (whether such ship belongs to Holland or America) to come at the said goods, which are not in any ways to be searched until they are landed in presence of some officers of the Admiralty-court, who shall enter a verbal process about them. Nor shall it be permitted to sell, exchange, or adulterate the said goods in any wise, till the law shall have taken its course, and the matter be determined by the sentence of the respective Admiralty-courts, pronouncing them seizable: the ship and other parts

of the cargo not prohibited by the treaty, shall not be detained, under the pretence of part of the lading being condemned, and much less confiscated as lawful prizes. But, in case part of the cargo should consist of the said prohibited goods, and the master of the ship shall consent to deliver them up immediately, then the captor, having taken out of the said ship the prohibited goods, shall permit the master to continue his course to the place of his destination: yet, if all the prohibited goods could not be taken on board the captor, the latter shall, notwithstanding the master's free tender of the said goods, bring the former into the nearest port, where it shall be produced in manner afore said.

XIX. It is agreed on the contrary, that all effects, &c. of any subject of either state, found on any ship taken from an enemy, such effects, &c. though they be not prohibited by any article of this treaty, shall be considered as lawful prize, and be disposed of as if they belonged to the enemy: (except only in case the war should not have been proclaimed, or not come to the knowledge of the proprietors of the said effects, &c.) which, in such cases only, shall not be liable to be confiscated, but be immediately returned to the owners without any delay, upon their making good their claim; provided, nevertheless, that the said goods are not of the kind which are prohibited; nor will it be lawful to ship them afterwards, for any of the enemy's ports: the two contracting parties agreeing, moreover, that six months, from the date of a declaration

ration of war, will be considered as a sufficient notice to the subjects of either State, whatever quarter of the world they may come from.

XX. In order to provide farther for the safety of the subjects on both sides, that neither of the parties may be annoyed by the armed ships or privateers belonging to the other, during the course of a war, particular injunctions shall be laid upon the commanders of ships and privateers, &c. &c. to the respective subjects of the contracting powers, not to vex or offer any molestation to any one of them; and, in case of failure herein, the offending party shall be punished, and compelled to make good the damage, their persons and fortunes answering for the same.

XXI. All ships and effects taken from privateers or pirates, shall be carried into some of the ports belonging to either State, and returned to the owners, upon their giving satisfactory proofs of their right to the said recaptures.

XXII. It shall be lawful for all commanders of ships of war, privateers, &c. to carry off freely all ships and effects taken from the enemy, without being subject to pay any duty or duties to the Admiralty or other courts; nor shall such prizes be liable to be detained or seized upon in any of the ports of the respective States: the searching officers shall not be permitted to visit or search the said prizes: the captors whereof will be at liberty to put back to sea, and convoy the prizes wherever they are directed to be carried: as specified in the orders given to

the commanders of such ships, privateers, &c. which they shall be obliged to produce. But all the ports of both States shall be shut against all prizes made on the subjects of either: and in case such prizes and captors should be driven to some of the said ports, by stress of weather, every means shall be employed to hasten their departure.

XXIII. In case any ships, boats, &c. should be wrecked or otherwise damaged on the coasts of either of the contracting States, all aid and assistance shall be given to the distressed crews, to whom passes and free-conduct shall be granted for their return into their own country.

XXIV. If a ship or ships, either of war, or employed for the purpose of trading, by one of the States, should, by stress of weather, imminent danger from pirates, enemies, &c. be compelled to take shelter in any ports, rivers, bays, &c. belonging to the other, they shall be treated with all humanity, friendship, and most cordial protection. Leave shall be granted them to take in provisions and refreshments at a reasonable rate, and to purchase whatever they may stand in need of, either for themselves or for the purpose of repairing the damage they may have suffered, and also for the continuation of their voyage. No obstacle whatever shall be laid in their way to stop or detain them in any of the said ports, &c. whence they shall be at liberty to sail, whenever they may think fit.

XXV. In order to put commerce in the most flourishing state, it is agreed, that, in case a war should

should at any time break out between the contracting parties, six months shall be allowed to the respective subjects for them to retire with their families and property, to whatever place they may judge proper; also to be at liberty, during the above space of time, to sell or otherwise dispose of their goods and chattels, without the least hindrance or molestation. But, above all, it is provided, that the said subjects shall not be detained, by arrestment or seizure. On the contrary, during the aforesaid six months, the respective States, and their subjects, or inhabitants, shall have good and speedy justice done to them; so that, during the said time, they may recover their goods and effects, whether they be in the public funds, or in private hands. And if any part thereof should happen to be embezzled, or that any insult or wrong should have been offered to the subjects, &c. of either State, the offending party shall give the immediate and convenient satisfaction for such embezzlement, wrong, or insult.

XXVI. The subjects, &c. of either State shall abstain from requiring or accepting any commissions or letters of marque from any power then at war with either of said States, so as to command armed ships against either, and to their detriment: and if any individual, belonging to either, should fail herein, he shall be dealt with as being guilty of piracy.

XXVII. It shall not be lawful for any privateer, not belonging to either of the contracting parties, which might be furnished with commissions, or letters of

marque from any power, in actual enmity with either of them, to fit out their ships in any port belonging to the said States, therein sell their prizes, or make in any wise an exchange of their said ships, merchandize, goods, or effects, being the whole or part of the cargo contained in the aforesaid captures. Nor shall the said commanders be permitted to take in provisions, but just as much as will enable them to reach a port, nearest to the dominion of their employers.

XXVIII. Subjects and inhabitants of both the contracting parties shall be at liberty to navigate their ships (without any distinction of owners, to whom the cargo or cargoes may belong) from all ports whatever belonging to the powers, that then are, or afterwards may be in amity with either of the aforementioned States; as also to trade in their way to or from such places, ports, and towns belonging to the enemies of either party, whether the said place be within the jurisdiction of one or more powers. It is also hereby stipulated, that the freedom of shipping will be extended to the cargoes belonging to the respective subjects or inhabitants of the said States, though the whole, or part of the said cargo should be the enemy's property. This privilege is also to be construed as extending to all persons whatever, on board the said ships (the military in the enemy's service only excepted) as well as contraband goods.

XXIX. This article contains a large enumeration of the goods prohibited to be carried to the enemy,

enemy, which comprehends all manner of warlike stores. It gives also an account of such goods as may be lawfully exported, namely cloathing and other manufactured goods of wool, cloth, silks, &c. the matters employed in manufacturing the same; gold and silver either coined or in bullion, all sorts of metals, corn, and seeds, spices, tobacco, meat, salt or smoaked, and every kind of eatables; in fine, ship timber, sails, canvas, and every effect whatever not fashioned in the shape of any tool or warlike instrument usually employed in war, either by sea or land: all the aforesaid goods and wares, shall at no time be looked upon as contraband, and may be carried by the subjects and inhabitants of the confederate States, even to places belonging to the enemy then at war with either party, excepting only such towns and places, which might happen to be besieged, surrounded or blocked up at the time of shipping off, for their use, the said wares and goods.

XXX. In order to prevent all dissension and difficulty which might arise between the subjects of either State, in case one of them should go to war with some other power or powers, the shipping, &c. belonging to the other party, shall be provided with letters or passes, specifying the name, cargo, and burthen of the ship, together with the captain or master's name, and the place of his residence: that thus it may appear that the ship, &c. belongs truly to the said subjects and inhabitants. The said pass to be worded as shall be mentioned at the end of this present treaty.

These letters, or passes, shall be renewed every year, if the bearers should return to the same port within that time. It is farther agreed, that besides the aforesaid passes certificates shall be given, mentioning every part of the cargoes, the respective places from and to which such ships may be bound. The said certificates to be drawn up in the usual form, before the officers of the place from whence the said ships are to sail; and the said officers shall be at liberty to mention, by name, if they think it expedient, the owners of the cargo or cargoes.

XXXI. The commanders or owners of ships belonging to the contracting parties, entering into any of the roads of either of the said States, who may not think proper to enter into port; or, when entered, will not chuse to unload either the whole or part of their cargo, shall not be compelled to declare in what it consists, unless a well grounded suspicion should arise, on some evident circumstances, of their being laden for the enemy, or carrying from one of the confederate States, to the other, any prohibited goods; in which case, such commanders, owners, or inhabitants, shall be obliged to shew their passports and certificates, drawn up in the manner hereafter mentioned.

XXXII. When the ships, belonging to either State, sailing coastways, or otherwise, shall be met by the ships of war, privateers, &c. of the other party, in order to prevent mischief, the latter shall keep out of the reach of the guns, though it will be lawful for them to send their boats to board the above said merchantmen,

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not suffering above two or three men at a time to get on board to them. The master, or commander of the said ships, shall present his passports, conformably to the tenor hereafter recited. After which, the said ship, or merchantman, shall be at full liberty to continue its voyage, without being searched, chased, or obliged to alter its course, or otherwise molested, under any pretence whatsoever.

XXXIII. It is farther agreed, that all goods and effects whatever, being once put on board of a ship, or ships, belonging to either of the contracting parties, shall not be liable to a second visit, or search, after having undergone that which must precede the lading of such ships; as all prohibited goods must be stopped on the very spot, before they are suffered to be carried on board the ships belonging to either party; the same not being liable to any other kind of embargo for the aforesaid cause. And the subjects of either state, where such effects shall, or should have been seized upon, shall be punished for importing the same, according to the manner provided by the laws, customs, and ordinances of his own native country.

XXXIV. The contracting parties mutually agree, that they shall be at liberty to have their respective consuls, vice-consuls, commissaries, and other agents, appointed by, and for each party. Their functions and officers shall be regulated by a particular convention, whenever either of the contracting powers shall think proper to appoint such officers.

Here follows the form of the passport and certificate, the in-

tention and purport of which, are sufficiently explained in the XXXth article of this treaty.

No. II. *Copy of a Letter to his Excellency B. Franklin, Esq. at Paris.*

SIR,

AS your Excellency and the Right Honourable Congress will certainly be already completely informed of my interview, at Aix-la-Chapelle, with Mr. William Lee, about a twelve-month ago, in the presence of Mr. William Stokton; and as he is shortly to arrive himself, I have made no difficulty, and it gives me even much satisfaction, to expose unto him some trifling alterations, of no great consequence, which are thought necessary to be made in the plan of the treaty of commerce, which is now to be looked over afresh.

The differences consist only in suppressing, in the *sixth* article, all that is mentioned there concerning *religion*; and, in fact, it is absolutely not proper, that any mention thereof should be made between *two republics*, the constitutions and fundamental laws of which plead aloud for a perfect liberty of conscience.

The tenth article, concerning the Barbarian powers, is binding on both sides, in case the same should take place any time hereafter.

The other suppressions which are thought necessary in the articles VIII, XXII, and XXVII, are for the greatest part established to prevent objections. For this reason, the latter part of the *eighth* article has been suppressed, where it is said, *and their ships of war,*

or conveys, sailing under authority, &c.

It has likewise been thought proper to suppress the latter part of the XXIII^d article, which begins with these words, *on the contrary, no asylum or refuge shall be granted, &c.*

The XXVIIth article at present stands thus: *It shall not be lawful for any privateer, holding any commissions or letters of marque, from any prince or power, in war with any of the high contracting parties, to fit out their ships in the ports belonging to either of the contracting parties, nor therein to sell their prizes, nor to exchange in any other manner whatever, the ships, goods, and merchandizes, being either the whole, or part of the cargo, contained in the said captures.*

These are the measures that have been taken to establish the basis of this treaty; and from a particular regard for the right honourable congress, having by us a copy of the treaty, such as it was drawn up at first, and such as it stands at present, we thought it our duty to inform your Excellency of the state in which this important affair is at present, and which we shall always be ready to forward with the same zeal with which it has been begun.

Mr. Stokton will likewise inform your Excellency of some other affairs, which stand in need of some explanations.

Withing that the union of the *Twenty States* may soon be established upon a permanent footing, we remain, with the most perfect consideration and esteem,

Your Excellency's

most humble and

most obedient servants,

JOHN DE NEUVILLE and SON.
Amsterdam, July 28, 1779.

P. S. Mr. Stokton will be so kind, and he is very well informed, to give your Excellency and the right honourable Congress all the information necessary with regard to the plan proposed by *Colonel Dircks*.

No. III. *A Letter from Mr. J. W. Stokton, to the Rev. Dr. Witherspoon, Member of Congress, dated Amsterdam, April 14, 1779.*

SIR,

UNDER the persuasion that you would not be displeased with me, I have taken the liberty of writing several letters to you, since the month of May last, having, since that time, at the requisition of W. Lee, Esq. executed the functions of secretary to the American commission, at the courts of Vienna and Berlin, and I am at present on the point of returning to America with the first convey. I send this letter to Mr. Adams, who is set out, a few weeks ago, from Paris for Nantz, where he proposes to embark on board the frigate *P'Alliance*, which, it is thought, will be ready in a few days to sail for Boston.

I should certainly have taken my passage on board the said frigate with him, if it had been possible to convey my effects, which are still here on shore, soon enough to Nantz. I must, therefore, now wait for another favourable opportunity, and I beg the favour of you to acquaint my brother thereof, having lately written to him, to that effect, by the preceding opportunity of a vessel. I have endeavoured, as much as possible, to acquire a thorough knowledge of the true and exact state of political

political affairs here, considering the interest America has therein; and I flatter myself to have the best informations in that respect.

As a member of the congress, you will certainly have seen, before now, the plan of a treaty of amity and commerce, as destined to be concluded hereafter between the States of Holland and the United States of North America, several copies thereof having been sent to America some time ago. That plan was signed on the 4th of September last, on the part of the city of Amsterdam, by John de Neufville, Esq; properly deputed for that purpose by the pensionary and burgomasters of the said city, and by W. Lee, Esq; commissioner from the Congress, to whom the propositions for the said treaty were made through the channel of the said Mr. de Neufville: but as the character of that gentleman will probably be unknown to you, I think it proper to mention here, that he is one of the principal merchants of Amsterdam. He has manifested much zeal for the true interest of his country, of which he seems to have the most just ideas; and he has often declared to me, that it is much nearer related to the commercial interests of America and France, than to that of Great-Britain. The conduct of this merchant, arising from that principle, and besides that, from a principle still more prevalent, namely, that of promoting the success of the efforts for the liberty of each country, will, I hope, always be uniform, and will prove favourable to the cause of America. Consequently, I make no doubt, that the commercial people of America will

give him the preference in their future connections, as a Dutch merchant and their friend. This merchant has likewise engaged himself, by his signature to the said plan, being properly authorised to that effect by the regency of Amsterdam, that as long as America shall not act contrary to the interest of the States of Holland, the city of Amsterdam will never adopt any measure that may tend to oppose the interest of America; but will, on the contrary, use all its influence upon the States of the Seven United Provinces of Holland, to effect the desired connection. I need not mention to you the great importance of the city of Amsterdam, in the political affairs of the States-General: you are too well acquainted with the history and state of all countries, to make this necessary. But the less informed politicians will be astonished to learn, that Amsterdam pays two-thirds of the quota part of Holland, and that the Province of Holland alone bears two-thirds of the charges of all the Seven United Provinces. The regency of this city has hitherto remained faithful and constant in their engagements, and will, if I am not mistaken, always continue the same, and persist therein invariably.

The patriotic party in Holland has had much trouble to thwart the designs of the prince of Orange, or, to say the same thing in another manner, of the English party.

The court of Great-Britain has a great influence upon the deliberations of this country, through the channel of the prince of Orange, who is a relation to the
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king of Great-Britain, and who is supposed to have the same views as the former, with regard to the liberties of the people.

He has some of the less considerable provinces so much in his interest, that this, above all, dares not, as yet, refuse his demands; and consequently the deputies of these provinces have reserved their consent, and divers resolutions, which the province of Holland would otherwise have taken long ago, to the advantage of America: but, unfortunately for us, in this moment, the unanimity of the States is necessary in most of their resolutions.

The spirited conduct which France has lately adopted, in declaring that she would seize all Dutch ships trading with Great-Britain, excepting those of Amsterdam and Haerlem, soon brought back the cities of Rotterdam, Dort, and others. These, fearing to send their vessels to sea, and perceiving that the people began to murmur, were obliged to accede to the resolution, by which the deputies of all the other cities of the province of Holland had consented to grant convoys to their vessels, without even excepting those articles of commerce, for which England had continually seized the Dutch ships, ever since the beginning of the war with France.

Such is the actual state of affairs here; and every politician is at present impatient to know what Spain intends to do, which has some time since made very considerable preparations for war.

The port for France is upon its departure; I must, therefore, conclude this letter. I find in the English newspapers, that your

sermon on the day of a general fast, has undergone a fifth edition in London. I beg the favour of you to assure your family of my respects, and to acquaint my friends that I am very well, and that I intend to return soon to America. — I remain, with much respect and esteem, Sir,

Your most faithful friend,
and humble servant,

(Signed) J. W. STOKTON.
To the Rev. Mr. Witherspoon, D.D.

No. IV. *A Letter from Colonel Dircks, to the Hon. Henry Laurens, Esq.*

Philadelphia, Dec. 13, 1779.

SIR,

THE remembrance of your Excellency's kind reception, and the friendship which I experienced from you, at the time of my departure for Holland, about a twelvemonth ago, engages me, in hearing that your Excellency is upon departing for my country, to form the best wishes for your success. I am sorry, that I am come too late to town, which deprives me of the happiness of having an interview with your Excellency, respecting the affairs of Holland.

I have been in Holland only with a view of uniting the two countries for their reciprocal happiness; and I have succeeded as well as the different circumstances would permit.

I beg the favour that you will be pleased to take charge of the herein inclosed letters for my worthy friends and countrymen, the Barons Van der Capellen, from whom, and their friends, I flatter myself

myself that your Excellency will soon learn, that by my conduct, I have gained several hearts, which are now nobly and zealously inclined for the affairs and the cause of the Americans. I wish that this beginning may in the course of time produce many happy events, for the mutual advantage of both countries.

I take the liberty of joining here a list of the names of those, who are altogether the worthy friends of America. I pray God to conduct your Excellency, and to grant you the most perfect success. This is the sincere wish of my heart.

I remain with the greatest consideration and esteem, Sir,

Your Excellency's
most obedient and
most humble servant,
(Signed) J. G. DIRCKS.

List of Names.

Henry Hooft Danielfz, ancient burgomaster of Amsterdam.

Daniel Hooft Danielfz, secretary to the regency of Amsterdam.

Van Berkel, counsellor and pensionary of the city of Amsterdam.

John de Neufville and sons, one of the principal commercial houses of Amsterdam.

N. B. The last can inform your Excellency of all the commercial houses, which are our friends.

The burgomaster Hooft Danielfz can inform your Excellency which are the gentlemen of the regency, in the interest of America.

And the Barons Van der Capellen can inform you of those

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who are our friends in all the Seven Provinces.

To his Excellency Henry Laurens, Esq.

No. V. *Copy of a Letter from Mr. A. Gillon to John Rutledge, Esq. Governor and Commander in Chief of South Carolina, dated Amsterdam, the 1st of March, 1780.*

SIR,

I HAD the pleasure of writing to you the 31st of December last, and I send you at present copies of what I wrote. Mr. Izard meeting with many difficulties, which prevented his departure, and the ice hindering all vessels from sailing from hence, I had no opportunity of doing you any advice of my latest negotiations here. This letter will be delivered to your Excellency by Mr. George Nixon: he will communicate to you a copy thereof by the first opportunity, as soon as he arrives at St. Paulatia.

I shall likewise send you a copy of the correspondence between Mr. Chamont and a gentleman whom I engaged here to write to him on the subject of the two ships built here; by which you will see, that it was never seriously intended to sell the said ships to me.

Mr. Franklin has never returned me an answer. I thought that the arrival of Mr. Adams at Paris was a good opportunity to revive this affair. I consequently wrote to him, as well as to Mr. Izard, and Mr. A. Lee, that they should address themselves to Monsieur de Sartine, and to the Count de Vergennes, ministers at Versailles, to endeavour to obtain the

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said

laid vessels, by offering to pay the prime cost, or to take them by appraisement of four impartial persons, to be chosen here by the two parties; especially as I had already removed here all difficulties, having succours promised to me from high authority, and as I could fit them out either as Dutch property for Eustatia, or as American property for any other port. But the answers I received last night from those gentlemen, obliged me to give up the flattering hopes of sending you two of the finest vessels in the world, of one hundred and eighty-six feet keel, fit to carry twenty-eight thirty-six pounders upon one deck. And though they drew too much water for our bar, they would certainly not have tarried to take some vessels which would have answered our purpose. Not that I fear that these gentlemen will not do all in their power to assist me in this affair, and some others; but they foresee that this request, in case it should be granted, might perhaps involve me in other difficulties.

There are several vessels in the ports of France which would fully answer our purposes; but the difficulties which I have already experienced, fully convince me that I shall not obtain any succours. It is for this reason, that I have resolved this morning to employ all your money in purchasing bar-iron, nails, cordage, sail-cloth, cables, anchors, ship-stores, and other things necessary to pilots, carpenters, gunners, and coopers: surgical instruments and medicines, iron hoops, and all that I thought necessary for three frigates, excepting guns, powder,

and military implements, which I am as yet uncertain whether they may be embarked. I intend to buy the most essential articles double what is necessary for these vessels; and likewise double the quantity of the small articles; and in case I should have any money remaining, I intend to employ it in purchasing woollen cloth, linen, shoes, stockings, and hats for our troops, and to send all these effects, as soon as possible, by different vessel, to St. Eustatia, from whence you may draw them, by your orders, whenever you shall think it convenient. It will, perhaps, be necessary to insure here the articles which appear to be destined for large ships, in case they should happen to be taken by the English, as well as the cables and anchors.

Messrs. Nicholas, and Jacob Van Staphorht, merchants here, will do the business, and they have promised me a credit of thirty thousand florins (very likely I shall be able to get more from them, on my own credit) until you come yourself, as I now desire you to do, which sum, with Mr. Sreipreffer's loan and your own money, will make up a handsome sum, to accomplish the said views, and save the State some loss on the plan proposed by your Excellency to procure it a good marine. Pardon me, if I speak my sentiments at present, on what may be done.

If the State persists in the resolution of having a good marine, the three frigates ought to be built at Philadelphia, Boston and Portsmouth, in New Hampshire. The opposition I have met with in *France* is *very* clearly to me, that they

they never had an intention that America should have a marine; otherwise they would certainly have sold the ten ships which were here lying empty, since that would not have diminished their strength, which they made a plea of last spring, when I proposed to them a plan, by which Georgia would have been delivered by last May: but even then, they refused to let us have one ship.

Captain Yoyner has done every thing in his power with respect to your affairs, and he will return to St. Eustatia by the first good opportunity, as will all the other officers. I will follow him immediately: may I, on that account, desire your Excellency to send Captain Yoyner's orders, that he may find them at St. Eustatia, under cover to Mr. Anson, and the governor of that place, or to whom you please. I shall have great pleasure to find myself equally honoured with your orders, and to know how the goods ought to be shipped there. I think, with your permission, that if two or three continental frigates were sent here to take them, that would be a more certain method; but I cannot know it till after I am arrived there, and I shall place them in the warehouses of good merchants.

I have not been honoured with a single line from our government since the 31st of January, 1779, so that I am at present obliged to act without orders, not doubting that you and my country will readily give me credit for acting to the best of my judgment for your interests, and that you and they will approve of my conduct, since that approbation is the only recom-

pence to which I have looked in all that I have been able to effect by my feeble endeavours. Please God! I should have been able to have done more, if the courage of your pretended friends had not been greater than that of your real ones. I am very certain I should have been with you a long time before this with an ample succour; but I have the consolation to reflect, that I have done as much as any person sent from America has been able to effect in Europe, to obtain credit for a state (South Carolina) which was considered at the time I negotiated the loan, as entirely in the possession of the enemy.

I have had many interviews with the lenders; and the brokers in those affairs would have procured me, *in six weeks, a million of florins, at five per cent. interest, for ten or fifteen years*, if the powers with which I was invested had been authorized by our government, and to their satisfaction. However, I have made them promise, that if the *guarantee of Congress*, for which I now write to your Excellency, shall arrive whilst I remain here, *they will advance the said million on that security*, until the full powers and guarants, such as I inclose, which are of their own composition, and translated by their notary, shall come over. I now send you the Dutch original and the translation, for your approbation, and the Dutch original and an English translation of the guarantee of Congress. If I were at this moment in possession of such papers, I could get *four millions of florins*, which makes about *three millions of Carolina currency, at five per cent. payable*

in fifteen years, viz. *nothing* for the first *ten years*, but *one million every year* afterwards, until the whole was paid. The interest payable every year. The broker's commission, or premium as they call it here, is from one to two per cent. on the capital at the time of your receiving it; one per cent. the merchant's commission, for negotiating the business, and one half per cent. on the annual interest, and one per cent. commission on the reimbursement of the capital; which together, would carry the interest to about five and a quarter per cent. a year.

The objections which they make against my present full power is, that it is therein specified, for three frigates, and that there is a complication in saying, that I may negotiate any indeterminate sum, instead of naming the fixed sum. This want of specific precision affects them to that degree, that I cannot give them any satisfaction.

Your Excellency is at present informed, upon what condition the sum in question may be procured, in case the State should be in want thereof. If the last should be the case, and if the conditions are approved of, it would be best to send a fit person here with such full powers and guarantee, in sending two or three copies after him; or else to send the said documents to Messrs. Nicholas and Jacob Van Staphorst, merchants here, or to some other good, solid Dutch house here, with your orders how the said money is to be employed here. But as the said Messrs. Van Staphorst have laid the foundation of this affair, I

leave it to the judgment of your Excellency, whether it would not be best to intrust them with the execution thereof. I have had dealings with them for above ten years, and am informed that they are generally looked upon as a very solid Dutch house, of a good capital, and known integrity.

I have an opportunity of knowing what is doing here, and I have received from persons of respectable authority the intelligence specified in the paper annexed. The *Dutch* have designed these *nine months* to have a person here, authorized by *Congress*; not that they would receive him as a *public minister*; but they are very anxious to have the most accurate information: and such a person might have laid the foundation of a treaty with us, until affairs shall be come to greater maturity: he might also have been able to get money here. The objection against the actual loan of money for the Congress here is, that it does not proceed directly from America; and to use the language of the Old Dutchman, it is to be franchised.

I am persuaded, that if the President Laurens arrives here soon, he will find a reasonable and ample sum. I have taken the liberty of acquainting the noble Continental Congress on what terms. I am sure of being able to borrow here a sufficient sum at about five and a quarter, or five and a half per cent. including all expenses.

I am in hopes of receiving soon advices from you: if not, I shall continue as mentioned above, and do as well as I can, making all the dispatch in my power to return home.

home. I could have wished that my fate had been to remain in America, especially as I should have willingly supported all fatigues, and, with a good heart, braved all dangers, in preference to the plan of begging, which the necessity, occasioned by frequent deceptions, has forced me to adopt.

I most sincerely wish you health and happiness, and remain with due respect, Sir,

Your Excellency's
most obedient and
most humble servant,

(Signed) A. GILLON.

P. S. Mr. Beaumarchais will not yet pay any thing, nor furnish any account.

*His Excellency John Rutledge, Esq.
Governor and Commander in
Chief of South Carolina.*

Two letters were also communicated, written by J. D. Van Der Capellan to Mr. Laurens, but as they only contain the sentiments of a private individual, we have not thought it necessary to insert them.

Memorial presented to the States-General on the 10th instant, by Sir Joseph Yorke, his Majesty's Ambassador at the Hague, concerning the five Papers found amongst those of Mr. Laurens, late President of the Congress.

High and Mighty Lords,

THE King, my master, has, through the whole course of his reign, shewed the most sincere desire for preserving the union, which has subsisted upwards of an age, between his Crown and

the Republic. This union is founded on the durable basis of a reciprocal interest, and as it has greatly contributed to the welfare of both nations, the natural enemy of both the one and the other is using his utmost policy to destroy it; and for some time past his endeavours have been but too successful, being supported by a faction that aims at domineering over the republic, and which is at all times ready to sacrifice the general interest to their own private views.

The king has beheld, with equal regret and surprize, the small effect which his repeated claims for the stipulated succours, and the representations of his ambassador, on the daily violation of the most solemn engagements, have produced.

His Majesty's moderation has induced him to attribute this conduct of your High Mightinesses to the intrigues of a prevailing faction; and he would still persuade himself, that your justice and discernment will determine you to fulfil your engagements towards him, and to prove by your whole conduct, that you are resolved vigorously to adhere to the system formed by the wisdom of your ancestors, which is the only one that can secure the safety and glory of the republic.

The answer which your High Mightinesses return to this declaration, which the undersigned makes by the express order of his Court, will be considered as the touchstone of your intentions and sentiments respecting the King.

For a long time past the King has had innumerable indications of the dangerous designs of an un-

[A a] 3 rule

ruly cabal; but the papers of Mr. Laurens, who styles himself President of the pretended Congress, furnishes the discovery of a plot, unexampled in all the annals of the republic. It appears by these papers, that the Gentlemen of Amsterdam have been engaged in a clandestine correspondence with the American rebels, from the month of August 1778, and that instructions and full powers had been given by them for the conclusion of a treaty of indisputable amity with those rebels, who are the subjects of a sovereign to whom the republic is united by the closest engagements. The authors of this plot do not even attempt to deny it, but on the contrary vainly endeavour to justify their conduct.

In these circumstances, his Majesty, relying on the equity of your High Mightinesses, demands a formal disavowal of such irregular conduct, which is no less contrary to your most sacred engagements, than to the fundamental laws of the constitution of Batavia. The King demands equally a prompt satisfaction, proportioned to the offence, and an exemplary punishment on the pensioner Van Borkel, and his accomplices, as disturbers of the public peace, and violators of the law of nations.

His Majesty persuades himself, that the answer of your High Mightinesses will be speedy and satisfactory in all respects; but should the contrary happen,—if your High Mightinesses should refuse so just a demand, or endeavour to elude it by silence, which will be regarded as a refusal: then the King cannot but consider the republic itself as ap-

proving of those outrages which they refuse to disavow, and to punish; and after such conduct, his Majesty will find himself under the necessity of taking those measures which the preservation of his own dignity and the essential interests of his people demand.

Given at the Hague,

Nov. 10, 1780.

(Signed) JOSEPH YORKE.

Hague, Nov. 16. *The following is the Resolution taken by the States-General of the United Provinces, relative to the Insults and Violences committed at the Island of St. Martin, on the 9th of last August.*

THAT Count Welderen, the Minister Plenipotentiary from their High Mightinesses to the British Court, be charged to make the strongest complaints of the said insults and violences, and to represent in the most energetic manner, That their High Mightinesses think themselves in the most supreme degree aggrieved by the premeditated violence of the inconsiderable territory of the State at the Island of St. Martin done by the officers of his British Majesty, according to the express orders of the King, and in consequence of a written declaration of those officers.

That no power ever doubted but all bays and roads belonged to the same powers as the lands annexed to them, and that all who might be in them were sheltered from the rights of war, and from all hostile pursuits; and that no power is in any way authorized to take, or in any respect to molest, vessels so sheltered against the will

of

of the sovereign, without its being looked upon as an indirect attack: that notwithstanding this, the men of war of the King of Great-Britain, sent on purpose by his Admiral, had by his order seized some American vessels which had taken refuge in the island of St. Martin, under the cannon of the fort, and took them 'via facti,' threatening, if the least resistance was made by the fort, that it, together with the whole village belonging to their High Mightinesses, should be burnt to the ground, and a force sufficient was sent to carry their orders into execution.

That their High Mightinesses cannot look upon this violent step in any other light than as an open violation of their territory, and a contempt of the independent sovereignty of the State; and flatter themselves that his Majesty must perceive, that, if an independent power of Europe is to be exposed to such insults as this, all liberty and security, both in and out of Europe, will then only depend upon force; and consequently, that the King will be displeased at this hostile action committed by his officers against the territory of a power, which has not only had the honour to be allied to Great-Britain for upwards of a century, and to live in peace and friendship with her, but from the beginning of the present troubles in America has not refused to restrain its subjects from trading with North-America in a manner for which his Majesty has acknowledged his satisfaction.

That their High Mightinesses could not pass over in silence what

has happened, but at the same time must protest solemnly against it, and most strongly desire of his Majesty, what they hope from his justice, his friendship, and his equity, to obtain, which is, a full satisfaction for the violation of their territory, in which the intentions of his Majesty may be made appear relative to the treatment of powers not included in the troubles of the present war, and of their territories in general, and of those of the Republic of the United Provinces in particular, &c.

Memorial presented to the States-General, by Sir Joseph Yorke, on the 12th of December, 1785.

High and Mighty Lords,

THE uniform conduct of the King towards the Republic; the friendship which hath so long subsisted between the two nations; the right of sovereign, and the faith of the most solemn engagements, will decide, without doubt, the answer of your High Mightinesses to the Memorial which the under-signed presented some time ago, by express order of his Court. It would be to mislead the wisdom and the justice of your High Mightinesses to suppose that you could pause a moment in giving the satisfaction demanded by his Majesty.

As the resolutions of your High Mightinesses of the 27th of November were the result of a deliberation which regarded only the intention of your government, and did not enter upon an Answer to the said Memorial, the only remark to be made on their resolutions

lutions is, that the principles which have dictated them evidently prove the justice of the demand made by the King.

In deliberating upon that Memorial, to which the under-signed here requires, in the name of his Court, an immediate and satisfactory answer in every respect, your High Mightinesses will doubtless consider that the affair is of the last importance; that it relates to the complaint of an offended sovereign; that the offence, for which he demands an exemplary punishment, and a complete satisfaction, is a violation of the Batavian Constitution, of which the King is a guarantee; an infraction of the public faith; an attempt against the dignity of his Crown! The King has never imagined that your High Mightinesses had approved of a treaty with his rebellious subjects. That had been raising the buckler on your part; a declaration of war. But the offence has been committed by the magistrates of a city which makes a considerable part of the State; and it belongs to the sovereign power to punish and give satisfaction for it.

His Majesty, by the complaints made by his Ambassador, has placed the punishment and the reparation in the hands of your High Mightinesses; and it will not be till the last extremity, that is to say, in the case of a denial of justice, or of silence, which must be interpreted as a refusal, that the King will take them upon himself.

Done at the Hague, the 12th
of December, 1780.

(Signed) LE CHEVAL. YORKER.

MANIFESTO

Of the Court of Great-Britain.

GEORGE R.

(L.S.) **T**HROUGH the whole course of our reign, our conduct towards the States-General of the United Provinces has been that of a sincere friend and faithful ally. Had they adhered to those wise principles which used to govern the Republic, they must have shewn themselves equally solicitous to maintain the friendship which has so long subsisted between the two nations, and which is essential to the interests of both: but from the prevalence of a faction devoted to France, and following the dictates of that court, a very different policy has prevailed. The return made to our friendship, for some time past, has been an open contempt of the most solemn engagements, and a repeated violation of public faith.

On the commencement of the defensive war, in which we found ourselves engaged by the aggression of France, we shewed a tender regard for the interests of the States-general, and a desire of securing to their subjects every advantage of trade, consistent with the great and just principle of our own defence. Our Ambassador was instructed to offer a friendly negotiation, to obviate every thing that might lead to disagreeable discussion; and to this offer solemnly made by him to the States-general, the 2d of November, 1778, no attention was paid.

After the number of our enemies increased by the aggression of Spain, equally unprovoked with that of France, we found it necessary

cessary to call upon the States-general for the performance of their engagements. The fifth article of the perpetual defensive alliance between our Crown and the States-general, concluded at Westminster the 3d of March, 1678, besides the general engagements for succours, expressly stipulates, 'That that party of the two allies that is not attacked, shall be obliged to break with the aggressor in two months after the party attacked shall require it:—Yet two years have passed, without the least assistance given to us, without a single syllable in answer to our repeated demands.

So totally regardless have the States been of their treaties with us, that they readily promised our enemies to observe a neutrality, in direct contradiction to those engagements; and whilst they have withheld from us the succours they were bound to furnish, every secret assistance has been given the enemy; and inland duties have been taken off, for the sole purpose of facilitating the carriage of naval stores to France.

In direct and open violation of treaty, they suffered an American pirate to remain several weeks in one of their ports, and even permitted a part of his crew to mount guard in a fort in the Texel.

In the East-Indies, the subjects of the States-general, in concert with France, have endeavoured to raise up enemies against us.

In the West-Indies, particularly at St. Eustatia, every protection and assistance has been given to our rebellious subjects. Their privateers are openly received in the Dutch harbours; allowed to rest there; supplied with arms

and ammunition; their crews recruited; their prizes brought in and sold; and all this in direct violation of as clear and solemn stipulations as can be made.

This conduct, so inconsistent with all good faith, so repugnant to the sense of the wisest part of the Dutch nation, is chiefly to be ascribed to the prevalence of the leading magistrates of Amsterdam, whose secret correspondence with our rebellious subjects was suspected, long before it was made known by the fortunate discovery of a treaty, the first article of which is:—

"There shall be a firm, inviolable, and universal peace, and sincere friendship, between their High Mightinesses the States of the Seven United Provinces of Holland, and the United States of North-America, and the subjects and people of the said parties: and between the countries, islands, cities, and towns, situated under the jurisdiction of the said United States of Holland, and the said United States of America, and the people and inhabitants thereof, of every degree, without exception of persons or places."

This treaty was signed in September, 1778, by the express order of the Pensionary of Amsterdam, and other principal magistrates of that city.—They now not only avow the whole transaction, but glory in it, and expressly say, even to the States-general, that what they did 'was what their indispensable duty required.'

In the mean time, the States-general declined to give any answer to the Memorial presented by our Ambassador; and this refusal

fatal was aggravated by their proceeding upon other business, nay upon the consideration of this very subject to internal purposes; and, while they found it impossible to approve the conduct of their subjects, they still industriously avoided to give us the satisfaction so manifestly due.

We had every right to expect, that such a discovery would have roused them to a just indignation at the insult offered to us, and to themselves; and that they would have been eager to give us full and ample satisfaction for the offence, and to inflict the severest punishment upon the offenders. The urgency of the business made an instant answer essential to the honour and safety of this country. The demand was accordingly pressed by our Ambassador in repeated conferences with the ministers; and in a second Memorial it was pressed with all the earnestness which could proceed from our ancient friendship and the sense of recent injuries; and the answer now given to a Memorial on such a subject, delivered above five weeks ago, is, ‘That the States have taken it ad referendum.’—Such an answer, upon such an occasion, could only be dictated by the sly purpose of hostility meditated, and already resolved, by the States, induced by the offensive Councils of Amsterdam thus to countenance the hostile aggression, which the magistrates of that city have made in the name of the Republic.

There is an end of the faith of all treaties with them, if Amsterdam may usurp the sovereign power, may violate those treaties with impunity, by pledging the

States to engagements directly contrary, and leaguings the Republic with the rebels of a sovereign to whom she is bound by the closest ties. An infraction of the law of nations, by the meanest member of any country, gives the injured State a right to demand satisfaction and punishment:—how much more so, when the injury complained of is a flagrant violation of public faith, committed by leading and predominant members in the State? Since then the satisfaction we have demanded is not given, we must, though most reluctantly, do ourselves that justice which we cannot otherwise obtain: we must consider the States-general as parties in the injury which they will not repair, as sharers in the aggression which they refuse to punish, and must act accordingly. We have therefore ordered our Ambassador to withdraw from the Hague, and shall immediately pursue such vigorous measures as the occasion fully justifies, and our dignity and the essential interests of our people require.

From a regard to the Dutch nation at large, we wish it were possible to direct those measures wholly against Amsterdam; but this cannot be, unless the States-general will immediately declare, that Amsterdam shall, upon this occasion, receive no assistance from them, but be left to abide the consequences of its aggression.

Whilst Amsterdam is suffered to prevail in the general councils, and is backed by the strength of the State, it is impossible to resist the aggression of so considerable a part, without contending with the whole. But we are too sensible
of

of the common interests of both countries not to remember, in the midst of such a contest, that the only point to be aimed at by us is to raise a disposition in the councils of the Republic to return to our ancient union, by giving us that satisfaction for the past, and security for the future, which we shall be as ready to receive as they can be to offer, and to the attainment of which we shall direct all our operations. We mean only to provide for our own security, by defeating the dangerous designs that have been formed against us. We shall ever be disposed to return to friendship with the States-general, when they sincerely revert to that system which the wisdom of their ancestors formed, and which has now been subverted by a powerful faction, conspiring with France against the true interests of the Republic, no less than against those of Great Britain.

St. James's, December 20, 1780.
G. R.

*Letter from Count Welderen to
Lord Stormont.*

My Lord,
I AM much obliged to your excellency for your attention and offer of sending a packet-boat to Margate, for my passage to Ostend. I shall have no occasion for the same, having already engaged a vessel from Ostend, named *Le Courier de l'Europe*, for that purpose. This vessel is now lying at the Tower, ready to take in my baggage. I beg your excellency will be pleased to cause the necessary orders to be issued from the Treasury and the Custom-

house, that it may be embarked without any hindrance. As soon as this is done, the said vessel will sail for Margate, whither I shall repair by land with the Countess of Welderen. I also beg your excellency to furnish me with the necessary passports for my voyage, and likewise with two passports for two Dutch expresses, named J. Paux, and August Kohler, by the way of Harwich.

I cannot help at the same time, to express my surprize to your lordship, in receiving back from your excellency's office the letter which I had the honour to send there: nor was I less astonished when my secretary, whom I had sent to your lordship's office, to inquire the reason of returning the said letter, without being opened, acquainted me therewith. Give me leave to observe to your lordship, that it is impossible to know whether a proposition is admissible or not, before it has been seen and examined. Their High Mightinesses have given me express orders to deliver unto the British ministry, before I should withdraw from this court, the papers which I had the honour of addressing to your excellency yesterday morning. How can I execute these orders, if you will not permit me to see you, nor accept any letters from me? I flatter myself that, convinced of the justice of my remarks, you will be pleased to accept the letter which I sent yesterday, and to send me a line in answer, informing me of your intentions in that respect.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Signed,

V. WELDEREN.

London, Dec. 29, 1780.

Letter

*Letter from Lord Stormont to Count
Welderem.*

S I R,

UNTIL the conduct of the Republic had broken the ties of friendship which subsisted between the two nations, and which the king has constantly desired to preserve, I have always been, as you know very well, Sir, ready and willing to confer with you on all occasions, and upon all objects concerning your ministry; and have always received what came from your part with due attention. But since all connection between the two nations is broken off by the aggression of your's, and since I have officially notified unto you the king's manifesto, and orders given in consequence thereof, I can no longer behold you as the minister of a friendly power. You cannot, therefore, Sir, attribute the return of your packet without my opening it, but to the execution of indispensable duty in the present circumstances. After an open rupture, all ministerial communication between us must necessarily cease: and anterior orders are no longer applicable to the present state of affairs.

I have the honour, &c.

Signed,

STORMONT.

A Report of the Commissioners appointed to examine, take, and state, the Public Accounts of the Kingdom.

THE act of parliament that constitutes us commissioners for examining, taking, and stating, the public accounts of the

kingdom, being passed, we entered immediately upon the execution of the powers thereby vested in us; we took the oath prescribed, and settled the necessary arrangements of office and forms of proceeding.

The legislature not having left to our discretion, which of the various subjects referred to our consideration we should begin our enquiries with, but on the contrary having expressly directed us, 'in the first place, to take an account of the public money in the hands of the several accountants; and for that purpose to call upon them to deliver in a cash account; and to consider what sum it might be proper to leave in the hands of each accountant respectively, for carrying on the services to which the same is or might be applicable, and what sums might be taken out of their hands for the public service:' we, in obedience to the act, immediately applied ourselves to that subject.

The public accountants may be distinguished into three classes.

1st, Those who receive public money from the subject, to be paid into the Exchequer.

2^{dly}, Those who receive public money from the Exchequer by way of imprest, and upon account.

3^{dly}, Those who receive public money from certain of this class of accountants, subject to account, and who may be called sub-accountants.

We began our enquiries in the first class, and of that class, with the Receivers-general of the land-tax. To come at a knowledge of their names, and of the balances of public money in their hands, we procured from the tax-office the
last

last certificate of the remains of the land-tax. By that certificate it appeared, that of the land-tax, window, and house-tax, to Lady-day last, the arrears in the hands of the Receivers-general, upon the 14th of July last, amounted to the sum of three hundred and ninety-eight thousand seven hundred and forty-eight pounds nine shillings and five-pence half-penny.

As this certificate was grounded upon returns not made to us, but to the Tax-office, we issued our precepts to every Receiver general of the land-tax, and to the representatives of those who are dead, requiring them forthwith to transmit to us an account of the public money in their hands, custody, or power, at the time they should each of them receive our precept.

Returns were accordingly made to all our precepts; and from these it appears, that the balances for the taxes on land, windows, and houses, servants, and inhabited houses, remaining in their respective hands upon the days therein mentioned, amounted together to the sum of six hundred and fifty-seven thousand four hundred pounds thirteen shillings and fourpence.

We proceeded in the next place, pursuant to the directions of the act, to enquire to what services these sums were or might be applicable, in the hands of the respective accountants.

And we find, that by the militia act of the second of his present majesty, the Receiver-general of the land-tax for every county is required to pay to the commanding officer of every company of the militia of that county, being or-

dered out into, or being out in actual service, one guinea for each private man belonging to his company, upon the day appointed for marching; and that by the act of the twentieth of his present majesty, for defraying the charge of the pay and cloathing of the militia, he is ordered to pay to the clerk of the general meetings five pounds five shillings for each meeting, and to every of the clerks of the sub-division meetings, one pound one shilling for each meeting: and, except the charges of collecting, receiving, and accounting, we do not find, that, when the militia is embodied, the duties collected by these receivers are liable to any payments, or applicable to any other services whatsoever.

In the returns made to us by Receivers-general, such sums as are stated to have been paid for these services of the militia, for the year 1779, are different in different counties; but, as these payments cannot, from the nature of them, amount in any county to a considerable sum, we conceive they may be made out of the current receipts of these taxes.

As the Receiver general is required by the land-tax act, within twenty days at farthest after he has received money for that duty, and by the acts which grant the duties on houses, windows, servants, and inhabited houses, within forty days after he has received those duties, to pay the same into the Exchequer; it becomes necessary for us to enquire upon what grounds, and for what purposes, the Receivers-general retained in their hands so considerable a part of these duties, so long after the
same

same ought, according to the directions of the several acts above mentioned, to have been paid into the Exchequer. To this point, amongst others, we examined George Rose, Esq; Secretary to the Tax-office; John Fordyce, Esq; Receiver-general for Scotland; William Miford, Esq; Receiver-general for the county of Sussex; Thomas Allen, Esq; Receiver-general for part of the county of Somerset; Thomas Wallis Parrington, Esq; Receiver-general for the counties of Northampton and Rutland, and town of Northampton; and George Rowley, Esq; Receiver-general for the county of Huntingdon.

In these examinations, two reasons are assigned for this detention of the public money; one is the difficulty of procuring remittances to London, especially from the distant counties; the other is, the insufficiency of the salary of two-pence in the pound, allowed the Receiver by the land-tax and other acts, upon the sums paid by him into the Exchequer, to answer the trouble, risk, and expence, attending his office; to supply which, and to render the employment worth having, he has been accustomed to retain in his hands a considerable part of these duties, for the purpose of his own advantage.

As an examination into the manner and charge of collecting and remitting, in an office or receipt, similar in its circumstances, might enable us to form some judgment of the validity of these reasons; we directed our enquiries to the collection and remittance of the duties of excise.

For this purpose, we examined Goulson Bruere, Esq; first General Accountant; Richard Paton, Esq; second General Accountant in that office; Mr. Richard Richardson, Collector of Excise for the Hertford collection; Mr. Thomas Ball, Collector of Excise for the Bath collection; and George Rowley, Esq; who is Collector of Excise for the Bedford collection; as well as Receiver-general of the land-tax for the county of Huntingdon; and George Lewis Scott, Esq; one of the Commissioners of Excise. We procured too, from that office, an account of the gross and nett produce of the Excise, received by each collector for the year 1779; in which it appears, that the gross produce amounted to the sum of three millions seven hundred and fourteen thousand seven hundred and seventy-one pounds sixteen shillings and an half-penny, exclusive of the receipt at the Excise-office in London, paid in by the persons charged, without the intervention of a collector: which gross sum, being, as we apprehend, considerably more than the amount of the duties paid to the Receivers-general, is collected in England and Wales, by fifty-three collectors, being only two more than the number of Receivers-general of the land-tax, including Scotland.

From these last examinations we learn, that each collector of Excise goes his rounds eight times in the year; that he remits the whole of his nett collection in every round to the Excise-office, chiefly by bills at twenty-one days after date, in the counties near London; at thirty days, in the more remote coun-

counties; and at fifty or sixty days in the most distant, and none at a longer date; that he is continually remitting during his round; and, within a week after it is finished, sends up by a balance-bill all that remains of the duties collected by him in that round; that he finds no difficulty in procuring bills; could return more money by the same method; and is never suffered to keep any money in his hands.

Each collector is paid a salary of one hundred and twenty pounds a year, subject to deductions amounting to one shilling and nine-pence in the pound; and is allowed perquisites to about one hundred pounds a year more; and gives security for five thousand pounds.

We endeavoured to form some computation of the loss, sustained by the public, from the detention of the money by the Receiver-general, and for that purpose we called for an account of the quarterly returns made by them to the tax-office; from whence it appears, that the average sum in their hands, from the 5th of July, 1778, (when the mode was adopted of transmitting the account on oath,) to the 7th of July last, amounted to three hundred thirty-four thousand and sixty-one pounds, the interest of which, at four per cent. being thirteen thousand three hundred sixty-two pounds a year, we conceive the public have been obliged to pay, for want of the use of their own money.

But the loss has been, not of interest only, the revenue itself has suffered: for by an account of the arrears and defaulters of the land-tax, and other duties, from the

year 1756, which we called for from the tax-office, those arrears in the hands of the defaulters, not included in the first certificate, appear to amount to one hundred and thirteen thousand one hundred and sixty-one pounds seven shillings and two-pence half-penny, of which twenty-four thousand two hundred and fifty-seven pounds seven shillings and two-pence three farthings is actually lost upon composition; of the remainder, part is in a course of legal proceedings, and the recovery of a great part doubtful; whereas, by a return which we required from the Commissioners of Excise, for the same period, we find there have been no arrears or defaulters among the Officers of Excise, except in one instance, to the amount of three thousand six hundred pounds.

From this comparative view of the modes of collecting and remitting these different duties, and of the advantages accruing to the receiver and collector from their several employments, we are induced to think, that the Receiver-general of the land-tax is not warranted in his detention of the public money, either by the difficulty of procuring bills, or by the insufficiency of his salary.

Supposing, however, the difficulty of procuring bills really to exist, though it might occasion some delay in the remittance, it yet is no justification of the receiver for constantly keeping a large balance in his hands; and, admitting the poundage not to be an equivalent for his pains, yet we are of opinion, that the present mode of supplying the deficiency, by permitting him to with-

withhold the duties, is injurious to the public, and ought to be discontinued.

The revenue should come from the pocket of the subject directly into the Exchequer; but to permit receivers to retain it in their hands, expressly for their own advantage, is to furnish them with the strongest motive for withholding it. A private interest is created, in direct opposition to that of the public; government is compelled to have recourse to expensive loans; and the revenue itself is finally endangered.

We are, therefore, of opinion, that there are no services to which the said sum of six hundred fifty-seven thousand four hundred pounds thirteen shillings and fourpence is or may be applicable in the hands of the Receiver-generals of the land-tax, or for the representatives of such of them as are dead; and that it is not proper to leave any part of it in their respective hands; but that the same, or so much thereof as now remains with them, ought to be paid into the Exchequer, at such times, and by such installments, as may be thought reasonable, after a practice of so long continuance, and as shall be consistent with such engagements as may have been entered into with any particular receivers.

GUY CARLETON,	(L. S.)
T. ANGUISH,	(L. S.)
A. PIGGOTT,	(L. S.)
RICHARD NEAVE,	(L. S.)
SAM. BEACHCROFT,	(L. S.)
GEO. DRUMMOND.	(L. S.)

27th Nov. 1780.

Proceedings of a Board of General Officers, held by order of General

Washington, *Commander in Chief of the Army of the United States of America, respecting Major John André, Adjutant General of the British Army, September 29, 1780.*

Published at Philadelphia, by order of Congress.

Extracts of Letters from General Washington to the President of Congress.

Robinson's House in the High Lands, Sept. 29, 1780.

S I R,

I Have the honour to inform the Congress, that I arrived here yesterday about twelve o'clock, on my return from Hartford. Some hours previous to my arrival, Major-general Arnold went from his quarters, which were at this place, and, as it was supposed, over the river to the garrison at West-point, whither I proceeded myself, in order to visit the post. I found General Arnold had not been there during the day, and on my return to his quarters, he was still absent. In the mean time, a packet had arrived from Lieutenant-colonel Jameson, announcing the capture of John Anderson, who was endeavouring to go to New-York with several interesting and important papers, all in the handwriting of General Arnold. This was accompanied with a letter from the prisoner, avowing himself to be Major John André, Adjutant-general to the British army, relating the manner of his capture, and endeavouring to shew that he did not come under the description of a spy. From these several circumstances, and information that the general seemed to be thrown

thrown into some degree of agitation, on receiving a letter a little time before he went from his quarters, I was led to conclude immediately, that he had heard of Major André's captivity, and that he would, if possible, escape to the enemy; and accordingly took such measures as appeared most probable to apprehend him: but he had embarked in a barge, and proceeded down the river, under a flag, to the Vulture ship of war, which lay at some miles below Stoney and Verplank's Point. He wrote me a letter after he got on board. Major André was not arrived yet; but I hope he is secure, and that he will be here to-day. I have been, and am taking precautions, which I trust will prove effectual to prevent the important consequences which this conduct, on the part of General Arnold, was intended to produce. I do not know the party that took Major André, but it is said it consisted only of a few militia, who acted in such a manner on the occasion, as does them the highest honour, and proves them to be men of great virtue. As soon as I know their names, I shall take pleasure in transmitting them to Congress.

Paramus, Oct. 7, 1780.

SIR,

I have the honour to inclose to Congress a copy of the proceedings of a board of general officers in the cause of Major André, Adjutant-general to the British army. This officer was executed in pursuance of the sentence of the board, on Monday the 2d instant, at twelve o'clock, at our late camp at Tap-

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pan. Besides the proceedings, I transmit copies of sundry letters respecting the matter, which are all that passed on the subject, not included in the proceedings.

I have now the pleasure to communicate the names of the three persons who captured Major André, and who refused to release him, notwithstanding the most earnest importunities, and assurances of a liberal reward on his part. Their names are, John Paulding, David Williams, and Isaac Vanwert.

Proceedings of a Board of General Officers, held by order of his Excellency Gen. Washington, Commander in Chief of the Army of the United States of America, respecting Major André, Adjutant-general of the British Army, September 29, 1780, at Tappan, in the State of New York.

P R E S E N T.

Major-general Green, President; Major-general Lord Stirling, Major-general St. Clair, Major-general the Marquis de la Fayette, Major-general Howe, Major-general the Baron de Steuben, Brigadier-general Parsons, Brigadier-general Clinton, Brigadier-general Knox, Brigadier-general Glover, Brigadier-general Patterson, Brigadier-general Hund, Brigadier-general Huntington, Brigadier-general Starke, John Laurence, Judge-advocate-general.

Major André, Adjutant-general to the British army, was brought before the board, and the following letter from General Washington to the board, dated head-quarters, Tappan, September 29, 1780, was laid before them, and read:

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Gen-

Gentlemen,

Major André, Adjutant-general to the British army, will be brought before you for your examination. He came within our lines in the night, on an interview with Major-general Arnold, and in an assumed character, and was taken within our lines, in a disguised habit, with a pass under a feigned name, and with the inclosed papers concealed upon him. After a careful examination, you will be pleased, as speedily as possible, to report a precise state of his case, together with your opinion of the light in which he ought to be considered, and the punishment that ought to be inflicted. The Judge-advocate will attend to assist in the examination, who has sundry other papers, relative to this matter, which he will lay before the board.

I have the honour to be,
Gentlemen,
your most obedient,
and humble servant,
G. WASHINGTON.

The Board of General Officers convened at Tappan.

The names of the officers composing the board were read to Major André, and on his being asked whether he confessed the matters contained in the letter from his Excellency General Washington to the board, or denied them, he said, in addition to his letter to General Washington, dated Salem, the 24th of September, 1780, which was read to the board, and acknowledged by Major André, to have been written by him, which letter is as follows:

Salem, 24th Sept. 1780.

SIR,

WHAT I have as yet said concerning myself, was in the justifiable attempt to be extricated; I am too little accustomed to duplicity to have succeeded.

I beg your excellency will be persuaded, that no alteration in the temper of my mind, or apprehension for my safety, induces me to take the step of addressing you; but that it is to secure myself from an imputation of having assumed a mean character for treacherous purposes, or self-interest: a conduct incompatible with the principles that actuated me, as well as with my condition in life.

It is to vindicate my fame that I speak, and not to solicit security.

The person in your possession is Major John André, Adjutant-general to the British army.

The influence of one commander in the army of his adversary is an advantage taken in war. A correspondence for this purpose I held, as confidential (in the present instance) with his Excellency Sir Henry Clinton.

To favour it, I agreed to meet upon ground not within posts of either army, a person who was to give me intelligence: I came up in the Vulture man of war for this effect, and was fetched by the boat from the shore to the beach: being there, I was told, that the approach of day would prevent my return, and that I must be concealed until the next night. I was in my regimentals, and had fairly risked my person.

Against my stipulation, my intention, and without my knowledge before hand, I was conducted

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ed within one of your posts. Your excellency may conceive my sensation on this occasion, and will imagine how much more I must have been affected, by a refusal to re-conduct me back the next night as I had been brought. Thus become a prisoner, I had to concert my escape. I quitted my uniform, and was passed another way in the night, without the American posts, to neutral ground; and being informed I was beyond all armed parties, and left to press for New-York, I was taken at Tarry-town, by some volunteers.

Thus, as I have had the honour to relate, was I betrayed (being Adjutant-general of the British army) into the vile condition of an enemy within your posts.

Having avowed myself a British officer, I have nothing to reveal but what relates to myself, which is true on the honour of an officer, and a gentleman.

The request I have made to your excellency, and I am conscious that I address myself well, is, that in any rigour policy may dictate, a decency of conduct towards me may mark, that though unfortunate, I am branded with nothing dishonourable; as no motive could be mine, but the service of my king, and as I was involuntarily an impostor.

Another request is, that I may be permitted to write an open letter to Sir Henry Clinton, and another to a friend for cloaths and linen.

I take the liberty to mention the condition of some gentlemen at Charles-town, who, being either on parole, or under protection, were engaged in a conspiracy against us. Though their situa-

tion is not similar, they are objects who may be sent in exchange for me, or are persons whom the treatment I receive might affect.

It is no less, Sir, in a confidence in the generosity of your mind, than on account of your superior station, that I have chosen to importune you with this letter. I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect, Sir, your excellency's most obedient,

and most humble servant,

JOHN ANDRE, Adj. Gen.

His Excellency Gen. Washington, &c.

He then said, that he came on shore from the Vulture sloop of war, in the night of the twenty-first of September inst. somewhere under the Haverstraw Mountain: that the boat he came on shore in carried no flag, and that he had on a furtout coat over his regimentals, and that he wore his furtout coat when he was taken:— That he met General Arnold on the shore, and had an interview with him there. He also said, that when he left the Vulture sloop of war, it was understood he was to return that night; but it was then doubted: and if he could not return he was promised to be concealed on shore in a place of safety, until the next night, when he was to return in the same manner he came on shore; and when the next day came, he was solicitous to get back, and made enquiries in the course of the day, how he should return, when he was informed he could not return that way, and he must take the route he did afterwards. He also said, that the first notice he had of his being within any of our posts, was, being challenged by the sentry,

try, which was the first night he was on the shore. He also said, that the evening of the twenty-second of September instant, he passed King's Ferry, between our posts of Stoney and Verplank's Points, in the dress he is at present in, and which he said was not his regimentals; and which dress he procured after he landed from the Vulture, and when he was within our post; and that he was proceeding to New York, but was taken on his way at Tarrytown, as he mentioned in his letter, on Saturday the 23d of September instant, about nine o'clock in the morning.

The following papers were laid before the board, and shewn to Major André, who confessed to the board, that they were found on him when he was taken; and said they were concealed in his boot, except the pass: —

A pass from General Arnold to *John Anderson*, which name Major André acknowledged he assumed.

Artillery orders, September 5, 1780.

Estimate of the force at West-Point and its dependencies, September, 1780.

Estimate of men to man the works at West-point, &c.

Return of ordnance at West-point, September, 1780.

Remarks on works at West-point.

Copy of a state of matters laid before a council of war, by his Excellency General Washington, held the 6th of September, 1780.

A letter signed *John Anderson*, dated September 7, 1780, to Colonel Sheldon*, was also laid before the board, and shewn to Major André, which he acknowledged to have been written by him, and is as follows:

New York, Sept. 7, 1780.

SIR,

I AM told *my name* is made known to you, and that I may hope your indulgence in permitting me to meet a friend near your out-posts. I will endeavour to obtain permission to go out with a flag which will be sent to Dobb's Ferry, on Monday next, the 11th, at 12 o'clock, when I shall be happy to meet Mr. G — †. Should I not be allowed to go, the officer who is to command the escort, between whom and myself no distinction need be made, can speak on the affair.

Let me intreat you, Sir, to

* Left it should be supposed that Colonel Sheldon, to whom the above letter is addressed, was privy to the plot carrying on by General Arnold, it is to be observed, that the letter was found among Arnold's papers, and had been transmitted by Colonel Sheldon, who, it appears from a letter on the 9th of September to Arnold, which inclosed it, had never heard of John Anderson before. Arnold, in his answer on the 10th, acknowledged he had not communicated it to him, though he had informed him, that he expected a person would come from New York, for the purpose of bringing him intelligence.

† It appears by the same letter that Arnold had written to Mr. Anderson, under the signature of Gustavus. His words are, "I was obliged to write with great caution to him, my letter was signed Gustavus, to prevent any discovery, in case it fell into the hands of the enemy."

favour a matter so interesting to the parties concerned, and which is of so private a nature, that the public on neither side can be injured by it.

I shall be happy, on my part: in doing any act of kindness to you, in a family or property concern of a similar nature.

I trust I shall not be detained, but should any old grudge be a cause for it, I should rather risk that, than neglect the business in question, or assume a mysterious character to carry on an innocent affair; and, as friends have advised, get your lines by stealth. I am, Sir, with all regard,

Your most obedient,
humble servant,

JOHN ANDERSON.

Colonel Sheldon.

Major André observed, that this letter could be of no force in the case in question, as it was written in New York, when he was under the orders of General Clinton, but that it tended to prove, that it was not his intentions to come within our lines.

The board having interrogated Major André, about his conception of his coming on shore under the sanction of a flag, he said, "that it was impossible for him to suppose he came on shore under that sanction; and added, that if he came on shore under that sanction, he certainly might have returned under it."

Major André having acknowledged the preceding facts, and being asked whether he had any thing to say respecting them, answered, he left them to operate with the board.

The examination of Major An-

dré being concluded, he was remanded into custody.

The following letters were laid before the board and read:—Benedict Arnold's letter to Gen. Washington, dated September 25, 1780. Colonel Robinson's letter to General Washington, dated September 25, 1780, and General Clinton's letter, dated the 26th of September, 1780, (inclosing a letter of the same date from Benedict Arnold) to General Washington.

*On board the Vulture, Sept. 25,
1780.*

SIR,

THE heart which is conscious of its own rectitude, cannot attempt to palliate a step which the world may censure as wrong. I have ever acted from a principle of love to my country, since the commencement of the present unhappy contest between Great Britain and her Colonies: the same principle of love to my country actuates my present conduct, however it may appear inconsistent to the world, who very seldom judge right of any man's actions.

I have no favour to ask for myself. I have too often experienced the ingratitude of my country to attempt it; but from the known humanity of your excellency, I am induced to ask your protection for Mrs. Arnold, from every insult and injury that a mistaken vengeance of my country may expose her to. It ought to fall only on me: she is as good and as innocent as an angel, and is incapable of doing wrong. I beg she may be permitted to return to her friends in Philadelphia, or to come to me, as she may chuse. From your excellency I have no

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sears

fears on her account, but she may suffer from the mistaken fury of the country.

I have to request that the inclosed letter may be delivered to Mrs. Arnold, and she permitted to write to me.

I have also to ask that my cloaths and baggage, which are of little consequence, may be sent to me; if required, their value shall be paid in money. I have the honour to be, with great regard and esteem, your excellency's most obedient servant,

B. ARNOLD."

His Excellency Gen. Washington.

N. B. In justice to the gentlemen of my family, Colonel Warwick, and Major Franks, I think myself in honour bound to declare, that they, as well as Joshua Smith, Esq; (who I know is suspected) are totally ignorant of any transactions of mine, that they had reason to believe were injurious to the public.

Vulture, off Singink, Sept. 25, 1780.

SIR,

I AM this moment informed, that Major André, Adjutant-general of his majesty's army in America, is detained as a prisoner by the army under your command. It is therefore incumbent on me to inform you of the manner of his falling into your hands: he went up with a flag, at the request of General Arnold, on public business with him, and had his permit to return by land to New York. Upon these circumstances, Major André cannot be detained by you, without the greatest violation of flags, and contrary to the custom and usage of all nations; and as I imagine you will see this in the

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same manner as I do, I must desire you will order him to be set at liberty, and allowed to return immediately. Every step Major André took, was by the advice and direction of General Arnold, even that of taking a feigned name, and of course not liable to censure for it.

I am, Sir, not forgetting our former acquaintance, your very humble servant,

BEV. ROBINSON.

Col. Roy. Americ.

His Excellency Gen. Washington.

New York, Sept. 26, 1780.

SIR,

BEING informed that the king's Adjutant-general in America has been swept, under Major-general Arnold's passports, and is detained a prisoner in your excellency's army, I have the honour to inform you, Sir, that I permitted Major André to go to Major-general Arnold, at the particular request of that general officer. You will perceive, Sir, by the inclosed paper, that a flag of truce was sent to receive Major André, and passports granted for his return. I therefore cannot have a doubt but your excellency will immediately direct, that this officer has permission to return to my orders at New York.

I have the honour to be, your excellency's most obedient, and most humble servant,

H. CLINTON.

His Excellency Gen. Washington.

New York, Sept. 26, 1780.

SIR,

IN answer to your excellency's message, respecting your Adjutant-general, Major André, and delivering

vering my ideas of the reason why he is detained, being under my passports, I have the honour to inform you, that I apprehend a few hours must return Major André to your Excellency's orders, as that officer is assuredly under the protection of a flag of truce, sent by me to him, for the purpose of a conversation, which I requested to hold with him relating to myself, and which I wished to communicate, through that officer, to your excellency.

I commanded at the time at West-point, and had an undoubted right to send my flag of truce for Major André, who came to me under that protection; and having held my conversation with him, I delivered him confidential papers in my own hand-writing, to deliver to your excellency. Thinking it much properer he should return by land, I directed him to make use of the feigned name of John Anderson, under which he had by my direction come on shore, and gave him my passports to go to the White Plains, on his way to New-York.——This officer cannot, therefore, fail of being immediately sent to New-York, as he was invited to a conversation with me, for which I sent him a flag of truce, and finally gav him passports for his safe return to your excellency; all which I had then a right to do, being in the actual service of America, under the orders of General Washington, and commanding-general at West-point, and its dependencies.

I have the honour to be your excellency's most obedient, and very humble servant,

B. ARNOLD.

His Excellency Sir Henry Clinton.

The Board having considered the letter from his Excellency General Washington resp ding Major André, Adjutant-general to the British army, the confession of Major André, and the papers produced to them, report to his Excellency the Commander in Chief, the following facts, which appear to them relative to Major André:

First, That he came on shore from the Vulture sloop of war, in the night of the 21st of September instant, on an interview with General Arnold, in a private and secret manner.

Secondly, That he changed his dress within our lines; and under a feigned name, and in a disguised habit, passed our works at Stoney and Verplank's points, the evening of the 22d of September instant, and was taken the morning of the 23d of September instant, at Tarry-town, in a disguised habit, he being then on his way for New-York; and when taken, he had in his possession several papers, which contained intelligence for the enemy.

The Board having maturely considered these facts, do also report to his Excellency General Washington, that Major André, Adjutant-general to the British army, ought to be considered as a spy from the enemy, and that, agreeable to the law and usage of nations, it is their opinion, he ought to suffer death.

Nathaniel Green, major-general, president; Stirling, major-general; La Fayette, major-general; Ar. St. Clair, major-general; R. Howe, major-general; Steuben, major-general; Samuel H. Parsons, brigadier-general; James Clinton, brigadier-general; Henry Knox,

Knox, brigadier-general artillery;
 John Glover, brigadier-general;
 John Patterson, brigadier-general;
 Edward Hand, brigadier-general;
 J. Huntington, brigadier-general;
 John Starke, brigadier-general;
 John Laurence, judge-advocate-general.

APPENDIX.

*Copy of a Letter from Major André,
 Adjutant-general, to Sir Henry
 Clinton, K. B. &c. &c.*

Tappan, Sept. 29, 1780.

SIR,

YOUR excellency is doubtless already apprised of the manner in which I was taken, and possibly of the serious light in which my conduct is considered, and the rigorous determination that is impending.

Under these circumstances, I have obtained General Washington's permission to send you this letter, the object of which is, to remove from your breast any suspicion that I could imagine I was bound by your excellency's orders to expose myself to what has happened. The events of coming within an enemy's posts, and of changing my dress, which led me to my present situation, were contrary to my own intentions, as they were to your orders; and the circuitous route which I took to return, was imposed, (perhaps unavoidably) without alternative, upon me.

I am perfectly tranquil in mind, and prepared for any fate to which an honest zeal for my king's service may have devoted me.

In addressing myself to your excellency on this occasion, the force of all my obligations to you, and of the attachment and grati-

tude I bear you, recurs to me. With all the warmth of my heart, I give you thanks for your excellency's profuse kindness to me! and I send you the most earnest wishes for your welfare, which a faithful, affectionate, and respectful attendant can frame.

I have a mother and three sisters, to whom the value of my commission would be an object, as the loss of Grenada has much affected their income. It is needless to be more explicit on this subject; I am persuaded of your excellency's goodness.

I receive the greatest attention from his excellency General Washington, and from every person under whose charge I happen to be placed.

I have the honour to be, with the most respectful attachment, your excellency's most obedient, and most humble servant,

JOHN ANDRÉ, Adjutant-gen.

(Addressed)

*His Excellency Sir Henry Clinton,
 K. B. &c. &c. &c.*

*Copy of a Letter from his Excellency
 General Washington, to his Ex-
 cellency Sir Henry Clinton.*

Head Quarters, Sept. 30, 1780.

SIR,

IN answer to your excellency's letter of the 26th instant, which I had the honour to receive, I am to inform you, that Major André was taken under such circumstances, as would have justified the most summary proceedings against him. I determined, however, to refer his case to the examination and decision of a board of general officers, who have reported, on his free and voluntary confession and letters,

letters, "That he came on shore from the Vulture sloop of war, in the night of the 21st of September," &c. &c. as in the report of the board of general officers.

From these proceedings it is evident, Major André was employed in the execution of measures very foreign to the objects of flags of truce, and such as they were never meant to authorize or countenance in the most distant degree; and this gentleman confessed, with the greatest candour, in the course of his examination, "That it was impossible for him to suppose, he came on shore under the sanction of a flag."

I have the honour to be your excellency's most obedient, and most humble servant,

G. WASHINGTON.

(Addressed)

His Excellency Sir Henry Clinton.

In this letter, Major André's, of the 29th of September, to Sir Henry Clinton, was transmitted.

New-York, Sept. 26, 1780.

S I R,

PERSUADED that you are inclined rather to promote than prevent the civilities and acts of humanity, which the rules of war permit between civilized nations, I find no difficulty in representing to you, that several letters and messages sent from hence, have been disregarded, are unanswered, and the flags of truce that carried them detained. As I ever had treated all flags of truce with civility and respect, I have a right to hope, that you will order my complaint to be immediately redressed.

Major André, who visited an officer commanding in a district at his own desire, and acted in every circumstance agreeable to his direction, I find is detained a prisoner: my friendship for him leads me to fear, he may suffer some inconvenience for want of necessaries; I wish to be allowed to send him a few, and shall take it as a favour if you will be pleased to permit his servant to deliver them. In Sir Henry Clinton's absence, it becomes a part of my duty to make this representation and request.

I am, Sir, your Excellency's most obedient humble servant,

JAMES ROBERTSON, Lieut. Gen.

His Excellency Gen. Washington.

Tappan, Sept. 30, 1780.

S I R,

I HAVE just received your letter of the 26th. Any delay which may have attended your flags has proceeded from accident, and the peculiar circumstances of the occasion, not from any intentional neglect, or violation. The letter that admitted of an answer, has received one as early as it could be given with propriety, transmitted by a flag this morning. As to messages, I am uninformed of any that have been sent.

The necessaries for Major André will be delivered to him, agreeable to your request.

I am, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

G. WASHINGTON.

*His Excellency Lieut. Gen. Robertson,
New-York.*

New.

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New-York, Sept. 30, 1780.

SIR,

FROM your excellency's letter of this date, I am persuaded the Board of General Officers, to whom you referred the case of Major André, cannot have been rightly informed of all the circumstances on which a judgment ought to be formed. I think it of the highest moment to humanity, that your excellency should be perfectly apprized of the state of this matter, before you proceed to put that judgment in execution.

For this reason, I shall send his Excellency Lieutenant-general Robertson, and two other gentlemen, to give you a true state of facts, and to declare to you my sentiments and resolutions. They will set out to-morrow as early as the wind and tide will permit, and wait near Dobb's-ferry for your permission and safe conduct, to meet your Excellency, or such persons as you may appoint, to converse with them on this subject.

I have the honour to be your Excellency's most obedient and humble servant,

H. CLINTON.

P. S. The Hon. Andrew Elliot, Esq; Lieutenant-governor, and the Hon. William Smith, Chief Justice of this province, will attend his Excellency Lieutenant-general Robertson.

H. C.

His Excellency Gen. Washington.

Lieutenant-general Robertson, Mr. Elliot, and Mr. Smith, came up in a flag vessel to Dobb's-ferry, agreeable to the above letter. The two last were not suffered to land. General Robertson was permitted to come on shore, and was met by

Major-general Greene, who verbally reported, that General Robertson mentioned to him in substance what is contained in his letter of the 2d of October, to General Washington.

New-York, Oct. 1, 1780.

SIR,

I TAKE this opportunity to inform your Excellency, that I consider myself no longer acting under the commission of Congress: their last to me being among my papers at West-Point, you, Sir, will make such use of it as you think proper.

At the same time I beg leave to assure your Excellency, that my attachment to the true interest of my country is invariable, and that I am actuated by the same principle which has ever been the governing rule of my conduct in this unhappy contest.

I have the honour to be, very respectfully, your Excellency's most obedient humble servant,

B. ARNOLD.

His Excellency Gen. Washington.

Greyhound Schooner, Flag of Truce, Dobb's-Ferry, Oct. 2, 1780.

SIR,

A NOTE I have from General Greene, leaves me in doubt if his memory had served him to relate to you, with exactness, the substance of the conversation that had passed between him and myself, on the subject of Major André: in an affair of so much consequence to my friend, to the two armies, and humanity, I would leave no possibility of a misunderstanding, and therefore take the liberty

liberty to put in writing the substance of what I said to General Greene.

I offered to prove, by the evidence of Colonel Robinson, and the officers of the Vulture, that Major André went on shore at General Arnold's desire, in a boat sent for him with a flag of truce; that he not only came ashore with the knowledge and under the protection of the general who commanded in the district, but that he took no step while on shore, but by the direction of General Arnold, as will appear by the inclosed letter from him to your Excellency. Under these circumstances, I could not, and hoped you would not, consider Major André as a spy, for any improper phrase in his letter to you.

The facts he relates correspond with the evidence I offer; but he admits a conclusion that does not follow. The change of cloaths and name was ordered by General Arnold, under whose directions he necessarily was while within his command.

As General Greene and I did not agree in opinion, I wished, that disinterested gentlemen of knowledge of the law of war and nations might be asked their opinion on the subject, and mentioned Monsieur Knyphausen and General Rochambault.

I related, that a Captain Robinson had been delivered to Sir Henry Clinton as a spy, and undoubtedly was such; but that it being signified to him, that you were desirous that the man should be exchanged, he had ordered him to be exchanged.

I wished that an intercourse of such civilities, as the rules of war

admit of, might take off many of its horrors. I admitted that Major André had a great share of Sir Henry Clinton's esteem, and that he would be infinitely obliged by his liberation; and that, if he was permitted to return with me, I would engage to have any person you would be pleased to name, set at liberty.

I added, that Sir Henry Clinton had never put to death any person for a breach of the rules of war, though he had, and now has, many in his power. Under the present circumstances, much good may arise from humanity, much ill from the want of it. If that could give any weight, I beg leave to add, that your favourable treatment of Major André, will be a favour I should ever be intent to return to any you hold dear.

My memory does not retain, with the exactness I could wish, the words of the letter which General Greene shewed me from Major André to your Excellency. For Sir Henry Clinton's satisfaction, I beg you will order a copy of it to be sent to me at New-York.

I have the honour to be your Excellency's most obedient and most humble servant,

JAMES ROBERTSON.
His Excellency Gen. Washington.

New-York, Oct. 1, 1780.

SIR,

THE polite attention shewn by your Excellency and the gentlemen of your family to Mrs. Arnold, when in distress, demands my grateful acknowledgment and thanks, which I beg leave to present.

From

From your Excellency's letter to Sir Henry Clinton, I find a Board of General Officers have given it as their opinion, that Major André comes under the description of a spy: my good opinion of the candour and justice of those gentlemen leads me to believe, that if they had been made fully acquainted with every circumstance respecting Major André, they would by no means have considered him in the light of a spy, or even of a prisoner. In justice to him, I think it my duty to declare, that he came from on board the *Vulture* at my particular request, by a flag sent on purpose for him by Joshua Smith, Esq; who had permission to go to Dobb's-ferry to carry letters, and for other purposes not mentioned, and to return. This was done as a blind to the spy-boats. Mr. Smith at the same time had my private directions to go on board the *Vulture*, and bring on shore Colonel Robinson, or Mr. John Anderson, which was the name I had requested Major André to assume: at the same time I desired Mr. Smith to inform him, that he should have my protection, and a safe passport to return in the same boat, as soon as our business was completed. As several accidents intervened to prevent his being sent on board, I gave him my passport to return by land. Major André came on shore in his uniform (without disguise) which, with much reluctance, at my particular and pressing instance, he exchanged for another coat. I furnished him with a horse and saddle, and pointed out the route by which he was to return: and as commanding officer in the department, I had an undoubted right

to transact all these matters, which, if wrong, Major André ought by no means to suffer for them.

But if, after this just and candid representation of Major André's case, the Board of General Officers adhere to their former opinion, I shall suppose it dictated by passion and resentment; and if that gentleman should suffer the severity of their sentence, I should think myself bound by every tie of duty and honour, to retaliate on such unhappy persons of your army as may fall within my power, that the respect due to flags, and to the law of nations, may be better understood and observed.

I have further to observe, that forty of the principal inhabitants of South Carolina have justly forfeited their lives, which have hitherto been spared by the clemency of his Excellency Sir Henry Clinton, who cannot in justice extend his mercy to them any longer, if Major André suffers; which, in all probability, will open a scene of blood, at which humanity will revolt.

Suffer me to intreat your Excellency, for your own, and the honour of humanity, and the love you have of justice, that you suffer not an unjust sentence to touch the life of Major André.

But if this warning should be disregarded, and he suffer, I call heaven and earth to witness, that your Excellency will be justly answerable for the torrent of blood that may be spilt in consequence.

I have the honour to be, with due respect, your Excellency's most obedient and very humble servant,

B. ARNOLD.

His Excellency Gen. Washington.

Tappan.

Tappan, Oct. 1, 1780.

SIR,

BUOYED above the terror of death, by the consciousness of a life devoted to honourable pursuits, and stained with no action that can give me remorse, I trust that the request I make to your Excellency at this serious period, and which is to soften my last moments, will not be rejected.

Sympathy towards a soldier will surely induce your Excellency and a military tribunal to adapt the mode of my death to the feelings of a man of honour.

Let me hope, Sir, that if aught in my character impresses you with esteem towards me, if aught in my misfortunes marks me as the victim of policy, and not of resentment, I shall experience the operation of these feelings in your breast, by being informed that I am not to die on a gibbet.

I have the honour to be your Excellency's most obedient, and most humble servant,

JOHN ANDRE,
Adj. Gen. to the British Army.

The time which elapsed between the capture of Major André, which was the 23d of September, and his execution, which did not take place till twelve o'clock on the 2d of October; the mode of trying him; his letter to Sir Henry Clinton, K. B. on the 29th of September, in which he said, "I receive the greatest attention from his Excellency General Washington, and from every person under whose charge I happen to be placed;" not to mention many other acknowledgments which he made of the good treatment he received; must evince, that the

proceedings against him were not guided by passion or resentment. The practice and usage of war were against his request, and made the indulgence he solicited, circumstanced as he was, inadmissible.

Published by order of Congress,
CHARLES THOMSON.

General Arnold's Address to the Inhabitants of America, after having abandoned the Service of the Congress.

New-York, Oct. 7, 1780.

I SHOULD forfeit, even in my own opinion, the place I have so long held in your's, if I could be indifferent to your approbation, and silent on the motives which have induced me to join the king's arms.

A very few words, however, shall suffice upon a subject so personal; for to the thousands who suffer under the tyranny of the usurpers in the revolted provinces, as well as to the great multitude who have long wished for its subversion, this instance of my conduct can want no vindication; and as to the class of men who are criminally protracting the war from sinister views at the expence of the public interest, I prefer their enmity to their applause. I am, therefore, only concerned in this address to explain myself to such of my countrymen, as want abilities or opportunities to detect the artifices by which they are duped.

Having fought by your side when the love of our country animated our arms, I shall expect, from your justice and candour, what your deceivers, with more art and less honesty,

honesty, will find it inconsistent with their own views to admit.

When I quitted domestic happiness for the perils of the field, I conceived the rights of my country in danger, and that duty and honour called me to her defence. A redress of grievances was my only object and aim; however, I acquiesced in a step which I thought precipitate, the declaration of independence: to justify this measure, many plausible reasons were urged, which could no longer exist, when Great Britain, with the open arms of a parent, offered to embrace us as children, and grant the wished-for redress.

And now that her worst enemies are in her own bosom, I should change my principles, if I conspired with their designs; yourselves being judges, was the war the less just, because fellow-subjects were considered as our foe? You have felt the torture in which we have raised our arms against a brother. God incline the guilty protectors of these unnatural dissensions to resign their ambition, and cease from their delusions, in compassion to kindred blood!

I anticipate your question, Was not the war a defensive one, until the French joined in the combination? I answer, that I thought so. You will add, Was it not afterwards necessary, till the separation of the British empire was complete? By no means; in contending for the welfare of my country, I am free to declare my opinion, that this end attained, all strife should have ceased.

I lamented, therefore, the impolicy, tyranny, and injustice, which, with a sovereign contempt of the people of America, studi-

ously neglected to take their collective sentiments of the British proposals of peace, and to negotiate, under a suspension of arms, for an adjustment of differences; I lamented it as a dangerous sacrifice of the great interests of this country, to the partial views of a proud, ancient, and crafty foe. I had my suspicions of some imperfections in the councils, on proposals prior to the parliamentary commission of 1778; but having then less to do in the cabinet than the field (I will not pronounce peremptorily, as some may, and perhaps justly, that Congress have veiled them from the public eye) I continued to be guided in the negligent confidence of a soldier. But the whole world saw, and all America confessed, that the overtures of the second commission exceeded our wishes and expectations; and if there was any suspicion of the national liberality, it arose from its excess.

Do any believe we were at that time really entangled by an alliance with France? Unfortunate deception! they have been duped by a virtuous credulity, in the incautious moments of intemperate passion, to give up their felicity to serve a nation wanting both the will and power to protect us, and aiming at the destruction both of the mother country and the provinces. In the plainness of common sense, for I pretend to no casuistry, did the pretended treaty with the court of Versailles, amount to more than an overture to America? Certainly not, because no authority had been given by the people to conclude it, nor to this very hour have they authorised its ratification. The articles

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of confederation remain still unsigned.

In the firm persuasion, therefore, that the private judgment of an individual citizen of this country is as free from all conventional restraints, since as before the insidious offers of France, I preferred those from Great-Britain; thinking it infinitely wiser and safer to cast my confidence upon her justice and generosity, than to trust a monarchy too feeble to establish your independency, so perilous to her distant dominions; the enemy of the Protestant faith, and fraudulently avowing an affection for the liberties of mankind, while she holds her native sons in vassalage and chains.

I affect no disguise, and therefore frankly declare, that in these principles I had determined to retain my arms and command for an opportunity to surrender them to Great Britain; and in concerting the measures for a purpose, in my opinion, as grateful as it would have been beneficial to my country, I was only solicitous to accomplish an event of decisive importance, and to prevent, as much as possible, in the execution of it, the effusion of blood.

With the highest satisfaction I bear testimony to my old fellow-soldiers and citizens, that I find solid ground to rely upon the clemency of our sovereign, and abundant conviction that it is the generous intention of Great Britain not only to leave the rights and privileges of the colonies unimpaired, together with their perpetual exemption from taxation, but to superadd such farther benefits as may consist with the common prosperity of the empire. In

short, I fought for much less than the parent country is as willing to grant to her colonies as they can be to receive or enjoy.

Some may think I continued in the struggle of these unhappy days too long, and others that I quitted it too soon.—To the first I reply, that I did not see with their eyes, nor perhaps had so favourable a situation to look from, and that to our common master I am willing to stand or fall. In behalf of the candid among the latter, some of whom I believe serve blindly but honestly—in the bands I have left, I pray God to give them all the lights requisite to their own safety before it is too late; and with respect to that herd of censurers, whose enmity to me originates in their hatred to the principles by which I am now led to devote my life to the re-union of the British empire, as the best and only means to dry up the streams of misery that have deluged this country, they may be assured, that, conscious of the rectitude of my intentions, I shall treat their malice and calumnies with contempt and neglect.

B. ARNOLD.

*Address of Sir George Savile to his
Constituents.*

*To the Gentlemen, Clergy, and Free-
holders, of the County of York.*

GENTLEMEN,

I VENTURE once more to make you a tender of my service in Parliament. Give me leave, at the same time, to offer you my cordial thanks for all the indulgencies you have shewn me; and for your kind acceptance of my endeavours to perform the duty I
had

had undertaken. I look upon that partiality and favour as a most honourable testimony, because it proves that you entertain a conviction of the purity of my intentions, sufficient to make you overlook every thing amiss which did not proceed from the will.

In renewing my desire to continue in your service, I think it, however, my duty to confess to you, that it has not been without much serious consideration, and more than common hesitation, that I have determined upon it. I must not omit making you aware, that it is by no means probable I should be able even to perform the mere duty of attendance as punctually as I have hitherto done; especially if the duration of parliament should prove to be for seven years. By what I have in some degree experienced already, I have no reason to believe so long a continuance of such an attendance would be perfectly consistent with my health.

But there is something more serious I have to say to you on this subject. The satisfaction and honour of attending your business, have ever overbalanced the labour: but my attendance during the last parliament has been something worse than laborious; it has been discouraging, grievous, and painful. Look back, for a moment, upon the things which have been done, or (being done) have been approved of, by that body, of which I have been a constituent part. Compare the present with the past situation of public affairs. Whether glory, conquest, and riches; or peace, content, liberty, and the enjoyment of your constitutional rights, be your principal

objects—In which of them have you been gratified? I have been, in my collective capacity, a party to all these changes, and to all the measures which have produced them: supported in this mortifying situation with one only consolation, a very great one indeed to my own mind, that of being able to assure you, that there has been no one measure, of all those that have proved so ruinous and fatal, which I have not, as an individual, resisted, to the utmost of my power. A poor, barren, ineffectual negative; and a miserable claim to your favour, to have failed (as far as my power and slender efforts are in question) almost in every point regarding those rights, and that prosperity, which I was specially chosen to cultivate and maintain.

I return to you, therefore, baffled and dispirited, and I am sorry that truth obliges me to add, with hardly a ray of hope of seeing any change in the miserable course of public calamities.

On this melancholy day of account in rendering up to you my trust, I deliver to you your share of a country maimed and weakened, its treasure lavished and mispent, its honours faded, and its conduct the laughing-stock of Europe; our nation in a manner without allies or friends, except such as we have hired to destroy our fellow-subjects, and to ravage a country, in which we once claimed an invaluable share. I return to you some of your principal privileges impeached and mangled. And, lastly, I leave you, as I conceive at this hour and moment fully, effectually, and absolutely under the discretion and power

power of a military force, which is to act without waiting for the authority of the civil magistrates; for it is fit you should know, if you are not already informed, that an order issued in London (at a moment when the violence of the riots, and the remissness of the civil magistrate might render necessary an extraordinary and violent temporary exertion of the military) that order, I say, has, as I have good grounds to believe, been extended to the whole kingdom; where neither of those causes existed in any degree sufficient to justify so decisive and extraordinary a measure; and I do not know of that order being recalled.

In this state of public affairs, and with this account to render of my commission, judge whether I can boldly and cheerfully, or supported by any rational confidence, boast to you as candidates are wont to do, of what I will do, and what I will undertake for your service.

For this reason, avoiding even the usual style of such addresses, and forbearing as well the forward promises as the superficial humbleness of phrase in use on these occasions, I make it a solemn duty to lay before you, without disguise or palliation, the present state of your concerns as they appear to me, and the gloomy prospect which lies before us.

Some have been accused of exaggerating the public misfortunes, nay of having endeavoured to help forward the mischief, that they might afterwards raise discontents. I am willing to hope, that neither my temper, nor my situation in life, will be thought naturally to urge me to promote misery, dis-

cord, or confusion; or to exult in the subversion of order, or in the ruin of property. I have no reason to contemplate with pleasure the poverty of our country, the increase of our debts, and of our taxes: or the decay of our commerce—Trust not, however, to my report. Reflect, compare, and judge for yourselves.

But under all these disheartening circumstances, I could yet entertain a cheerful hope, and undertake again the commission with alacrity, as well as zeal, if I could see any effectual steps taken to remove the original cause of the mischief. “Then would there be a hope.”

Till the purity of the constituent body, and thereby that of the representative be restored, there is NONE.

While the electors sell their voices to the member, and the member distresses his fortune to buy them, parliament will be the purchase of the minister. Parliament-men will find ways of partaking other advantages than merely their share in common with you, of those good measures which they shall promote, and of those good laws which they shall enact for your government and their own: and the modern improved arts of corruption, by contracts, subscriptions, and jobs, is attended with this perverse and vexatious consequence; that their benefit is not only unconnected with your's, but it grows upon your distress. They feed on the expence; they fatten on every extravagance that art and ill conduct can engraft on the natural disadvantages of a remote, rash, ill-fated, impolitic, and unsuccessful war: the mi-

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nister's direct interest (nay his safety) mean while, requiring him to push the desperate game, and even in self-defence, to increase that very expence which is his crime; to entrench himself still deeper in corruption, and by headlong and unmeasured extravagance, to have the means of justifying to the faithful Commons, his former mismanagement and misdeeds.—See where this ends, but forget not where it begins.

I am led here very naturally to speak upon the subject of certain regulations, which have been the object of your late assemblies and deliberations. Indeed, I have brought myself to this matter almost unavoidably, but not unwillingly. I gladly embrace this most public opportunity of delivering my sentiments, not only to all my constituents, but to those likewise, not my constituents, whom yet in the large sense I represent, and am faithfully to serve; not only to twenty thousand, my electors, but to hundreds of thousands in the county I represent, (to go no farther) who are to suffer under the bad conduct of parliament; and of declaring my intentions, regarding the two chief articles contained in the resolutions agreed to at your late meetings; I mean, rendering parliaments triennial, and adding to the number of county representatives.

I do intend to give my voice, if I have the honour of continuing in your service, for the change of septennial parliaments. And this, not because I am so sanguine as some are, in a full persuasion, that it will be a cure for all our evils; no, nor even that I promise myself it will be attended with any

such sure hope of considerable advantage, (at least, if unaccompanied by some other steps tending to purify the sources of election and representation) but chiefly, because, on the best information I have obtained, I have reason to believe it is the mind and desire of a very large number of my constituents: this seeming to me to be the one point (at least with distinguished preference) on which the sender, not he who is sent, has the perfect right to judge; and that, even if after all, I should have mistaken their general sense, it will be at least the safer error; since there is a manifest difference between the obtruding one's self for seven years on him who wishes to have his choice again at the end of three; and returning for his approbation at three; when he might perhaps have been well content to trust one for seven.

I have a momentary pleasure in adding (especially when supported by your opinions) that I am willing to flatter myself, rather good than evil may arise from the change.

But I look upon restoring election and representation in some degree (for I expect no miracles) to their original purity, to be that, without which all other efforts will be vain and ridiculous. The tenant-right, or good-will of a lease of three years, is as saleable as that of a lease of seven. It will find its price at both the London and country markets. It will be bought, it will be sold. The member will be as manageable, if the constituent be as venal. And they will not be afraid to meet at market as often as you please.

The adding to the county representation, if by no means a perfect cure,

cure, seems yet to me to be the plainest and best proposition for this purpose, that has yet come under my observation. I trust, likewise, it may be practicable. I therefore embrace it, not only from a deference to your opinion, but with an approbation of my own. Yet, not flattering you, that it appears to me one of those matters easy of execution, or to be done with a thought; on the contrary, it is more complicated (as it seems to me more effectual) than the first mentioned alteration. But this is no time to talk of small rubs, or difficulties. If something be not done, you may, indeed, retain the outward form of your constitution, but not the power thereof.

For it is too serious a truth to be concealed, and, indeed, it is too late seriously to attempt to conceal it, that if the electors, forgetting the solemn duty they owe to the millions of their fellow-subjects, whose rights they are in the first instance intrusted with: if, forgetting the sacred trust reposed in them, of choosing those who are to govern those millions; if, forgetting that they are therefore a sort of representatives of all the people (who would be too numerous to vote themselves); I say, if forgetting these things, and shamefully prostituting themselves, they are become so profligate as to sell themselves and their country; let them not wonder (nay, scarcely can they complain without shame) if those whom they choose, imitating their conduct, retail daily those rights which they have bought, whether it be at the septennial, triennial, or annual fairs,

and markets. We can converse thus without a blush.

Neither time permits, nor does propriety allow me to enter into arguments in support of a sentiment of which (much I think to your honour) you have declared your approbation. But although it suits neither the time, nor the circumstance, to argue and debate, I trust you will not think I am out of the line of propriety, of duty, or of the respect I owe you, in thus making a public declaration of my opinions and intentions in matters concerning which, after the tender I have made of my service, you have an unquestionable right, as you must have a natural wish, to be informed.

When I began this paper, I had reason to believe the time pressed; I was soon confirmed in what I had heard. It was become material to address you quickly, if at all: but although what I have written has been the work of a few hours, do not think that the matter has not again and again been the subject of deliberate thought. I should not have dared to have presented you with crude and undigested ideas, or the fancy of a moment: but, on the other hand, so inattentive have I been to the advantages this address might receive, in its form, from the assistance of abler persons than myself, that I venture to submit it thus publicly to you, without the opportunity of communicating it to those whose principles, judgment, and line of conduct in the public walk, I have been habituated to look up to with high respect and esteem.

My business is not to write ably to you, but to write with sincerity.

The

The relation that stands now between us, gives you a right, if I may so speak, to my unmeddled sentiments; and I willingly submit every defect to your censure, rather than be supposed to use management and art, or to consult what is conformable to personal or party considerations, instead of that which unbridled truth (according to my conception of it) requires of me. What farther steps may be in contemplation towards obtaining the laudable object of our wishes, I do not know: but it is not probable that what has lately arisen will slacken the zeal of those who have already stepped forward in the business. With that idea upon my mind, it is impossible for me to conclude without expressing an earnest wish, that whatever is thought of may be pursued with that true spirit of firmness and moderation, which belongs to the cause of justice; and above all, that by every means that can be

devised, a good understanding and union may be insured amongst respectable men of all ranks and descriptions, who agree in the main principles of liberty; although there may be shades of difference in smaller points, or in matters not calling for immediate discussion. Indeed, you will find it true wisdom, and a very honourable policy, to strengthen the cause of your country with every honest aid that can be obtained.—No public cause was ever carried by divided efforts.

Till I have the honour of meeting you in the exercise of the great and respectable function of choosing your representatives, I beg leave to subscribe myself, Gentlemen, with perfect respect, and a remembrance of all your kindness,

Your most obliged,

and faithful humble servant,

G. SAVILLE.

Newcastle upon Tyne, Sept. 5, 1780.

C H A R A C T E R S.

Character and Manners of the Venetians. From a View of Society and Manners in Italy, by Dr. Moore.

I AM very sensible, that it requires a longer residence at Venice, and better opportunities than I have had, to enable me to give a character of the Venetians. But were I to form an idea of them from what I have seen, I should paint them as a lively ingenious people, extravagantly fond of public amusements, with an uncommon relish for humour, and yet more attached to the real enjoyments of life, than to those which depend on ostentation, and proceed from vanity.

The common people of Venice display some qualities very rarely to be found in that sphere of life, being remarkably sober, obliging to strangers, and gentle in their intercourse with each other. The Venetians in general are tall and well made. Though equally robust, they are not so corpulent as the Germans. The latter also are of fair complexions, with light-grey or blue eyes; whereas the Venetians are for the most part of a ruddy brown colour, with dark eyes. You meet in the streets of Venice many fine manly countenances, resembling those transmit-

ted to us by the pencils of Paul Veronese and Titian. The women are of a fine stile of countenance, with expressive features, and a skin of a rich carnation. They dress their hair in a fanciful manner, which becomes them very much. They are of an easy address, and have no aversion to cultivating an acquaintance with those strangers, who are presented to them by their relations, or have been properly recommended.

Strangers are under less restraint here, in many particulars, than the native inhabitants. I have known some, who, after having tried most of the capitals of Europe, have preferred to live at Venice, on account of the variety of amusements, the gentle manners of the inhabitants, and the perfect freedom allowed in every thing, except in blaming the measures of government. I have already mentioned in what manner the Venetians are in danger of being treated who give themselves that liberty. When a stranger is so imprudent as to declaim against the form or the measures of government, he will either receive a message to leave the territories of the state, or one of the Sbirri will be sent to accompany him to the Pope's or the Emperor's dominions.

The houses are thought inconvenient by many of the English; they are better calculated, however, for the climate of Italy, than if they were built according to the London model, which, I suppose, is the plan those critics approve. The floors are of a kind of red plaister, with a brilliant glossy surface, much more beautiful than wood, and far preferable in case of fire, whose progress they are calculated to check.

The principal apartments are on the second floor. The Venetians seldom inhabit the first, which is often intirely filled with lumber: perhaps, they prefer the second, because it is farthest removed from the moisture of the lakes; or perhaps they prefer it, because it is better lighted, and more cheerful; or they may have some better reason for this preference than I am acquainted with, or can imagine. Though the inhabitants of Great Britain make use of the first floors for their chief apartments, this does not form a complete demonstration that the Venetians are in the wrong for preferring the second. When an acute sensible people universally follow one custom, in a mere matter of conveniency, however absurd that custom may appear in the eyes of a stranger at first sight, it will generally be found, that there is some real advantage in it, which compensates all the apparent inconveniences.

I had got, I don't know how, the most contemptuous opinion of the Italian drama. I had been told, there was not a tolerable actor at present in Italy, and I had been long taught to consider

their comedy as the most despic-

able stuff in the world, which could not amuse, or even draw a smile from, any person of taste, being quite destitute of true humour, full of ribaldry, and only proper for the meanest of the vulgar. Impressed with these sentiments, and eager to give his Grace a full demonstration of their justness, I accompanied the D— of H— to the stage-box of one of the play-houses the very day of our arrival at Venice.

The piece was a comedy, and the most entertaining character in it was that of a man who stuttered. In this defect, and in the singular grimaces with which the actor accompanied it, consisted a great part of the amusement.

Disgusted at such a pitiful substitution for wit and humour, I expressed a contempt for an audience which could be entertained by such buffoonery, and who could take pleasure in the exhibition of a natural infirmity.

While we inwardly indulged sentiments of self-approbation, on account of the refinement and superiority of our own taste, and supported the dignity of those sentiments by a disdainful gravity of countenance, the stutterer was giving a piece of information to harlequin, which greatly interested him, and to which he listened with every mark of eagerness. This unfortunate speaker had just arrived at the most important part of his narrative, which was, to acquaint the impatient listener where his mistress was concealed, when he unluckily stumbled on a word of six or seven syllables, which completely obstructed the progress of his narration. He attempted it again and again, but
always

always without success. You may have observed that, though many other words would explain his meaning equally well, you may as soon make a faint change his religion, as prevail on a stutterer to accept of another word in place of that at which he has stumbled. He adheres to his first word to the last, and will sooner expire with it in his throat, than give it up for any other you may offer. Harlequin, on the present occasion, presented his friend with a dozen; but he rejected them all with disdain, and persisted in his unsuccessful attempts on that, which had first come in his way. At length, making a desperate effort, when all the spectators were gaping in expectation of his safe delivery, the cruel word came up with its broad side foremost, and stuck directly across the unhappy man's wind-pipe. He gaped, and panted, and croaked; his face flushed, and his eyes seemed ready to start from his head. Harlequin unbuttoned the stutterer's waistcoat, and the neck of his shirt; he fanned his face with his cap, and held a bottle of hartshorn to his nose. At length, fearing his patient would expire, before he could give the desired intelligence, in a fit of despair he pitched his head full in the dying man's stomach, and the word bolted out of his mouth to the most distant part of the house.

This was performed in a manner so perfectly droll, and the humorous absurdity of the expedient came so unexpectedly upon me, that I immediately burst into a most excessive fit of laughter, in which I was accompanied by the D—, and by your young friend

Jack, who was along with us; and our laughter continued in such loud, violent, and repeated fits, that the attention of the audience being turned from the stage to our box, occasioned a renewal of the mirth all over the playhouse with greater vociferation than at first.

The number of playhouses in Venice is very extraordinary, considering the size of the town, which is not thought to contain above one hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants, yet there are eight or nine theatres here, including the opera-houses. You pay a trifle at the door for admittance; this entitles you to go into the pit, where you may look about, and determine what part of the house you will sit in. There are rows of chairs placed in the front of the pit, next the orchestra; the seats of these chairs are folded to their backs, and fastened by a lock: Those who choose to take them, pay a little more money to the door-keeper, who immediately unlocks the seat. Very decent-looking people occupy these chairs; but the back part of the pit is filled with footmen and gondoleers, in their common working clothes. The nobility, and better sort of citizens, have boxes retained for the year; but there are always a sufficient number to be let to strangers: the price of those varies every night, according to the season of the year, and the piece acted.

A Venetian playhouse has a dismal appearance in the eyes of people accustomed to the brilliancy of those of London. Many of the boxes are so dark, that the faces of the company in them can hardly

be distinguished at a little distance, even when they do not wear masks. The stage, however, is well illuminated, so that the people in the boxes can see, perfectly well, every thing that is transacted there; and when they choose to be seen themselves, they order lights into their boxes. Between the acts you sometimes see ladies walking about, with their Cavalieri Serventés, in the back part of the pit, when it is not crowded. As they are masked, they do not scruple to reconnoitre the company, with their spying-glasses, from this place: when the play begins, they return to their boxes. This continual moving about from box to box, and between the boxes and the pit, must create some confusion, and, no doubt, is disagreeable to those who attend merely on account of the piece. There must, however, be found some *douceur* in the midst of all this obscurity and confusion, which, in the opinion of the majority of the audience, overbalances these obvious inconveniences.

The music of the opera here is reckoned as fine as in any town in Italy; and, at any rate, is far superior to the praise of so very poor a judge as I am. The dramatic and poetical parts of those pieces are little regarded; the poet is allowed to indulge himself in as many anachronisms, and other inconsistencies, as he pleases. Provided the music receives the approbation of the critic's ear, his judgment is not offended with any absurdities in the other parts of the composition. The celebrated Metastasio has disdained to avail himself of this indulgence in his operas, which are fine dramatic

compositions. He has preserved the alliance which ought always to subsist between sense and music.

At the comic opera I have sometimes seen action alone excite the highest applause, independent of either the poetry or the music. I saw a duo performed by an old man and a young woman, supposed to be his daughter, in such an humorous manner, as drew an universal *encora* from the spectators. The merit of the musical part of the composition, I was told, was but very moderate, and as for the sentiment you shall judge.

The father informs his daughter, in a song, that he has found an excellent match for her; who, besides being rich, and very prudent, and not too young, was over and above a particular friend of his own, and in person and disposition, much such a man as himself; he concludes, by telling her, that the ceremony will be performed next day. She thanks him, in the gayest air possible, for his obliging intentions, adding, that she should have been glad to have shewn her implicit obedience to his commands, provided there had been any chance of the man's being to her taste; but as, from the account he had given, there could be none, she declares she will not marry him next day, and adds, with a *very long* quaver, that if she were to live to *eternity* she should continue of the same opinion. The father, in a violent rage, tells her, that instead of to-morrow, the marriage should take place that very day; to which she replies, non: he rejoins, si; she, non, non; he, si, si; the daughter, non, non, non; the father,

ther, si, si, si; and so the singing continues for five or six minutes. You perceive there is nothing marvellously witty in this; and for a daughter to be of a different opinion from her father, in the choice of a husband, is not a very new dramatic incident. Well, I told you the duo was encored—they immediately performed it a second time, and with more humour than the first. The whole house vociferated for it again; and it was sung a third time in a manner equally pleasant, and yet perfectly different from any of the former two.

I thought the house would have been brought down about our ears, so extravagant were the testimonies of approbation.

The two actors were obliged to appear again, and sing this duo a fourth time; which they executed in a style so new, so natural, and so exquisitely droll; that the audience now thought there had been something deficient in all their former performances, and that they had hit on the true comic only this last time.

Some people began to call for it again; but the old man, now quite exhausted, begged for mercy; on which the point was given up. I never before had any idea that such strong comic powers could have been displayed in the singing of a song.

Though the Venetian government is still under the influence of jealousy, that gloomy daemon is now entirely banished from the bosoms of individuals. Instead of the confinement in which women were formerly kept at Venice, they now enjoy a degree of freedom unknown even at Paris. Of the two

extremes, the present, without doubt, is the preferable.

Along with jealousy, *poison* and the *stiletto* have been banished from Venetian gallantry, and the innocent mask is substituted in their places. According to the best information I have received, this same mask is a much more innocent matter than is generally imagined. In general it is not intended to conceal the person who wears it, but only used as an apology for his not being in full dress. With a mask stuck in the hat, and a kind of black mantle, trimmed with lace of the same colour, over the shoulders, a man is sufficiently dressed for any assembly at Venice.

Those who walk the streets, or go to the playhouses with masks actually covering their faces, are either engaged in some love intrigue, or would have the spectators think so; for this is a piece of affectation which prevails here, as well as elsewhere; and I have been assured, by those who have resided many years at Venice, that *refined* gentlemen, who are fond of the reputation, though they shrink from the catastrophe, of an intrigue, are no uncommon characters here; and I believe it the more readily, because I daily see many feeble gentlemen tottering about in masks, for whom a basin of warm restorative soup seems more expedient than the most beautiful woman in Venice.

One evening at St. Mark's place, when a gentleman of my acquaintance was giving an account of this curious piece of affectation, he desired me to take notice of a Venetian nobleman of his acquaintance, who, with an air

of mystery, was conducting a female mask into his cassino. My acquaintance knew him perfectly well, and assured me, he was the most innocent creature with women he had ever been acquainted with. When this gallant person perceived that we were looking at him, his mask fell to the ground, as if by accident; and after we had got a complete view of his countenance, he put it on with much hurry, and immediately rushed, with his partner, into the cassino.

—Fugit ad falices, sed se cupit ante videri.

You have heard, no doubt, of those little apartments, near St. Mark's place, called cassinos. They have the misfortune to labour under a very bad reputation; they are accused of being temples entirely consecrated to lawless love, and a thousand scandalous tales are told to strangers concerning them. Those tales are certainly not believed by the Venetians themselves, the proof of which is, that the cassinos are allowed to exist; for I hold it perfectly absurd to imagine, that men would suffer their wives to enter such places, if they were not convinced that those stories were ill-founded; nor can I believe, after all we have heard of the profligacy of Venetian manners, that women, even of indifferent reputations, would attend cassinos in the open manner they do, if it were understood that more liberties were taken with them there than elsewhere.

The opening before St. Mark's church is the only place in Venice where a great number of people can assemble. It is the fashion to walk here a great part of the evening, to enjoy the music, and

other amusements; and although there are coffee-houses, and Venetian manners permit ladies, as well as gentlemen, to frequent them, yet it was natural for the noble and most wealthy to prefer little apartments of their own, where, without being exposed to intrusion, they may entertain a few friends in a more easy and unceremonious manner than they could do at their palaces. Instead of going home to a formal supper, and returning afterwards to this place of amusement, they order coffee, lemonade, fruit, and other refreshments, to the cassino.

That those little apartments may be occasionally used for the purposes of intrigue, is not improbable; but that this is the ordinary and avowed purpose for which they are frequented is, of all things, the least credible.

Some writers who have described the manners of the Venetians, as more profligate than those of other nations, assert at the same time, that the government encourages this profligacy, to relax and dissipate the minds of the people, and prevent their planning, or attempting, any thing against the constitution. Were this the case, it could not be denied, that the Venetian legislators display their patriotism in a very extraordinary manner, and have fallen upon as extraordinary means of rendering their people good subjects. They first erect a despotic court to guard the public liberty, and next they corrupt the morals of the people, to keep them from plotting against the state. This last piece of refinement, however, is no more than a conjecture of some theoretical politicians, who are apt to
take

take facts for granted, without sufficient proof, and afterwards display their ingenuity in accounting for them. That the Venetians are more given to sensual pleasures than the inhabitants of London, Paris, or Berlin, I imagine will be difficult to prove; but as the state inquisitors do not think proper, and the ecclesiastical are not allowed, to interfere in affairs of gallantry; as a great number of strangers assemble twice or thrice a year at Venice, merely for the sake of amusement; and, above all, as it is the custom to go about in masks, an idea prevails, that the manners are more licentious here than elsewhere.

Of the Modern Romans. From the same.

IN their external deportment, the Italians have a grave solemnity of manner, which is sometimes thought to arise from a natural gloominess of disposition. The French, above all other nations, are apt to impute to melancholy, the sedate serious air which accompanies reflection.

Though in the pulpit, on the theatre, and even in common conversation, the Italians make use of a great deal of action; yet Italian vivacity is different from French; the former proceeds from sensibility, the latter from animal spirits.

The inhabitants of this country have not the brisk look, and elastic trip, which is universal in France; they move rather with a slow composed pace: their spines never having been forced into a straight line, retain the natural bend; and the people of the most

finished fashion, as well as the neglected vulgar, seem to prefer the unconstrained attitude of the Antinous, and other antique statues, to the artificial graces of a French dancing-master, or the erect strut of a German soldier. I imagine I perceive a great resemblance between many of the living countenances I see daily, and the features of the ancient busts and statues; which leads me to believe, that there are a greater number of the genuine descendants of the old Romans in Italy, than is generally imagined.

I am often struck with the fine character of countenance to be seen in the streets of Rome. I never saw features more expressive of reflection, sense, and genius; in the very lowest ranks there are countenances which announce minds fit for the highest and most important situations; and we cannot help regretting, that those to whom they belong, have not received an education adequate to the natural abilities we are convinced they possess, and been placed where these abilities could be brought into action.

Of all the countries in Europe, Switzerland is that, in which the beauties of nature appear in the greatest variety of forms and on the most magnificent scale; in that country, therefore, the young landscape painter has the best chance of seizing the most sublime ideas: but Italy is the best school for the history painter, not only on account of its being enriched with the works of the greatest masters, and the noblest models of antique sculpture; but also on account of the fine expressive style of the Italian countenance.

Strangers, on their arrival at Rome, form no high idea of the beauty of the Roman women, from the specimens they see in the fashionable circles to which they are first introduced. There are some exceptions; but in general it must be acknowledged, that the present race of women of high rank, are more distinguished by their other ornaments, than by their beauty. Among the citizens, however, and in the lower classes, you frequently meet with the most beautiful countenances. For a brilliant red and white, and all the charms of complexion, no women are equal to the English. If a hundred, or any greater number, of English women were taken at random, and compared with the same number of the wives and daughters of the citizens of Rome, I am convinced, that ninety of the English would be found handsomer than ninety of the Romans; but the probability is, that two or three in the hundred Italians, would have finer countenances than any of the English. English beauty is more remarkable in the country, than in towns; the peasantry of no country in Europe can stand a comparison, in point of looks, with those of England. That race of people have the conveniencies of life in no other country in such perfection; they are no where so well fed, so well defended from the injuries of the seasons; and no where else do they keep themselves so perfectly clean, and free from all the vilifying effects of dirt. The English country girls, taken collectively, are, unquestionably, the handsomest in the world. The female peasants of most other countries,

indeed, are so hard worked, so ill fed, so much tanned by the sun, and so dirty, that it is difficult to know whether they have any beauty or not. Yet I have been informed, by some amateurs, since I came here, that, in spite of all these disadvantages, they sometimes find, among the Italian peasantry, countenances highly interesting, and which they prefer to all the cherry cheeks of Lancashire.

Beauty, doubtless, is infinitely varied; and happily for mankind, their tastes and opinions, on the subject, are equally various. Notwithstanding this variety, however, a style of face, in some measure peculiar to its own inhabitants, has been found to prevail in each different nation of Europe. This peculiar countenance is again greatly varied, and marked with every degree of discrimination between the extremes of beauty and ugliness. I will give you a sketch of the general style of the most beautiful female heads in this country, from which you may judge whether they are to your taste or not.

A great profusion of dark hair, which seems to encroach upon the forehead, rendering it short and narrow; the nose generally either aquiline, or continued in a straight line from the lower part of the brow; a full and short upper lip; (by the way, nothing has a worse effect on a countenance, than a large interval between the nose and mouth;) the eyes are large, and of a sparkling black. The black eye certainly labours under one disadvantage, which is, that, from the iris and pupil being of the same colour, the contraction and

and dilatation of the latter is not seen, by which the eye is abridged of half its powers. Yet the Italian eye is wonderfully expressive; some people think it says too much. The complexion, for the most part, is of a clear brown, sometimes fair, but very seldom florid, or of that bright fairness which is common in England and Saxony. It must be owned, that those features which have a fine expression of sentiment and meaning in youth, are more apt, than less expressive faces, to become soon strong and masculine. In England and Germany, the women, a little advanced in life, retain the appearance of youth longer than in Italy.

There are no theatrical entertainments permitted in this city, except during the Carnival; but they are then attended with a degree of ardour unknown in capitals whose inhabitants are under no such restraint. Every kind of amusement, indeed, in this gay season, is followed with the greatest eagerness. The natural gravity of the Roman citizens is changed into a mirthful vivacity; and the serious, *sombre* city of Rome exceeds Paris itself in brightness and gaiety. This spirit seems gradually to augment, from its commencement; and is at its height in the last week of the six which comprehend the carnival. The citizens then appear in the streets, masked, in the characters of harlequins, pantaloons, punchinellos, and all the fantastic variety of a masquerade. This humour spreads to men, women, and children; descends to the lowest ranks, and becomes universal. Even those who put on no mask,

and have no desire to remain unknown, reject their usual clothes, and assume some whimsical dress. The coachmen, who are placed in a more conspicuous point of view than others of the same rank in life, and who are perfectly known by the carriages they drive, generally affect some ridiculous disguise: Many of them chuse a woman's dress, and have their faces painted, and adorned with patches. However dull these fellows may be, when in breeches, they are, in petticoats, considered as the pleasantest men in the world; and excite much laughter in every street in which they appear. I observed to an Italian of my acquaintance, that, considering the itateness of the joke, I was surprised at the mirth it seemed to raise. "When a whole city," answered he, "are resolved to be merry for a week together, it is exceedingly convenient to have a few established jokes ready made; the young laugh at the novelty, and the old from prescription. This metamorphosis of the coachmen is certainly not the most refined kind of wit; however, it is more harmless than the burning of heretics, which formerly was a great source of amusement to our populace."

The street, called the *corso*, is the great scene of these masquerades. It is crowded every night with people of all conditions: Those of rank come in coaches, or in open carriages, made on purpose. A kind of civil war is carried on by the company, as they pass each other. The greatest mark of attention you can shew your friends and acquaintance, is,

to

to throw a handful of little white balls, resembling sugar-plums, full in their faces; and, if they are not deficient in politeness, they will instantly return you the compliment. All who wish to make a figure in the corso, come well supplied in this kind of ammunition.

Sometimes two or three open carriages, on a side, with five or six persons of both sexes in each, draw up opposite to each other, and fight a pitched battle. On these occasions, the combatants are provided with whole bags full of the small shot above mentioned, which they throw at each other, with much apparent fury, till their ammunition is exhausted, and the field of battle is as white as snow.

The peculiar dresses of every nation of the globe, and of every profession, besides all the fantastic characters usual at masquerades, are to be seen on the corso. Those of harlequin and pantaloons are in great vogue among the men. The citizens wives and daughters generally affect the pomp of women of quality; while their brothers, or other relations, appear as train-bearers and attendants. In general, they seem to delight in characters the most remote from their own. Young people assume the long beard, tottering step, and other concomitants of old age; the aged chuse the bib and rattle of childhood; and the women of quality, and women of the town, appear in the characters of country maidens, nuns, and vestal virgins. All endeavour to support the assumed characters, to the best of their ability; but none, in my

opinion, succeed so well as those who represent children.

Towards the dusk of the evening, the horse-race takes place. As soon as this is announced, the coaches, cabriolets, triumphal cars, and carriages of every kind, are drawn up, and line the street; leaving a space in the middle for the racers to pass. These are five or six horses, trained on purpose for this diversion; they are drawn up a breast in the Piazza del Popolo, exactly where the Corso begins. Certain balls, with little sharp spikes, are hung along their sides, which serve to spur them on. As soon as they begin to run, those animals, by their impatience to be gone, shew that they understand what is required of them, and that they take as much pleasure as the spectators in the sport. A broad piece of canvas, spread across the entrance of the street, prevents them from starting too soon: the dropping that canvass is the signal for the race to begin. The horses fly off together, and, without riders, exert themselves to the utmost; impelled by emulation, the shouts of the populace, and the spurs above mentioned. They run the whole length of the corso; and the proprietor of the victor is rewarded by a certain quantity of fine scarlet or purple cloth, which is always furnished by the Jews.

Making and horse-races are confined to the last eight days; but there are theatrical entertainments, of various kinds, during the whole six weeks of the carnival. The serious opera is most frequented by people of fashion, who generally take boxes for the whole season. The opera, with which this theatre

theatre opened, was received with the highest applause, though the music only was new. The Italians do not think it always necessary to compose new words for what is called a new opera; they often satisfy themselves with new music to the affecting dramas of Metastasio. The audience here seem to lend a more profound and continued attention to the music, than at Venice. This is probably owing to the entertainment being a greater rarity in the one city than in the other; for I could perceive that the people of fashion, who came every night, began, after the opera had been repeated several nights, to abate in their attention, to receive visitors in their boxes, and to listen only when some favourite airs were singing: whereas the audience in the pit uniformly preserve the most perfect silence, which is only interrupted by gentle murmurs of pleasure from a few individuals, or an universal burst of applause from the whole assembly. I never saw such genuine marks of satisfaction displayed by any assembly, on any occasion whatever. The sensibility of some of the audience gave me an idea of the power of sounds, which the dulness of my own auditory nerves could never have conveyed to my mind. At certain airs, silent enjoyment was expressed in every countenance; at others, the hands were clasped together, the eyes half shut, and the breath drawn in, with a prolonged sigh, as if the soul was expiring in a torrent of delight. One young woman, in the pit, called out, “*O Dio, dove sono!*” “*che piacer via caccia l'alma?*”

On the first night of the opera,

after one of these favourite airs, an universal shout of applause took place, intermingled with demands that the composer of the music should appear. *Il maestro! il maestro!* resounded from every corner of the house. He was present, and led the band of music; he was obliged to stand upon the bench, where he continued bowing to the spectators, till they were tired of applauding him. One person, in the middle of the pit, whom I had remarked displaying great signs of satisfaction from the beginning of the performance, cried out, “He deserves to be made chief musician to the Virgin, and to lead a choir of angels!” This expression would be thought strong, in any country; but it has peculiar energy here, where it is a popular opinion, that the Virgin Mary is very fond, and an excellent judge, of music. I received this information on Christmas morning, when I was looking at two poor Calabrian pipers doing their utmost to please her, and the Infant in her arms. They played for a full hour to one of her images which stands at the corner of a street. All the other statues of the Virgin, which are placed in the streets, are serenaded in the same manner every Christmas morning. On my enquiring into the meaning of that ceremony, I was told the above-mentioned circumstance of her character, which, though you may have always thought highly probable, perhaps you never before knew for certain. My informer was a pilgrim, who stood listening with great devotion to the pipers. He told me, at the same time, that the Virgin’s taste

was

was too refined to have much satisfaction in the performance of those poor Calabrians, which was chiefly intended for the Infant; and he desired me to remark, that the tunes were plain, simple, and such as might naturally be supposed agreeable to the ear of a child of his time of life.

Of Naples, and the Manners of its Inhabitants. From the same.

NAPLES was founded by the Greeks. The charming situation they have chosen, is one proof among thousands, of the fine taste of that ingenious people.

The bay is about thirty miles in circumference, and twelve in diameter; it has been named *crater*, from its supposed resemblance to a bowl. This bowl is ornamented with the most beautiful foliage, with vines, with olive, mulberry, and orange trees; with hills, dales, towns, villas, and villages.

At the bottom of the bay of Naples, the town is built in the form of a vast amphitheatre, sloping from the hills towards the sea.

If, from the town, you turn your eyes to the east, you see the rich plains leading to mount Vesuvius, and Portici. If you look to the west, you have the grotto of Paullippo, the mountain on which Virgil's tomb is placed, and the fields leading to Puzzoli and the coast of Baia. On the north, are the fertile hills, gradually rising from the shore to the Campagna Felice. On the south, is the bay, confined by the two promontories of Misenum and Minerva, the view being terminated by the islands, Procida, Ischia, and Ca-

prea; and as you ascend to the castle of St. Elmo, you have all these objects under your eye at once, with the addition of a great part of the Campagna.

Independent of its happy situation, Naples is a very beautiful city. The style of architecture, it must be confessed, is inferior to what prevails at Rome; but tho' Naples cannot vie with that city in the number of palaces, or in the grandeur and magnificence of the churches, the private houses in general are better built, and are more uniformly convenient; the streets are broader and better paved. No street in Rome equals in beauty the Strada di Toledo at Naples; and still less can any of them be compared with those beautiful streets which are open to the bay. This is the native country of the zephyrs; here the excessive heat of the sun is often tempered with sea breezes, and with gales, wafting the perfumes of the Campagna Felice.

The houses, in general, are five or six stories in height, and flat at the top; on which are placed, numbers of flower vases or fruit trees, in boxes of earth, producing a very gay and agreeable effect.

The fortress of St. Elmo is built on a mountain of the same name. The garrison stationed here, have the entire command of the town, and could lay it in ashes at pleasure. A little lower, on the same mountain, is a convent of Carthusians. The situation of this convent is as advantageous and beautiful as can be imagined; and much expence has been lavished to render the building, the apartments, and the gardens, equal to the situation.

Though

Though Naples is admirably situated for commerce, and no kingdom produces the necessities and luxuries of life in greater profusion, yet trade is but in a languishing condition; the best silks come from Lyons, and the best woollen goods from England.

The chief articles manufactured here, at present, are, silk stockings, soap, snuff-boxes, or tortoise shells; and the lava of Mount Vesuvius, tables, and ornamental furniture, of marble.

They are thought to embroider here better than even in France; and their macaroni is preferred to that made in any other part of Italy. The Neapolitans excel also in liqueurs and confections; particularly in one kind of confection, which is sold at a very high price, called *Diablonis*. This drug, as you will guess from its name, is of a very hot and stimulating nature, and what I should think by no means requisite to Neapolitan constitutions.

The inhabitants of this town are computed at three hundred and fifty thousand. I make no doubt of their amounting to that number; for though Naples is not one third of the size of London, yet many of the streets here are more crowded than the Strand. In London and Paris, the people who fill the streets are mere passengers, hurrying from place to place on business; and when they choose to converse, or to amuse themselves, they resort to the public walks or gardens: at Naples the citizens have fewer avocations of business to excite their activity; no public walks, or gardens, to which they can resort; and are, therefore, more frequently seen

sauntering and conversing in the streets, where a great proportion of the poorest sort, for want of habitations, are obliged to spend the night as well as the day. While you sit in your chamber at London, or at Paris, the usual noise you hear from the streets, is that of carriages; but at Naples, where they talk with uncommon vivacity, and where whole streets full of talkers are in continual employment, the noise of carriages is completely drowned in the aggregated clack of human voices. In the midst of all this idleness, fewer riots or outrages of any kind happen, than might be expected in a town where the police is far from being strict, and where such multitudes of poor unemployed people meet together every day. This partly proceeds from the national character of the Italians; which, in my opinion, is quiet, submissive, and averse to riot or sedition; and partly to the common people being universally sober, and never inflamed with strong and spirituous liquors, as they are in the northern countries. Iced water and lemonade are among the luxuries of the lowest vulgar; they are carried about in little barrels, and sold in half-penny's worth. The half-naked *lazzarone* is often tempted to spend the small pittance destined for the maintenance of his family, on this bewitching beverage, as the most dissolute of the low people in London spend their wages on gin and brandy; so that the same extravagance which cools the mob of the one city, tends to inflame that of the other to acts of excess and brutality.

There

There is not, perhaps, a city in the world, with the same number of inhabitants, in which so few contribute to the wealth of the community by useful, or by productive labour, as Naples; but the numbers of priests, monks, fiddlers, lawyers, nobility, footmen, and lazzaronis, surpass all reasonable proportion; the last alone are computed at thirty or forty thousand. If these poor fellows are idle, it is not their own fault; they are continually running about the streets, as we are told of the artificers of China, offering their service, and begging for employment; and are considered, by many, as of more real utility than any of the classes above mentioned.

The Neapolitan nobility are excessively fond of splendour and show. This appears in the brilliancy of their equipages, the number of their attendants, the richness of their dress, and the grandeur of their titles.

I am assured, that the king of Naples counts a hundred persons with the title of prince, and still a greater number with that of duke, among his subjects. Six or seven of these have estates, which produce from ten to twelve or thirteen thousand pounds a year; a considerable number have fortunes of about half that value; and the annual revenue of many is not above one or two thousand pounds. With respect to the inferior orders of nobility, they are much poorer; many counts and marquisses have not above three or four hundred pounds a year of paternal estate, many still less, and not a few enjoy the title without any estate whatever.

When we consider the magnificence of their entertainments, the splendour of their equipages, and the number of their servants, we are surprised that the richest of them can support such expensive establishments. I dined, soon after our arrival, at the prince of Franca Villa's; there were about forty people at table; it was meagre day; the dinner consisted entirely of fish and vegetables, and was the most magnificent entertainment I ever saw, comprehending an infinite variety of dishes, a vast profusion of fruit, and the wines of every country in Europe. I dined since at the prince Iacci's. I shall mention two circumstances, from which you may form an idea of the grandeur of an Italian palace, and the number of domestics which some of the nobility retain. We passed through twelve or thirteen large rooms before we arrived at the dining-room; there were thirty-six persons at table, none served but the prince's domestics, and each guest had a footman behind his chair; other domestics belonging to the prince remained in the adjacent rooms, and in the hall. We afterwards passed through a considerable number of other rooms in our way to one from which there is a very commanding view.

No estate in England could support such a number of servants, paid and fed as English servants are; but here the wages are very moderate indeed, and the greater number of men servants, belonging to the first families, give their attendance through the day only, and find beds and provisions for themselves. It must be remembered, also, that few of the nobles give entertainments, and those who

who do not, are said to live very sparingly; so that the whole of their revenue, whatever that may be, is exhausted on articles of show.

As there is no opera at present, the people of fashion generally pass part of the evening at the corso, on the sea-shore. This is the great scene of Neapolitan splendour and parade; and, on grand occasions, the magnificence displayed here will strike a stranger very much. The finest carriages are painted, gilt, varnished, and lined, in a richer and more beautiful manner, than has as yet become fashionable either in England or France; they are often drawn by six, and sometimes by eight horses.

It is the mode here, to have two running footmen, very gaily dressed, before the carriage, and three or four servants in rich liveries behind; these attendants are generally the handsomest young men that can be procured. The ladies or gentlemen within the coaches, glitter in all the brilliancy of lace, embroidery, and jewels. The Neapolitan carriages, for gala days, are made on purpose, with very large windows, that the spectators may enjoy a full view of the parties within. Nothing can be more showy than the harness of the horses; their heads and manes are ornamented with the rarest plumage, and their tails set off with ribband and artificial flowers, in such a graceful manner that you are apt to think they have been adorned by the same hands that dressed the heads of the ladies, and not by common grooms.

His Neapolitan majesty seems to be about the age of six or seven-

and-twenty. He is a prince of great activity of body, and a good constitution; he indulges in frequent relaxations from the cares of government and the fatigue of thinking, by hunting and other exercises; and (which ought to give a high idea of his natural talents) he never fails to acquire a very considerable degree of perfection in those things to which he applies. He is very fond, like the king of Prussia, of reviewing his troops, and is perfectly master of the whole mystery of the manual exercise. I have had the honour, oftener than once, of seeing him exercise the different regiments which form the garrison here: he always gave the word of command with his own royal mouth, and with a precision which seemed to astonish the whole court. This monarch is also a very excellent shot; his uncommon success at this diversion is thought to have roused the jealousy of his most catholic majesty, who also values himself on his skill as a marksman. The correspondence between those two great personages often relates to their favourite amusement.—A gentleman, who came lately from Madrid, told me, that the king, on some occasion, had read a letter which he had just received from his son at Naples, wherein he complained of his bad success on a shooting party, having killed no more than eighty birds in a day: and the Spanish monarch, turning to his courtiers, said, in a plaintive tone of voice, “*Mio figlio piange*” “*di non aver’ fatto piu di ottante*” “*beccacie in uno giorno, quando*” “*mi crederei l’uomo il piu felice*” “*del mondo se potesse fare qua-*” “*ranta.*” All who take a be-

coming

coming share in the afflictions of a royal bosom, will no doubt join with me, in wishing better success to this good monarch, for the future. Fortunate would it be for mankind, if the happiness of their princes could be purchased at so easy a rate! and thrice fortunate for the generous people of Spain, if the family connexions of their monarch, often at variance with the real interest of that country, should never seduce him into a more ruinous war, than that which he now wages against the beasts of the field, and the birds of the air. His Neapolitan majesty, as I am informed, possesses many other accomplishments; I particularise those only to which I have myself been a witness. No king in Europe is supposed to understand the game of billiards better. I had the pleasure of seeing him strike the most brilliant stroke that perhaps ever was struck by a crowned head. The ball of his antagonist was near one of the middle pockets, and his own in such a situation, that it was absolutely necessary to make it rebound from two different parts of the cushion, before it could pocket the other. A person of less enterprise would have been contented with placing himself in a safe situation, at a small loss, and never have risked any offensive attempt against the enemy; but the difficulty and danger, instead of intimidating, seemed rather to animate the ambition of this Prince. He summoned all his address; he estimated, with a mathematical eye, the angles at which the ball must fly off; and he struck it with an undaunted mind and a steady hand. It rebounded obliquely, from the op-

posite side-cushion, to that at the end; from which it moved in a direct line towards the middle pocket, which seemed to stand in gaping expectation to receive it. The hearts of the spectators beat thick as it rolled along; and they shewed, by the contortions of their faces and persons, how much they feared that it should move one hair-breadth in a wrong direction. —I must here interrupt this important narrative, to observe, that, when I talk of contortions, if you form your idea from any thing of that kind which you may have seen around an English billiard-table or bowling-green, you can have no just notion of those which were exhibited on this occasion: your imagination must triple the force and energy of every English grimace, before it can do justice to the nervous twist of an Italian countenance. —At length the royal ball reached that of the enemy, and with a single blow drove it off the plain. An universal shout of joy, triumph, and applause, burst from the beholders; but,

O thoughtless mortals, ever blind to fate,
Too soon dejected, and too soon elate!

the victorious ball, pursuing the enemy too far, shared the same fate, and was buried in the same grave, with the vanquished. This fatal and unforeseen event seemed to make a deep impression on the minds of all who were witnesses to it; and will no doubt be recorded in the annals of the present reign, and quoted by future poets and historians, as a striking instance of the instability of sublunary felicity. In domestic life, this Prince is generally allowed to be an easy master, a good-natured husband,

husband, a dutiful son, and an indulgent father.

The queen of Naples is a beautiful woman, and seems to possess the affability, good-humour, and benevolence, which distinguish, in such an amiable manner, the Austrian family.

The hereditary jurisdiction of the nobles over their vassals subsists, both in the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, in the full rigour of the feudal government. The peasants therefore are poor; and it depends entirely on the personal character of the masters, whether their poverty is not the least of their grievances.

The court of Naples has not yet ventured, by one open act of authority, to abolish the immoderate power of the lords over their tenants. But it is believed that the minister secretly wishes for its destruction; and in cases of flagrant oppression, when complaints are brought before the legal courts, or directly to the king himself, by the peasants against their lord, it is generally remarked that the minister favours the complainant. Notwithstanding this, the masters have so many opportunities of oppressing, and such various methods of teasing, their vassals, that they generally chuse to bear their wrongs in silence; and perceiving that those who hold their lands immediately from the crown, are in a much easier situation than themselves, without raising their hopes to perfect freedom, the height of their wishes is to be sheltered from the vexations of little tyrants, under the unlimited power of one common master. The objects of royal attention, they fondly imagine, are too sub-

lime, and the minds of kings too generous, to stoop to, or even to countenance, in their servants, the minute and unreasonable exertions, which are wrong at present from the hard hands of the exhausted labourer.

Though the Neapolitan nobility still retain the ancient feudal authority over the peasants, yet their personal importance depends, in a great measure, on the favour of the king; who, under pretext of any offence, can confine them to their own estates, or imprison them at pleasure; and who, without any alledged offence, and without going to such extremes, can inflict a punishment, highly sensible to them, by not inviting them to the amusements of the court, or not receiving them with smiles when they attend on any ordinary occasion. Unless this prince were so very impolitic as to disgust all the nobility at once, and so unite the whole body against him, he has little to fear from their resentment. Even in case of such an union, as the nobles have lost the affection and attachment of their peasants, what could they do in opposition to a standing army of thirty thousand men, entirely devoted to the crown? The establishment of standing armies has universally given stability to the power of the prince, and ruined that of the great lords. No nobility in Europe can now be said to inherit political importance, or to act independent of, or in opposition to, the influence of the crown; except the *temporal peers of that part of Great Britain called England*.

The citizens of Naples form a society of their own, perfectly distinct from the nobility; and

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although they are not the most industrious people in the world, yet, having some degree of occupation, and their time being divided between business and pleasure, they probably have more enjoyment than those, who, without internal resources, or opportunities of active exertion, pass their lives in sensual gratifications, and in waiting the returns of appetite around a gaming table. In the most respectable class of citizens, are comprehended the lawyers, of whom there are an incredible number in this town. The most eminent of this profession hold, indeed, a kind of intermediate rank between the nobility and citizens; the rest are on a level with the physicians, the principal merchants, and the artists; none of whom can make great fortunes, however industrious they may be; but a moderate income enables them to support their rank in society, and to enjoy all the conveniences, and many of the luxuries, of life.

England is perhaps the only nation in Europe where some individuals, of every profession, even of the lowest, find it possible to accumulate great fortunes; the effect of this very frequently is, that the son despises the profession of the father, commences gentleman, and dissipates, in a few years, what cost a life to gather. In the principal cities of Germany and Italy, we find, that the ancestors of many of those citizens who are the most eminent in their particular businesses, have transmitted the art to them through several generations. It is natural to imagine, that this will tend to the improvement of the art, or science, or pro-

fession, as well as the family fortune; and that the third generation will acquire knowledge from the experience, as well as wealth from the industry, of the former two; whereas, in the cases alluded to above, the wheel of fortune moves differently. A man, by assiduity in a particular business, and by genius, acquires a great fortune and a high reputation; the son throws away the fortune, and ruins his own character by extravagance; and the grandson is obliged to recommence the business, unaided by the wealth or experience of his ancestors. This, however, is pointing out an evil which I should be sorry to see remedied; because it certainly originates in the riches and prosperity of the country in which it exists.

The number of priests, monks, and ecclesiastics of all the various orders that swarm in this city, is prodigious; and the provision appropriated for their use, is as ample. I am assured, that the clergy are in possession of considerably above one-third of the revenue of the whole kingdom, over and above what some particular orders among them acquire by begging for the use of their convents, and what is gotten in legacies by the address and assiduity of the whole. The unproductive wealth, which is lodged in the churches and convents of this city, amounts also to an amazing value. Not to be compared in point of architecture to the churches and convents of Rome, those of Naples surpass them in riches, in the value of their jewels, and in the quantity of silver and golden crucifixes, vessels, and implements of various kinds. This wealth, whatever it amounts

amounts to, is of as little use to the kingdom, as if it still remained in the mines of Peru; and the greater part of it, surely, affords as little comfort to the clergy and monks as to any other part of the community; for though it belongs to their church, or their convent, yet it can no more be converted to the use of the priests and monks of such churches and convents, than to the tradesman who inhabit the adjacent streets. For this reason I am a good deal surpris'd, that no pretext, or subterfuge, has been found, no expedient fallen on, no treaty or convention made, for appropriating part of this at least, to the use of some set of people or other. If the clergy were to lay their hands on it, this might be found fault with by the king; if his majesty dreamt of taking any part of it for the exigencies of the state, the clergy would undoubtedly raise a clamour; and if both united, the Pope would think he had a right to pronounce his vote: but if all these three powers could come to an understanding, and settle their proportions, I am apt to think a partition might be made as quietly as that of Poland.

Whatever scruples the Neapolitan clergy may have to such a project, they certainly have none to the full enjoyment of their revenues. No class of men can be less disposed to offend Providence by a pœvish neglect of the good things which the bounty of heaven has bestowed. Self-denial is a virtue, which I will not say they possess in a smaller degree, but which, I am sure, they affect less than any other ecclesiastics I know; they live very much in society,

both with the nobles and citizens. All of them, the monks not excepted, attend the theatre, and seem to join most cordially in other diversions and amusements; the common people are no ways offended at this, or imagine that they ought to live in a more reclusive manner. I am inform'd, that a very considerable diminution in the number of monks has taken place in the kingdom of Naples since the suppression of the Jesuits, and since a liberty of quitting the cowl was granted by the late Pope; but still there is no reason to complain of a deficiency in this order of men. The richest and most commodious convents in Europe, both for male and female votaries, are in this city; the most fertile and beautiful hills of the environs are covered with them; a small part of their revenue is spent in feeding the poor, the monks distributing bread and soup to a certain number every day before the doors of the convents. Some of the friars study physic and surgery, and practise these arts with great applause. Each convent has an apothecary's shop belonging to it, where medicines are delivered gratis to the poor, and sold to those who can afford to pay. On all these accounts the monks in general are greater favourites with the common people than even the secular clergy.

The lazzaroni, or black guards, as has been already observ'd, form a considerable part of the inhabitants of Naples; and have, on some well-known occasions, had the government for a short time in their own hands. They are computed at above thirty thousand; the greater part of them have no

dwelling-houses, but sleep every night under porticos, piazzas, or any kind of shelter they can find. Those of them who have wives and children, live in the suburbs of Naples near Paufilippo, in huts, or in caverns or chambers dug out of that mountain. Some gain a livelihood by fishing, others by carrying burdens to and from the shipping; many walk about the streets ready to run on errands, or to perform any labour in their power for a very small recompence. As they do not meet with constant employment, their wages are not sufficient for their maintenance; the soup and bread distributed at the door of the convents supply the deficiency. The *lazzaroni* are generally represented as a lazy, licentious, and turbulent set of people; what I have observed gives me a very different idea of their character. Their idleness is evidently the effect of necessity, not of choice; they are always ready to perform any work, however laborious, for a very reasonable gratification. It must proceed from the fault of government, when such a number of stout active citizens remain unemployed; and so far are they from being licentious and turbulent, that I cannot help thinking they are by much too tame and submissive. Though the inhabitants of the Italian cities were the first who shook off the feudal yoke, and though in Naples they have long enjoyed the privilege of municipal jurisdiction, yet the external splendour of the nobles, and the authority they still exercise over the peasants, impose upon the minds of the *lazzaroni*; and however bold and resentful they may be of injuries offered by

others, they bear the insolence of the nobility as passively as peasants fixed to the soil. A coxcomb of a *volanti* tricked out in his fantastical dress, or any of the liveried slaves of the great, make no ceremony of treating these poor fellows with all the insolence and insensibility natural to their masters; and for no visible reason, but because he is dressed in lace, and the others in rags. Instead of calling to them to make way, when the noise in the streets prevents the common people from hearing the approach of the carriage, a stroke across the shoulders with the cane of the running footman, is the usual warning they receive. Nothing animates this people to insurrection, but some very pressing and very universal cause; such as a scarcity of bread: every other grievance they bear as if it were their charter. When we consider thirty thousand human creatures without beds or habitations, wandering almost naked in search of food through the streets of a well built city; when we think of the opportunities they have of being together, of comparing their own destitute situation with the affluence of others, one cannot help being astonished at their patience.

Let the prince be distinguished by splendour and magnificence; let the great and the rich have their luxuries; but, in the name of humanity, let the poor, who are willing to labour, have food in abundance to satisfy the cravings of nature, and raiment to defend them from the inclemencies of the weather!

If their governors, whether from weakness or neglect, do not supply them with these, they certainly have

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have a right to help themselves.— Every law of equity and common sense will justify them, in revolting against such governors, and in satisfying their own wants from the superfluities of lazy luxury.

Of the poetical Robbers and Impreculators.

AS I sauntered along the Strada Nuova lately, I perceived a groupe of people listening, with much attention, to a person who harangued them in a raised, solemn voice, and with great gesticulation. I immediately made one of the auditory, which increased every moment; men, women, and children bringing seats from the neighbouring houses, on which they placed themselves around the orator. He repeated stanzas from Ariosto, in a pompous, recitativo cadence, peculiar to the natives of Italy; and he had a book in his hand, to assist his memory when it failed. He made occasional commentaries in prose, by way of bringing the poet's expression nearer to the level of his hearers' capacities. His cloak hung loose from one shoulder; his right arm was disengaged, for the purposes of oratory. Sometimes he waved it with a slow, smooth motion, which accorded with the cadence of the verses; sometimes he pressed it to his breast, to give energy to the pathetic sentiments of the poet. Now he gathered the hanging folds of the right side of his cloak, and held them gracefully up, in imitation of a Roman senator; and anon he swung them across his left shoulder, like a citizen of Naples. He humoured

the stanza by his voice, which he could modulate to the key of any passion, from the boisterous bursts of rage, to the soft notes of pity or love. But, when he came to describe the exploits of Orlando, he trusted neither to the powers of his own voice, nor the poet's genius; but, throwing off his cloak, and grasping his cane, he assumed the warlike attitude and stern countenance of that hero; representing, by the most animated action, how he drove his spear through the bodies of six of his enemies at once; the point at the same time killing a seventh, who would also have remained transfixed with his companions, if the spear could have held more than six men of an ordinary size upon it at a time.

Il Cavalier d' Anglante ove pui spesso
Vide le genti e l'arme, abbassò l'asta,
Ed uno in quella, e poscia un altro messe
E un altro, e un altro, che sembrar di pasta,
E fino a sei ve n'infilzò, e li restò
Tutti una lancia; e perche' ella non basta
A piu capir, lasciò il settimo fuore
Ferito sì che di quel colpo muore.

This stanza our declaimer had no occasion to comment upon, as Ariosto has thought fit to illustrate it in a manner which seemed highly to the taste of this audience. For, in the verse immediately following, Orlando is compared to a man killing frogs in marshy ground, with a bow and arrow made for that purpose; an amusement very common in Italy, and still more so in France.

Non altrimenti nell' estrema arena
Veggiam le rane del' canali e fosse
Dal cauto arcier ne i fianchi, e nella schiena
L'una vicina all' altra esser percosse,
Ne dalla freccia, fin che tutta piena
Non sia da un capo all' altro esser rimosse.

I must however do this audience the justice to acknowledge, that they seemed to feel the pathetic and sublime, as well as the ludicrous, parts of the ancient bard.

This practice of rehearsing the verses of Ariosto, Tasso, and other poets, in the street, I have not observed in any other town of Italy; and I am told it is less common here than it was formerly. I remember indeed, at Venice, to have frequently seen mountebanks, who gained their livelihood by amusing the populace at St. Mark's Place, with wonderful and romantic stories in prose.—“Listen, gentlemen,” said one of them, “let me crave your attention, ye beautiful and virtuous ladies; I have something equally affecting and wonderful to tell you; a strange and stupendous adventure, which happened to a gallant knight.”—Perceiving that this did not sufficiently interest the hearers, he exalted his voice, calling out that his knight was *uno Cavalliero Cristiano*. The audience seemed still a little fluctuating. He raised his voice a note higher, telling them that this christian knight was one of their own victorious countrymen, “*un'Eroe Veneziano*.” This fixed them; and he proceeded to relate how the knight, going to join the christian army, which was on its march to recover the sepulchre of Christ from the hands of the infidels, lost his way in a vast wood, and wandered at length to a castle, in which a lady of transcendent beauty was kept prisoner by a gigantic Saracen, who, having failed in all his endeavours to gain the heart of this peerless damsel, resolved to gratify his passion by

force; and had actually begun the horrid attempt, when the shrieks of this chaste maiden reached the ears of the Venetian hero; who, ever ready to relieve virgins in distress, rushed into the apartment from whence the cries issued. The brutal ravisher, alarmed at the noise, quits the struggling lady, at the very instant when her strength began to fail; draws his flaming sword; and a dreadful combat begins between him and the christian knight, who performs miracles of courage and address in resisting the blows of this mighty giant; till, his foot unfortunately slipping in the blood which flowed on the pavement, he fell at the feet of the Saracen; who, immediately seizing the advantage which chance gave him, raised his sword with all his might, and—Here the orator's hat flew to the ground, open to receive the contributions of the listeners; and he continued repeating, “raised his sword over the head of the christian knight”—“raised his bloody, murderous brand, to destroy your noble, valiant countryman.”—But he proceeded no farther in his narrative, till all who seemed interested in it had thrown something into the hat. He then pocketed the money with great gravity, and went on to inform them, that, at this critical moment, the Lady, seeing the danger which threatened her deliverer, redoubled her prayers to the Blessed Mary, who, a virgin herself, is peculiarly attentive and propitious to the prayers of virgins. Just as the Saracen's sword was descending on the head of the Venetian, a large bee flew, quick as thought, in at the window, flung the

the former very smartly on the left temple, diverted the blow, and gave the christian knight time to recover himself. The fight then recommenced with fresh fury; but, after the Virgin Mary had taken such a decided part, you may believe it was no match. The infidel soon fell dead at the feet of the believer. But who do you think this beauteous maiden was, on whose account the combat had begun? Why no other than the sister of the Venetian hero.—This young lady had been stolen from her father's house, while she was yet a child, by an Armenian merchant, who dealt in no other goods than women. He concealed the child till he found means to carry her to Egypt; where he kept her in bondage, with other young girls, till the age of fifteen, and then sold her to the Saracen. I do not exactly remember whether the recognition between the brother and sister was made out by means of a mole on the young lady's neck, or by a bracelet on her arm, which, with some other of her mother's jewels, happened to be in her pocket when she was stolen; but, in whatever manner this came about, there was the greatest joy on the happy occasion; and the lady joined the army with her brother, and one of the christian commanders fell in love with her, and their nuptials were solemnized at Jerusalem; and they returned to Venice, and had a very numerous family of the finest children you ever beheld.

At Rome, those street-orators sometimes entertain their audience with interesting passages of real history. I remember having heard one, in particular, give a full and

true account how the bloody heathen emperor Nero set fire to the city of Rome, and sat at a window of his golden palace, playing on a harp, while the town was in flames. After which the historian proceeded to relate, how this unnatural emperor murdered his own mother; and he concluded by giving the audience the satisfaction of hearing a particular detail of all the ignominious circumstances attending the murderer's own death.

This business of street-oratory, while it amuses the populace, and keeps them from less innocent and more expensive pastimes, gives them at the same time some general ideas of history. Street-orators, therefore, are a more useful set of men than another class, of which there are numbers at Rome, who entertain companies with extemporaneous verses on any given subject. The last are called *Improuvisatori*; and some people admire these performances greatly. For my own part, I am too poor a judge of the Italian language either to admire or condemn them; but, from the nature of the thing, I should imagine they are but indifferent. It is said, that the Italian is peculiarly calculated for poetry, and that verses may be made with more facility in this than in any other language. It may be more easy to find smooth lines, and make them terminate in rhyme in Italian, than in any language; but to compose verses with all the qualities essential to good poetry, I imagine leisure and long reflection are requisite. Indeed I understand, from those who are judges, that those extempore compositions of the *Improuvisatori* are in general but mean productions, consisting of a few

fulsome compliments to the company, and some common-place observations, put into rhyme, on the subject proposed. There is, however, a lady of an amiable character, Signora Corilla, whose extempore productions, which she repeats in the most graceful manner, are admired by people of real taste. While we were at Rome, this lady made an appearance one evening, at the assembly of the Arcadi, which charmed a very numerous company; and of which our friend Mr. R—y has given me such an account, as makes me regret that I was not present. After much entreaty, a subject being given, she began, accompanied by two violins, and sung her unpremeditated strains with great variety of thought and elegance of language. The whole of her performance lasted above an hour, with three or four pauses, of about five minutes each, which seemed necessary, more that she might recover her strength and voice, than for recollection; for that gentleman said, that nothing could have more the air of inspiration, or what we are told of the Pythian Prophetess. At her first setting out, her manner was sedate, or rather cold; but gradually becoming animated, her voice rose, her eyes sparkled, and the rapidity and beauty of her expressions and ideas seemed supernatural. She at last called on another member of the society to sing alternately with her, which he complied with; but Mr. R—y thought, though they were *Arcades ambo*, they were by no means *cantare paros*.

Naples is celebrated for the finest opera in Europe. This however happens not to be the season of

performing; but the common people enjoy *their* operas at all seasons. Little concerts of vocal and instrumental music are heard every evening in the Strada Nuova, the Chiaia, the Strada di Toledo, and other streets; and young men and women are seen dancing to the music of ambulatory performers all along this delightful bay. To a mere spectator, the amusements of the common people afford more delight, than those of the great; because they seem to be more enjoyed by the one class, than by the other. This is the case every where, except in France; where the high appear as happy as those of middle rank, and the rich are very near as merry as the poor. But, in most other countries, the people of great rank and fortune, though they flock to every kind of entertainment, from not knowing what to do with themselves, yet seem to enjoy them less than those of inferior rank and fortune.

I know not what may be the case at the opera; but I can assure you there are none of those bursts among the auditories which the street-performers at Naples gather around them. I saw very lately a large cluster of men, women, and children, entertained to the highest degree, and to all appearance made exceedingly happy, by a poor fellow with a mask on his face, and a guitar in his hands. He assembled his audience by the songs he sung to the music of his instrument, and by a thousand merry stories he told them with infinite drollery. This assembly was in an open place, facing the bay, and near the palace. The old women sat listening, with their distaffs, spinning a kind of coarse flax,

flax, and wetting the thread with their spittle; their grand-children sprawled at their feet, amused with the twirling of the spindle. The men and their wives, the youths and their mistresses, sat in a circle, with their eyes fixed on the musician, who kept them laughing for a great part of the evening with his stories, which he enlivened occasionally with tunes upon the guitar. At length, when the company was most numerous, and at the highest pitch of good humour, he suddenly pulled off his mask, laid down his guitar, and opened a little box which stood before him, and addressed the audience in the following words, as literally as I can translate them:—

“Ladies and gentlemen, there is
“a time for all things; we have
“had enough of jesting; innocent
“mirth is excellent for the health
“of the body; but other things
“are requisite for the health of
“the soul. I will now, with
“your permission, my honourable
“masters and mistresses, entertain
“you with something serious, and
“of infinitely greater importance;
“something for which all of you
“will have reason to bless me as
“long as you live.” Here he
shook out of a bag a great number of little leaden crucifixes.—“I am
“just come from the holy house
“of Loretto, my fellow christians,”
continued he, “on purpose to fur-
“nish you with those jewels, more
“precious than all the gold of
“Peru, and all the pearls of the
“ocean. Now, my beloved bre-
“thren and sisters, you are afraid
“that I shall demand a price for
“those sacred crosses, far above
“your abilities, and something
“correspondent with their value,

“by way of indemnification for
“the fatigue and expence of the
“long journey which I have made
“on your account, all the way
“from the habitation of the Blessed
“Virgin to this thrice renowned
“city of Naples, the riches and
“liberality of whose inhabitants
“are celebrated all over the globe.
“No, my generous Neapolitans;
“I do not wish to take the ad-
“vantage of your pious and liberal
“dispositions. I will not ask for
“those invaluable crucifixes (all
“of which, let me inform you,
“have touched the foot of the
“holy image of the Blessed Virgin,
“which was formed by the hands
“of St. Luke; and, moreover,
“each of them has been shaken in
“the Santissima Scodella, the sa-
“cred porringer in which the Vir-
“gin made the pap for the infant
“Jesus); I will not, I say, ask
“an ounce of gold, no, not even
“a crown of silver; my regard
“for you is such, that I shall let
“you have them for a penny a
“piece.”

Reflections on the Genius and Character of the Biscayners. From Dillon's Travels through Spain.

THE Biscayners give the name of republics to the different jurisdictions in their provinces, all which, except Orduna, their only city, and a few towns, are composed of hamlets, and lonely houses, dispersed up and down, according to the convenience of situation, in so close and intersected a country. However their houses have every advantage of distribution, consisting of a principal story, besides the ground floor,

floor, for offices, with an appendage of stables, granaries, out-houses, courts, cellars, and gardens; with orchards, meadows, and often corn-fields, contiguous to the building, with chestnut groves, and other improvements to the very foot of the mountains. Nothing can be more pleasant to the traveller, than to see houses and gardens during the whole course of his progress, particularly from Orduna to Bilbao, an extent of six leagues, which seems like one continued village. The upper part of the houses were formerly of wood, but the new ones are of stone, and one seldom sees an empty house, or any fallen in ruins; on the contrary, many new ones, both large and convenient, are constantly building; from whence it appears, that though population cannot well be considerably encreased, while new branches of industry are not introduced, (all the land being occupied) it seems rather to augment, notwithstanding the many emigrations; and though some women emigrate likewise, few remain at home without husbands. These dispersed families may be held as the most antient in Spain, and the country is indebted to them, for population and culture. In the Biscay language they are called *Ecbejaunas*; that is, lords of tenements, whose ancestors have possessed them time immemorial, and will probably continue so for future ages, as selling or mortgaging is held in great disrepute. Such lands as belong to rich families, are let out to others, and as they lie under their eye and inspection, the whole is attended to, with the utmost activity; the parochial

church stands in the centre of the parish, which, if too extensive, has a chapel of ease, for the convenience of the parishioners; many of whom repair to these churches from very great distances, in the severest weather. Their antiquity may be traced from their dedications, which are generally to the Blessed Virgin, to St. John, or the apostles and saints of the primitive church; and their livings must be comfortable, from the decent appearance of their pastors.

Not only Biscay, Guypuscoa, and Alaba, but also the mountains of Burgos, are full of gentlemens seats, known by the name of *Solares*, or *Casas Solariegas*, worthy of much veneration from their antiquity; the owners of these are distinguished by the title of *Hidalgos de Casa Solar*, or *de Solar Conocido*—"Gentlemen of known property;" the most honourable appellation in Spain. They are generally strong, plain structures, with square towers; but many of the towers have been destroyed; and in the modern repairs, they have followed the fashion of the times.

The head of the family is called *Pariente Mayor*, and is greatly respected by all the collateral branches; some of these are of such high antiquity, as to be thought to have dwelled there before the establishment of christianity in that country, since their ancestors were the founders of the churches, had the patronage of them, and were known, so far back as four centuries ago, to have, even then, been time immemorial, in receipt of the tythes; others, without any patronage, are deemed equally antient; many are so

so far reduced as to be obliged to cultivate their estates, with their own hands, yet will not yield to the others, in nobility and descent, alledging that, though some branches have been more enriched by fortunate events, yet they are all equally sprung from one common ancestor. Their names have undoubtedly passed in a lineal succession, from a more antient date than the ages of chivalry, the establishment of coat armour, or of archives, and records; to which they pay little attention, as of no importance to illustrate their quality, the possession of one of these houses, or the constant tradition of being descended from a former possessor, being more than sufficient to ennoble their blood; many such having shined in the annals of Spain, by the noblest deeds, which have immortalized their names more than their ancient descent. These have settled in different parts of the kingdom, while the head of the family has continued at home, in a state of simplicity, ploughing his fields, and inspiring his children with sentiments suitable to the heroical ages: the daughters are brought up in a different manner from most other parts of the world; here the most opulent do not disdain the management of household affairs, and every branch of domestic economy, with a noble simplicity, that seems to recall those glorious ages of which Homer has sung. Whoever looks for innocence, health and content, will find it

amongst the inhabitants of Biscay; and if they are not the richest, they may be well deemed the happiest of mankind *.

It is pleasing to behold with what affability the rich demean themselves toward those who are less so than themselves, being obliged to this condescension from the natural spirit and pride of the people, added to their education and notions of freedom. Unaccustomed to brook the least scorn, or to comply with that submissive behaviour so usual from the poor to the rich, in more refined and opulent kingdoms; yet the common proverb of Castile, *Pobreza no es vileza*, "Poverty is not a blemish," has no sway here, for such are their notions of labour, and industry, that their spirit makes them consider it, as an indignity to beg; and though the women are generally charitable, which cannot fail to attract mendicants, yet these are most commonly strangers.

The country people wear brogues, not unlike those of the highlands of Scotland, tied up with great neatness, being the most useful for a slippery and mountainous country. When they are not busy in the fields, they walk with a staff taller than themselves, which serves them to vault over gullies, and is an excellent weapon in case of assault, with which they will baffle the most dextrous swordsmen; they wear cloaks in the winter, the pipe is constantly in the mouth, as well for pleasure as

* Mr. Bowles relates, that the most opulent families make no scruple to bake, brew, dress victuals, and wash linen. For my part I cannot say I observed these circumstances amongst the opulent Biscayners, though I often experienced their open-hearted hospitality and benevolence.

from a notion that tobacco preserves them against the dampness of the air; all this, joined to their natural activity, sprightliness, and vigour, gives them an appearance seeming to border on ferocity, were it not the reverse of their manners, which are gentle and easy, when no motive is given to choler, which the least spark kindles into violence.

It has been observed, that the inhabitants of mountains are strongly attached to their country, which probably arises from the division of lands, in which, generally speaking, all have an interest. In this, the Biscayners exceed all other states, looking with fondness on their hills, as the most delightful scenes in the world, and their people as the most respectable, descended from the *aborigines* of Spain. This prepossession excites them to the most extraordinary labour, and to execute things far beyond what could be expected, in so small and rugged a country, where they have few branches of commerce: I cannot give a greater proof of their industry, than those fine roads they have now made from Bilbao to Castile, as well as in Guypuscoa and Alaba. When one sees the passage over the tremendous mountain of Orduna, one cannot behold it without the utmost surprize and admiration.

The manners of the Biscayners, and the ancient Irish, are so similar on many occasions, as to encourage the notion of the Irish being descended from them. Both men and women are extremely fond of pilgrimages, repairing from great distances to the churches of their patrons, of tutelary saints, singing

and dancing, till they almost drop down with fatigue. The Irish do the same at their *patrons*. The *Guizones* of Biscay, and the *Boulamkeighs* of Ireland, are nearly alike: at all these assemblies, they knock out one another's brains, on the most trivial provocation, without malice or rancour, and without using a knife or a dagger. In both countries the common people are passionate, easily provoked if their family is slighted, or their descent called in question. The *Chacoli* of Biscay, or the *Shebeen* of Ireland, makes them equally frantic. In Ireland the poor eat out of one dish with their fingers, and sit in their smoaky cabbins without chimnies, as well as the Biscayners. The brogue is also the shoe of Biscay; the women tie a kercher round their heads, wear red petticoats, go barefoot, in all which they resemble the Biscayners, and with them have an equal good opinion of their ancient descent: the poor Biscayner, though haughty, is laborious and active, an example worthy to be imitated by the Irish.

So many concurring circumstances support the idea of their having been originally one people. It cannot be denied, but that the old Irish, whether from similitude of customs, religion, and traditional notions, or whatever else may be the cause, have always been attached to the Spaniards, who on their side, perhaps from political views, have treated them with reciprocal affection, granting them many privileges, and stiling them even *Oriondos* in their laws, as a colony descended from Spain; yet, with all these advantages, if we except those gallant soldiers who have distinguished themselves in

in the field wherever they have served, few Irish have made a conspicuous figure in Spain, or have left great wealth to their families*.

The king of Spain has no other title over these free people, than that, of Lord of Biscay, as the kings of England formerly held over Ireland; they admit of no bishops, nor of custom-houses in their provinces, and as they pay less duties than the king's other subjects, they were not included in the late extensions of the American commerce; however, they content themselves with that renown which they have acquired for themselves and their issue, inasmuch that upon only proving, to be originally belonging to that lordship, or descended from such in the male line, lawfully begotten, they are entitled to claim public certificates, or executory letters, termed *Cartas executorias*, expressive of their being *Hidalgos de Sangre*, or "Gentlemen of blood;" their nobility having been confirmed to them, by the kings of Castile and Leon, lords of Biscay, in the plenitude of their power.

The most lofty Castilians have constant rivals for antiquity and descent in the inhabitants of Biscay, Asturias, and the mountains

of Leon: thus, in Don Quixote, Donna Rodriguez, the duenna, speaking of her husband, says, he was as well born as the king, because he came from the mountains. *Y sobre todo Hidalgo, como el Rey, porque era montanes*†.

Impressed with these flattering ideas, the high-minded Biscayner leaves his native soil, and repairs to Madrid. Conscious that his blood is pure, uncontaminated with mixtures of Jewish, or Mahometan race, he raises his hopes on honest industry and sobriety, fulfilling his duties with zeal and submission; he often meets with relations in affluence, and sometimes rises to the highest employments. It should seem that some such character must have offended the immortal Cervantes, from his pointed reflections in his celebrated romance of Don Quixote, where he says that "an express being arrived with dispatches of moment directed to Don Sancho Panza, governor of the island of Barataria, into his own hands, or those of his secretary, which being given to read to the major domo, by Sancho; the imaginary governor asked, Who here is my secretary? To which one present answered, *I, sir, am the person, because I can read and*

* Another instance in which the Irish seem to have closely imitated the Spanish customs, is in the taking of snuff, of which Mr. Howel, who was in Spain in 1620, and went soon after to Ireland, gives us the following account, at an early period, after the first introduction of snuff into Europe: "The Spaniards and Irish take it most in powder, or smutchin, and it mightily refreshes the brain, and I believe there is as much taken this way in Ireland, as there is in pipes in England. One shall commonly see the serving maid upon the washing block, and the swain upon the ploughshare, when they are tired with labour, take out their boxes of smutchin, and draw it into their nostrils with a quill, and it will beget new spirits in them, with a fresh vigour to fall to their work again."—*Epistolæ Hælianae*. London, 1726.

† Don Quixote, part 2. tom. 4. cap. ci. Madrid, 1771.

"write,

“write, and am moreover a Discerner. With this addition, replied Sancho, you are fit to be a secretary, even to an emperor.” *

Description of the Town of Bilbao, and the Manners of its Inhabitants.

THE town of Bilbao, on the banks of the river Ybaizabal, is about two leagues from the sea, and contains about eight hundred houses, with a large square by the water side, well shaded with pleasant walks, which extend to the outlets, on the banks of the river, with numbers of houses and gardens, which form a most pleasing prospect, particularly as you sail up the river; for, besides the beautiful verdure, numerous objects open gradually to the eye, and the town appearing as an amphitheatre, enlivens the landscape, and completes the scenery.

The houses are solid and lofty, the streets well paved and level; water is conveyed into the streets, and they may be washed at pleasure, which renders Bilbao one of the neatest towns in Europe. Coaches are not in use, by which means, inequality of wealth is not so perceptible, exterior ostentation is avoided, and the poor man walks by the side of the rich, with equal ease and content.

The air is generally damp, covers iron with rust, destroys furniture in the upper apartments, extracts the salt out of dried fish, and multiplies flies beyond measure, yet the town is remarkably healthy, and its inhabitants enjoy,

to a great degree, the three principal blessings of life, perfect health, strength of body, and a chearful disposition, attended with longevity; in proof of which, though the town is very populous, the hospital is frequently empty, and in the nine months, that Mr. Bowles resided there, only nine persons were buried, four of which were above eighty. Every day one may see men above that age walking upright, in chearful converse with youth. Burning fevers, which the Spaniards dread so much, and call *tubardillos*, are not known here, and they are seldom troubled with agues. What is then the reason that Bilbao, on the side of a river, in so damp a situation, and chiefly built on piles, like the cities in Holland, should be so remarkably healthy, with every indication against it? I shall endeavour to account for it.

The adjacent mountains stop the clouds that arise from the saline vapours of the ocean, rains are frequent, but they are seldom without a sea breeze, or a land wind; the current of the air being thus continually ventilated, never leaves the moist vapours at rest, and prevents their forming those putrid combinations, which heat generally occasions, on stagnated waters. Thus the vicinity of the sea, the rains, and more than all, the strong currents of air, are the physical causes of its salubrity at Bilbao, as, on the contrary, the continued heat which rarifies the exhalations of such rivers as have a slow motion, as well as the stagnated waters in ponds or lakes, where there is great heat in the

* Don Quixote, part 2. tom. 4. chap. c. Madrid, 1771.

air, and little wind, will be the causes of putrifying the vapours, and bring on fevers and other distempers. For this reason, the inhabitants of La Mancha are so subject to agues, and use as much bark as in Holland, because the air has little motion in summer, notwithstanding the country is open, and the surface is dry. In the same manner, a new house is dangerous to dwell in, where the damp vapours are confined, though one may sleep very safely in the deepest gallery of a mine, if the air has a free circulation.

To these favourable circumstances, the Biscayners owe their good spirits, freshness of complexion, and chearful disposition. In other countries, women are oppressed with the slightest fatigue; here they work as much as the strongest men, unload the ships, carry burdens, and do all the business of porters. The very fellows, confined to hard labour in the mines of Almaden, do nothing in comparison with these females; they go bare footed, and are remarkably active, carrying burthens on their heads which require two men to lift up. The wife yields not in strength to the husband, nor the sister to the brother, and after a chearful glass, though heavily loaded, they move on with alacrity,

returning home in the evening, without the appearance of lassitude, often arm in arm, dancing and singing to the tabor and pipe.

Their music is defrayed at the expence of the town, after the manner of the antient Greeks. On holidays they play under the trees in the great square; the moment they begin, the concourse is great, men, women, and children, of all ages, are engaged at the same time, down to the very infants. The dances are active, suitable to their strength, but divested of indecent attitudes or gestures. These surprising women, though constantly exposed to the air, have good complexions, with lively eyes, and fine black hair, in which they pride themselves greatly, and braid to uncommon advantage. Married women wrap a white handkerchief round their heads, so knotted, as to fall down in three plaits behind, and over this the Montera cap: they have a haughty look, and work in the fields like the men. Their language is the *Bascuense*, which, without doubt, is original, and as antient as the peopling of the country, being totally distinct, and without any connection with any Spanish dialect; those who understand it, assure us it is very soft and harmonious, as well as energetic*.

A general

* In the mountains of Biscay and Navarre, the Spanish language, or *romance*, is neither spoken or understood.

See the following books.

De la antigua lengua, poblaciones, y Comarcas de las Espanas en que de paso se tocan algunas cosas de la Cantabria por Andres de Poza—Bilbao, 1587, 4to.

El imposible vencido: Arte de la lengua basconcada por manuel de Larra-mendi. Salamanca, 1729.

Diccionario Trilingue del Castellano, Bascuense y Latin por manuel de Larra-mendi, 1745.

A general neatness prevails every where in the town of Bilbao. The thambles is a Tuscan building, in the centre of the town, with an open court and a fountain in the middle; nothing can be more cleanly or better contrived, free from all bad scents, or any thing disgusting, as it is copiously supplied with water to carry away every thing offensive. The meat is delivered so fresh and clean, as not to require being washed, as practised in other parts of Spain, which deprives it of its substance and flavour; the veal is white and delicate, and the poultry excellent: the woods afford plenty of birds, besides five sorts of birds of passage called *chimbo*s, which fatten soon after their arrival, and are greatly esteemed.

Among the different sorts of fish, common at Bilbao, there are two peculiar to that river, which the inhabitants are remarkably fond of; these are a peculiar sort of eels in winter and the cuttle fish in summer: the eels are small like the quill of a pigeon, of a pale colour, about three inches long, and without a back bone, which they catch at low tides in prodigious quantities. In a word, every thing is in plenty at Bilbao, for besides a well supplied market, their gardens abound in pulse and fruit of all kinds: so that one can live no where better than here, when we take into the account the

hospitable disposition of the inhabitants, which soon falls off, if you slight their cordiality, or attribute it to motives of adulation or interest. Such is the happy life of the inhabitants of Bilbao, free from the luxuries, as well as the ambitious passions which agitate the minds of their neighbours, they pass their lives in tranquility, governed by wholesome laws; amongst which, they are said even to have one against ingratitude, with a punishment affixed to it.

Of the Character of our Debt Laws, and of Mr. Howard. From Mr. Burke's Speech to his Constituents at Bristol.

THERE are two capital faults in our law with relation to civil debts. One is, that every man is presumed solvent. A presumption, in innumerable cases, directly against truth. Therefore the debtor is ordered, on a supposition of ability and fraud, to be coerced his liberty until he makes payment. By this means, in all cases of civil insolvency, without a pardon from his creditor, he is to be imprisoned for life:—and thus a miserable mistaken invention of artificial science, operates to change a civil into a criminal judgment, and to scourge misfortune or indolence with a pu-

From whence it is evident that the Basque is totally different from the Spanish, which is the common language of the two Castiles, Leon, Estremadura, Andalusia, Aragon, Navarre, Rioja, and the mountains of Burgos; and is generally understood in Asturias, Galicia, Valencia, and Catalonia, though not the language of those provinces, where they have a dialect varying more or less from the Spanish, in proportion to their situation and proximity to neighbouring kingdoms.

nishment

nishment which the law does not inflict on the greatest crimes.

The next fault is, that the inflicting of that punishment is not on the opinion of an equal and public judge; but is referred to the arbitrary discretion of a private, nay interested, and irritated, individual. He, who formerly is, and substantially ought to be, the judge, is in reality no more than a ministerial, a mere executive instrument of a private man, who is at once judge and party. Every idea of judicial order is subverted by this procedure. If the insolency be no crime, why is it punished with arbitrary imprisonment? If it be a crime, why is it delivered into private hands to pardon without discretion, or to punish without mercy and without measure?

To these faults, gross and cruel faults in our law, the excellent principle of Lord Beauchamp's bill applied some sort of remedy. I know that credit must be preserved; but equity must be preserved too; and it is impossible, that any thing should be necessary to commerce, which is inconsistent with justice. The principle of credit was not weakened by that bill. God forbid! The enforcement of that credit was only put into the same public judicial hands on which we depend for our lives, and all that makes life dear to us. But, indeed, this business was taken up too warmly both here and elsewhere. The bill was extremely mistaken. It was supposed to enact what it never enacted; and complaints were made of clauses in it as novelties, which existed before the noble Lord that brought in the bill was born. There was

a fallacy that run through the whole of the objections. The gentlemen who opposed the bill, always argued, as if the option lay between that bill and the antient law.—But this is a grand mistake. For practically, the option is between, not that bill and the old law, but between that bill and those occasional laws called acts of grace. For the operation of the old law is so savage, and so inconvenient to society, that for a long time past, once in every parliament, and lately twice, the legislature has been obliged to make a general arbitrary jail-delivery, and at once to set open, by its sovereign authority, all the prisons in England.

Gentlemen, I never relished acts of grace; nor ever submitted to them but from despair of better. They are a dishonourable invention, by which, not from humanity, not from policy, but merely because we have not room enough to hold these victims of the absurdity of our laws, we turn loose upon the public three or four thousand naked wretches, corrupted by the habits, debased by the ignominy of a prison. If the creditor had a right to those carcases as a natural security for his property, I am sure we have no right to deprive him of that security. But if the few pounds of flesh were not necessary to his security, we had not a right to detain the unfortunate debtor, without any benefit at all to the person who confined him.—Take it as you will, we commit injustice. Now Lord Beauchamp's bill intended to do deliberately, and with great caution and circumspection, upon each several case, and with all attention

to the just claimant, what acts of grace do in a much greater measure, and with very little care, caution, or deliberation.

I suspect that here too, if we contrive to oppose this bill, we shall be found in a struggle against the nature of things. For as we grow enlightened, the public will not bear, for any length of time, to pay for the maintenance of whole armies of prisoners; nor, at their own expence, submit to keep jails as a sort of garrisons, merely to fortify the absurd principle of making men judges in their own cause. For credit has little or no concern in this cruelty. I speak in a commercial assembly. You know that credit is given, because capital *must* be employed: that men calculate the chances of insolvency; and they either withhold the credit, or make the debtor pay the risque in the price. The counting-house has no alliance with the jail. Holland understands trade as well as we, and she has done much more than this obnoxious bill intended to do. There was not, when Mr. Howard visited Holland, more than one prisoner for debt in the great city of Rotterdam. Although Lord Beauchamp's act (which was previous to this bill, and intended to feel the way for it) has already preserved liberty to thousands; and though it is not three years since the last act of grace passed, yet by Mr. Howard's last account, there were near three thousand again in jail. I cannot name this gentleman without remarking, that his labours and writings have done much to open the eyes and hearts of mankind. He has visited all Europe,—not to survey the sumptuousness of palaces, or the state-

lines of temples; not to make accurate measurements of the remains of ancient grandeur, nor to form a scale of the curiosity of modern art; not to collect medals, or collate manuscripts:—but to dive into the depths of dungeons; to plunge into the infection of hospitals; to survey the mansions of sorrow and pain; to take the gage and dimensions of misery, depression, and contempt; to remember the forgotten, to attend to the neglected, to visit the forsaken, and to compare and collate the distresses of all men in all countries. His plan is original; and it is as full of genius as it is of humanity. It was a voyage of discovery; a circumnavigation of charity. Already the benefit of his labour is felt more or less in every country: I hope he will anticipate his final reward, by seeing all its effects fully realized in his own. He will receive, not by retail but in gross, the reward of those who visit the prisoner; and he has so forestalled and monopolized this branch of charity, that there will be, I trust, little room to merit by such acts of benevolence hereafter.

Of the Popish penal Laws; with the Characters of Sir George Saville and Mr. Dunning. From the same.

GENTLEMEN, The condition of our nature is such, that we buy our blessings at a price. The Reformation, one of the greatest periods of human improvement, was a time of trouble and confusion. The vast structure of

of superstition and tyranny, which had been for ages in rearing, and which was combined with the interest of the great and of the many; which was moulded into the laws, the manners, and civil institutions of nations, and blended with the frame and policy of states; could not be brought to the ground without a fearful struggle; nor could it fall without a violent concussion of itself and all about it. When this great revolution was attempted in a more regular mode by government, it was opposed by plots and seditions of the people; when by popular efforts, it was repressed as rebellion by the hand of power; and bloody executions (often bloodily returned) marked the whole of its progress through all its stages. The affairs of religion, which are no longer heard of in the tumult of our present contentions, made a principal ingredient in the wars and politics of that time; the enthusiasm of religion threw a gloom over the politics; and political interests poisoned and perverted the spirit of religion upon all sides. The Protestant religion in that violent struggle, infected, as the Popish had been before, by worldly interests and worldly passions, became a persecutor in its turn, sometimes of the new sects, which carried their own principles further than it was convenient to the original reformers; and always of the body from whom they parted; and this persecuting spirit arose, not only, from the bitterness of retaliation, but from the merciless policy of fear.

It was long before the spirit of true piety and true wisdom, involved in the principles of the Reformation, could be depurated from

the dregs and feculence of the contention with which it was carried through. However, until this be done, the Reformation is not complete; and those who think themselves good Protestants, from their animosity to others, are in that respect no Protestants at all. It was at first thought necessary, perhaps, to oppose to Popery another Popery, to get the better of it. Whatever was the cause, laws were made in many countries, and in this kingdom in particular, against Papists, which are as bloody as any of those which had been enacted by the Popish princes and states; and where those laws were not bloody, in my opinion, they were worse; as they were slow, cruel outrages on our nature, and kept men alive only to insult in their persons, every one of the rights and feelings of humanity. I pass those statutes, because I would spare your pious ears the repetition of such shocking things; and I come to that particular law, the repeal of which has produced so many unnatural and unexpected consequences.

A statute was fabricated in the year 1699, by which the saying mass (a church-service in the Latin tongue, not exactly the same as our Liturgy, but very near it, and containing no offence whatsoever against the laws, or against good morals) was forged into a crime punishable with perpetual imprisonment. The teaching school, an useful and virtuous occupation, even the teaching in a private family, was in every Catholic subjected to the same unproportioned punishment. Your industry, and the bread of your children, was taxed for a pecuniary reward to

stimulate avarice to do what nature refused, to inform and prosecute on this law. Every Roman Catholic was, under the same act, to forfeit his estate to his nearest Protestant relation, until, through a profession of what he did not believe, he redeemed by his hypocrisy, what the law had transferred to the kinsman as the recompence of his profligacy. When thus turned out of doors from his paternal estate, he was disabled from acquiring any other by any industry, donation, or charity: but was rendered a foreigner in his native land, only because he retained the religion, along with the property, handed down to him from those who had been the old inhabitants of that land before him.

Does any one who hears me approve this scheme of things, or think there is common justice, common sense, or common honesty in any part of it? If any does, let him say it, and I am ready to discuss the point with temper and candour. But instead of approving, I perceive a virtuous indignation beginning to rise in your minds on the mere cold stating of the statute.

But what will you feel, when you know from history how this statute passed, and what were the motives, and what the mode of making it? A party in this nation, enemies to the system of the Revolution, were in opposition to the government of King William. They knew, that our glorious deliverer was an enemy to all persecution. They knew that he came to free us from slavery and Popery, out of a country, where a third of the people are contented

Catholics under a Protestant government. He came with a part of his army composed of those very Catholics, to overthrow the power of a Popish prince. Such is the effect of a tolerating spirit; and so much is liberty served in every way, and by all persons, by a manly adherence to its own principles. Whilst freedom is true to itself, every thing becomes subject to it; and its very adversaries are an instrument in its hands.

The party I speak of (like some amongst us who would disparage the best friends of their country) resolved to make the king either violate his principles of toleration, or incur the odium of protecting Papists. They therefore brought in this bill, and made it purposely wicked and absurd that it might be rejected. The then court-party, discovering their game, turned the tables on them, and returned their bill to them stuffed with still greater absurdities, that its loss might lie upon its original authors. They, finding their own ball thrown back to them, kicked it back again to their adversaries. And thus this act, loaded with the double injustice of two parties, neither of whom intended to pass, what they hoped the other would be persuaded to reject, went thro' the legislature, contrary to the real wish of all parts of it, and of all the parties that composed it. In this manner these insolent and profligate factions, as if they were playing with balls and counters, made a sport of the fortunes and the liberties of their fellow-creatures. Other acts of persecution have been acts of malice. This was a subversion of justice from wantonness and petulance. Look into

into history of Bishop Burnet. He is a witness without exception.

The effects of the act have been as mischievous, as its origin was ludicrous and shameful. From that time every person of that communion, lay and ecclesiastic, has been obliged to fly from the face of day. The clergy, concealed in garrets of private-houses, or obliged to take a shelter (hardly safe to themselves, but infinitely dangerous to their country) under the privileges of foreign ministers, officiated as their servants, and under their protection. The whole body of the Catholics, condemned to beggary and to ignorance in their native land, have been obliged to learn the principles of letters, at the hazard of all their other principles, from the charity of your enemies. They have been taxed to their ruin at the pleasure of necessitous and profligate relations, and according to the measure of their necessity and profligacy. Examples of this are many and affecting. Some of them are known by a friend who stands near me in this hall. It is but six or seven years since a clergyman of the name of Malony, a man of morals, neither guilty nor accused of any thing noxious to the state, was condemned to perpetual imprisonment for exercising the functions of his religion; and after lying in jail two or three years, was relieved by the mercy of government from perpetual imprisonment, on condition of perpetual banishment. A brother of the Earl of Shrewsbury, a Talbot, a name respectable in this county, whilst its glory is any part of its concern, was hauled to the bar of the Old Bailey among common fe-

lons, and only escaped the same doom, either by some error in the process, or that the wretch who brought him there could not correctly describe his person; I now forget which.—In short, the persecution would never have relented for a moment, if the judges, superseding (though with an ambiguous example) the strict rule of their artificial duty by the higher obligation of their conscience, did not constantly throw every difficulty in the way of such informers. But so ineffectual is the power of legal evasion against legal iniquity, that it was but the other day, that a lady of condition, beyond the middle of life, was on the point of being stripped of her whole fortune by a near relation, to whom she had been a friend and benefactor: and she must have been totally ruined, without a power of redress or mitigation from the courts of law, had not the legislature itself rushed in, and by a special act of parliament rescued her from the injustice of its own statutes. One of the acts authorising such things was that which we in part repealed, knowing what our duty was; and doing that duty as men of honour and virtue, as good Protestants, and as good citizens. Let him stand forth that disapproves what we have done!

Gentlemen, bad laws are the worst sort of tyranny. In such a country as this, they are of all bad things the worst, worse by far than any where else; and they derive a particular malignity even from the wisdom and soundness of the rest of our institutions. For very obvious reasons you cannot trust the crown with a dispensing power over any of your laws. How-

ever, a government, be it as bad as it may, will, in the exercise of a discretionary power, discriminate times and persons; and will not ordinarily pursue any man, when its own safety is not concerned. A mercenary informer knows no distinction. Under such a system, the obnoxious people are slaves, not only to the government, but they live at the mercy of every individual; they are at once the slaves of the whole community, and of every part of it; and the worst and most unmerciful men are those on whose goodness they most depend.

In this situation men not only shrink from the frowns of a stern magistrate; but they are obliged to fly from their very species. The seeds of destruction are sown in civil intercourse, in social habitudes. The blood of wholesome kindred is infected. Their tables and beds are surrounded with snares. All the means given by Providence to make life safe and comfortable, are perverted into instruments of terror and torment. This species of universal subserviency, that makes the very servant who waits behind your chair, the arbiter of your life and fortune, has such a tendency to degrade and abase mankind, and to deprive them of that assured and liberal state of mind, which alone can make us what we ought to be, that I vow to God I would sooner bring myself to put a man to immediate death for opinions I disliked, and so to get rid of the man and his opinions at once, than to fret him with a feverish being, tainted with the jail-distemper of a contagious servitude, to keep him above ground, an animated mass of pu-

trefaction, corrupted himself, and corrupting all about him.

The act repealed was of this direct tendency; and it was made in the manner which I have related to you. I will now tell you by whom the bill of repeal was brought into parliament. I find it has been industriously given out in this city (from kindreds to me unquestionably) that I was the mover or the seconder. The fact is, I did not once open my lips on the subject during the whole progress of the bill. I do not say this as disclaiming my share in that measure. Very far from it. I inform you of this fact, lest I should seem to arrogate to myself the merits which belong to others. To have been the man chosen out to redeem our fellow-citizens from slavery; to purify our laws from absurdity and injustice; and to cleanse our religion from the blot and stain of persecution, would be an honour and happiness to which my wishes would undoubtedly aspire; but to which nothing but my wishes could possibly have entitled me. That great work was in hands in every respect far better qualified than mine. The mover of the bill was Sir George Savile.

When an act of great and signal humanity was to be done, and done with all the weight and authority that belonged to it, the world could cast its eyes upon none but him. I hope that few things, which have a tendency to bless or to adorn life, have wholly escaped my observation in my passage through it. I have sought the acquaintance of that gentleman, and have seen him in all situations. He is a true genius; with an under-

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derstanding vigorous, and acute, and refined, and distinguishing even to excess; and illuminated with a most unbounded, peculiar, and original cast of imagination. With these he possesses many external and instrumental advantages; and he makes use of them all. His fortune is among the largest; a fortune which, wholly unincumbered, as it is, with one single charge from luxury, vanity, or excess, sinks under the benevolence of its dispenser. This private benevolence, expanding itself into patriotism, renders his whole being the estate of the public, in which he has not reserved a *peculium* for himself of profit, diversion, or relaxation. During the session, the first in, and the last out of the house of commons; he passes from the senate to the camp; and, seldom seeing the seat of his ancestors, he is always in parliament to serve his country, or in the field to defend it. But in all well-wrought compositions, some particulars stand out more eminently than the rest; and the things which will carry his name to posterity, are his two bills; I mean that for a limitation of the claims of the crown upon landed estates; and this for the relief of the Roman Catholics. By the former, he has emancipated property; by the latter, he has quieted conscience; and by both, he has taught that grand lesson to government and subject,—no longer to regard each other as adverse parties.

Such was the mover of the act that is complained of by men, who are not quite so good as he is; an act, most assuredly not brought in

by him from any partiality to that sect which is the object of it. For, among his faults, I really cannot help reckoning a greater degree of prejudice against that people, than becomes so wise a man. I know that he inclines to a sort of disgust, mixed with a considerable degree of asperity, to the system; and he has few, or rather no habits with any of its professors. What he has done was on quite other motives. The motives were these, which he declared in his excellent speech on his motion for the bill; namely, his extreme zeal to the Protestant religion, which he thought utterly disgraced by the act of 1699; and his rooted hatred to all kind of oppression, under any colour or upon any pretence whatsoever.

The seconder was worthy of the mover, and the motion. I was not the seconder; it was Mr. Dunning, recorder of this city. I shall say the less of him, because his near relation to you makes you more particularly acquainted with his merits. But I should appear little acquainted with them, or little sensible of them, if I could utter his name on this occasion without expressing my esteem for his character. I am not afraid of offending a most learned body, and most jealous of its reputation for that learning, when I say he is the first of his profession. It is a point settled by those who settle every thing else; and I must add (what I am enabled to say from my own long and close observation) that there is not a man, of any profession, or in any situation, of a more erect and independent spirit; of a more proud honour;

a more manly mind; a more firm and determined integrity. Assure yourselves, that the names of two such men will bear a great load of prejudice in the other scale, before they can be entirely outweighed.

With this mover, and this seconder, agreed the *whole* House of commons; the *whole* house of lords; the *whole* bench of bishops; the king; the ministry; the opposition; all the distinguished clergy of the establishment; all the eminent lights (for they were consulted) of the Dissenting churches. This according voice of national wisdom ought to be listened to with reverence. To say that all these descriptions of Englishmen unanimously concurred in a scheme for introducing the Catholic religion, or that none of them understood the nature and effects of what they were doing, so well as a few obscure clubs of people, whose names you never head of, is shamelessly absurd. Surely it is paying a miserable compliment to the religion we profess, to suggest, that every thing eminent in the kingdom is indifferent, or even adverse to that religion, and that its security is wholly abandoned to the zeal of those, who have nothing but their zeal to distinguish them. In weighing this unanimous concurrence of whatever the nation has to boast of, I hope you will recollect, that all these concurring parties do by no means love one another enough to agree in any point, which was not both evidently, and importantly, right.

Adventures of Eyles Irwin, Esq; in a Voyage up the Red sea, and in a Journey through the Deserts of Thebais. From his Letters, 4to.

IN the year 1777, Mr. Irwin, a gentleman in the East-India Company's service, was sent from Madrafs with dispatches for England. He embarked on board the snow Adventure, Captain Bacon, in company with three other gentlemen, Major Alexander, Mr. Hammond, and Lieutenant * * *, a gentleman whose name is kindly suppressed, for a reason that will appear in due time; bound for Mocha on the coast of Arabia Felix: with a resolution, either to reach Suez by a voyage up the Red-Sea, or to proceed by land to the port of Alexandria, and thence to take shipping for Europe. In eight weeks, owing to the lateness of the season, they effected a passage to Mocha. Here the East-India Company have a resident, and Mr. Irwin and his party staid till the ship had laid in stores for the voyage up the Red-Sea. Of the customs of the country, he gives the following account:

The women in Arabia are kept in much stricter confinement, than those of their religion in India. The females of rank are shut up in their apartments, and never stir abroad, except now and then, to accompany their husbands on an excursion to the valleys. They are veiled at these times from head to foot, and sent off upon horse-back under cover of the night. But this simple recreation does not fall often to their lot. The civilized Arabs are of all nations the least inclined

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to action; and it is to be supposed, that women born here live and die, without stirring out of the walls of Mocha: such is the tax that is laid on birth and greatness, even in the remote country of Arabia.

To those of a lower degree, there is some deviation permitted from the severity of this custom. Though there are no public Hummums for the women to resort to as in Turkey, they are indulged with the freedom of visiting their neighbours, when the dusk of the evening can screen their persons from observation: for the thick veils in which their faces are buried utterly preclude the possibility of distinguishing their features. We have met them ourselves in the streets, and have conceived a favourable idea of their faces, from the symmetry of their figures.

Incontinence is held much more criminal among the single than married females. Though adultery is punished with a heavy fine, the seduction of a virgin is attended by a more serious correction. In this they differ from the laws of more enlightened kingdoms, where an injury of this nature is not only unpunishable by any course of law, but the matter itself is treated in a very light manner. And here the character of the Arabian Legislator rises far beyond the boasted policy of European states. To his justice it is owing, that the destruction of innocence is held in such abhorrence; and to his rectitude of thinking, that the mere accomplice of a lewd woman should encounter less rigorous treatment, than the mean betrayer of unexperienced simplicity.

We were surprized at the number of Christian renegadoes that reside at Mocha. Not, that the apostacy of men, who perhaps had no sense of religion until they professed Mahometanism, could provoke our wonder; but how their worldly interests could be advanced by the change. Reduced to a pitiful subsistence, and held in deserved contempt by the natives, we should have surmised their defection to be merely the effects of despair; and that the fugitives from justice alone sought their safety at this price, had not the example of a Greek priest somewhat shaken our opinion. This priest, by name Ananias, I remember to have heard mentioned in Bengal, as a miracle of piety. And yet in the seventieth year of his age did he publicly abjure the Christian religion, in the course of a pilgrimage to Mount Sinai. He was circumcised, and received into the Mahometan church; and, to crown the whole of this strange proceeding, was led about the city for three days, according to custom, mounted on an ass, to receive the alms of the faithful, which every convert is entitled to on his admission to their mysteries. This happened during our short stay at Mocha; and is one of the greatest instances of the infirmity of human nature, which has come within the sphere of my observation.

Having taken in proper provisions, they re-embarked on a voyage up the Red-Sea to Suez, which is but a short journey from Grand Cairo. The passage up the Red-Sea, little known to Europeans, is rendered extremely dangerous by rocks and shoals, and, the
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wind being against them, they could not run more than thirty miles upon one tack: their method was to make one shore about sun-set, then to tack and stand over for the opposite shore until day-break.

When the vessel had beat up in that manner for some time, they suddenly found themselves about sun-set on a hazy evening driven by the current among a line of rocks and shoals on the Arabian coast, and in imminent danger of destruction. The snow *Aurora* had been lost in the same place, about six months before. After an anxious perilous night, and various intricate traverses, they took refuge in the harbour of Yambo, that appeared in sight in the morning. Here they congratulated themselves with a conclusion of their troubles, having heard of the hospitality of the place, from the crew of the above ship-wrecked vessel, who had owed their safety to the inhabitants. This port was in the neighbourhood of Medina; and as the *Adventure* had landed a considerable sum of money at Mocha, being a present from the Nabob of the Carnatic to the temple of Mecca, they doubted not of receiving the most favourable treatment at Yambo.

Nevertheless, after the gentlemen with the captain had been decoyed ashore by the most plausible invitation from the vizier of the town; and being amused in their negotiations for a pilot to conduct the ship to Suez; they were at length refused all assistance by the vizier, under pretence of waiting for an order from the Xerif of

Mecca, and in the mean time a guard was placed over them, and they were kept in strict confinement. In the evening, the vizier sent to the captain to desire he would order the ship into the harbour. They now began to suspect that some black design was in agitation, and their first resolution was to attempt to gain their boat by force, and return on board. But whilst they were consulting on this point, their boat's crew was sent to the same place of confinement, and the boat itself removed to some secret place — fresh injunctions also were sent to the captain to order the ship into harbour. As they had no doubts but that this was done with a design to get the vessel into their power, and thereby prevent the discovery of their villainy: they resolved, as the only chance of saving their lives, to send positive orders to the mate to weigh or slip his anchor with the first favourable wind, make the best of his way to Judda, and acquaint the English ships there with their situation. This was accordingly done—a faithful Arabian who had been their interpreter, and had attached himself to them, carried the letter to the vizier—his ignorance of our language favoured their design, and the interpreter passed it off for an order to come immediately into harbour. For two days, the wind being unfavourable, they were in the most dreadful suspense. At length they saw the ship getting under way; but the weather suddenly changing, she ran amongst the breakers: the Arabians attacked her from the shore, and the people on board were afraid of defend-

defending themselves, as the consequence of killing an Arabian, would have been the certain death of the party on shore. They soon after got possession of the ship, and took out all the guns and small arms.

During the three days they had now been here, many trading boats having sailed in and out of the harbour, the vizier was deprived of all hopes of making a secret prize of the vessel. He therefore entered into a kind of treaty with the prisoners, and after extorting considerable sums of money from them, and detaining them a month, by which time, the northern monsoons set in, he agreed to send them away to Suez in a boat, for which, they were to pay the extravagant price of 650 dollars. However, they had nothing left but to submit, and the company, consisting of Mr. Irwin, Major Alexander, Lieutenant * * *, attended by four servants and Ibrahim, the Arabian interpreter, embarked on board their boat. This boat, which from the price they paid for her, they named the Imposition, afforded these four gentlemen no more accommodation than a square of about five feet diameter, being formed of their chests, with no defence against the mid day sun or mid-night dews. Their servants and the boat's crew sufficiently occupied the rest.

At the commencement of this voyage, the lieutenant before-mentioned discovered by many extravagances, that the treatment they had received at Yambo had disordered his intellects. He had betrayed fears for his life from his first entrance into the boat, and retarded their departure by escap-

ing ashore, where he went back to the vizier to communicate his apprehensions. He was brought on board again, where every thing was done to quiet his mind, and divert him; but with so little success, that the Arabs were in turn alarmed at his mad freaks, and positively refused to proceed on their voyage, if he remained on board. In this dilemma they were forced to send the poor man back to Yambo, with a recommendation to the care of Captain Bacon of the Adventure; and had afterward the satisfaction to hear of his recovery.

After a tedious coasting voyage up the Arabian shore for a month, the boatmen, when they arrived at the gulph of Suez, stood over to the Egyptian shore under the advantage of the night, and made for the port of Cosire, which is about half-way between Yambo and Suez. The gentlemen now found that the boat was originally bound only for Cosire, and that the vizier of Yambo, by making an exorbitant charge for a voyage to Suez, had doubly cheated them; beside exposing them to a much longer and more dangerous journey by land, than if they had been conveyed to the port for which they had paid their passage.

Cosire, which stands in 26 deg. 20 min. north latitude, is described as the southern-most port on the coast of Egypt, and to have been of great note, and to be still considerable, for the exportation of grain to Arabia, which is brought in caravans from the Nile. The town is however in a miserable state of decay, and the aspect of the country round is dreary; the eye cannot catch a verdant

verdant spot, and this desert is the barrier to the celebrated and fertile land of Upper Egypt.

There was now no remedy, but to land at the place to which they were carried; and to wait the setting out of a caravan with which they might travel to the Nile. The novelty of their European dress procured them many visitors; to lessen therefore the notice they attracted, they resolved to assume the vestments of the Easterns; and as being also better adapted to the nature of the climate. Their stay in this place was at a continual expence of presents of one kind or other, which their new acquaintances contrived to get from them by insinuations and importunities; having conceived high ideas of their wealth by their baggage. The delay of the arrival of the expected caravan, by the return of which they were to proceed to the Nile, proved a good opening to the Arabian Shaik to profit by their eagerness to depart. He offered to procure them as many camels as they required for them and their baggage; for which, however, they were to pay double price of camel-hire to Ghinnah, on account of the scarcity of those animals at that time. To this measure they would have agreed, had not the price he demanded exceeded treble what it ought to have done according to his own calculation. The news of the approach of the caravan put an end to the negotiation, but afforded him opportunity to begin another for the loan of twenty dollars which he said he wanted to purchase coffee; this request, which their knowledge of the Arabs taught them to

consider but as an indirect mode of begging, their situation induced them to comply with; and the crafty veteran received them with many professions of gratitude, and promises to expedite their journey.

The next morning was ushered in by a visit from the Shaik, attended by the principal Arabs of the town, whose errand was to see what they could strip the travellers of before their departure, 200 camels of the caravan having arrived the preceding evening. When the gentlemen determined to bring them to the point of naming the sum total they were to pay for carriage to Ghinnah, they delivered the following bill:

	Dollars.
To the government of Co- fire for its protection	100
To twelve camels from hence to Ghinnah	80
Two soldiers for a guard	10
To a present to the Shaik for his company	15
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It is to be observed that the usual hire of a camel for that journey was but two dollars; they paid the money however on the spot to the great satisfaction of their visitors, placing all their sufferings to the account of the Vizier of Yambo. The suspicions of their concealed wealth would not let the Shaik part with these travellers without still more extortion; for he came the next morning and told them in plain terms, that he must have more money. He condescended indeed to place this requisition to the account of the people of the town and country, who had been pestered him for presents from them;

them; that it was their misfortune to be considered by these people as men of vast wealth, whose trunks were filled with gold, precious stones, and rich merchandize, on which it was their custom to levy a tax. It was in vain to expostulate, the dependants of the Shaik were yet to receive their mite; and he declared in a determined tone, that he could not pretend to send them in safety to the Nile, until he received orders from the bey of Cairo, unless the people were satisfied with a donation of twenty-five dollars. When his demand was satisfied, the clouds which loomed on his countenance dispelled in a moment, and with infinite good humour he ordered the camels at the door to take up their baggage. After his departure, it was found that instead of twelve camels, as by agreement, he had only provided ten, and he had grace enough to avoid another interview, by sending his son to accompany them instead of attending himself.

Misfortune however still pursued them. The young shaik found means in the course of their journey to separate them from the rest of the caravan, and after they had suffered innumerable fatigues, he had the impudence to propose to leave them at Banute, a town considerably short of Ghinnah. This circumstance (says Mr. Irwin) was too barefaced not to alarm us, and we determined to push on, through an almost insupportable heat. This resolution was confirmed by Abdul Ruffar, our Arabian servant, who was entitled to credit from his past behaviour. Accordingly, at two o'clock, we mounted our camels,

in spite of their importunities to wait until the evening, and moved on, in the most sultry day I had ever felt in the East. We soon rejoined the merchant's camels, which had taken shelter under a thorn-tree at some distance, and were ready to attend us. While united with this body, we did not fear going astray; and pursued our course, under a full security of being on the road to Ghinnah. We had no water, but what our earthen gurglets contained; and this was soon expended. It is impossible to describe what we suffered from heat and thirst during this stage. A mouthful or two of dirty water, which one of our guards gave me, made me forget for the moment his recent insolence; and all our former apprehensions were insensibly swallowed up in the more painful idea of falling victims to thirst. Our tongues actually became parched to our palates; and we were obliged to wet them every now and then, with spirituous liquors, to prevent suffocation from the clouds of dust which continual whirlwinds threw around us. This expedient was but transitory, and served indeed to increase the rage of thirst. It was our common misfortune also to labour under a violent complaint in our bowels; and to the want of the bad water that occasioned it—a want which we had lamented in the most earnest manner—our preservation was probably owing. I was so afflicted myself with this disorder, that I could scarcely sit my camel through excess of pain. The wind and dust had equally affected our sight, so that we wandered on in agony and darkness. There is no doubt that

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our Arabian companions partook in some measure of our sufferings ; but they were too much accustomed to the sun, to feel all the effects of his fury ; and we had some reason to suspect, that their stock of water lasted long after ours had failed us. To crown this scene of distress, we at length overtook the shaik, who, we learnt, had been disappointed in replenishing his skins, by the appearance of wild Arabs about the springs. This news sounded like the knell of death in our ears ; not from the neighbourhood of these robbers, who were once so formidable to our fears, but from the absence of a fluid, on which we supposed our lives to depend. Faint and spiritless, therefore, we toiled on until eight o'clock at night, when we halted, without having encountered any foe in the way. But far different was this halting-place from any other we had come to. Without a draught of water to moisten our throats, it was impracticable to force down a morsel of bread ; and the pain and weariness under which our bodies laboured, were too extreme to admit of a momentary repose. Overwhelmed with hunger, thirst, and fatigue, we sat ourselves upon the ground, and revolved our melancholy situation in silence. Every skin was alternately ransacked by us for water, and not an article left untried that was likely to produce the least moisture. My companions and I had unluckily recourse to raw onions, which were among the baggage. But no sooner had we tasted of this potent root, than we repented of our rashness. The effect was quite contrary to our hopes ; and our drought was irritated to the highest degree.

This stage was six hours, or fifteen miles.

After five days journey through these deserts, they at length arrived at Ghinnah, on the banks of the Nile, where they again found themselves in much worse hands than at Cosire. Their landlord and the vizier of the city leagued together, and by sundry artifices and farcical pleas of difficulties, contrived to detain them from their voyage down the river, and to drain them of their money and every valuable article, even to their arms and wearing apparel, that they saw in their possession : these extortions they were obliged to submit to, finding by experience that among these people resistance never produced redress. After having been kept prisoners by their landlord, subject to a barefaced course of depredation, they were at length happily rescued from these plunderers, by the long-expected arrival of the shaik Ul Arab, whose character and behaviour Mr. Irwin thus describes :

Isman Abu Ally, the great shaik of the Arabs—for such we would render the shaik Ul Arab—is a short fat man, of about five feet two inches high, and turned, as we learn, of seventy-five. His eyes are grey, and his complexion very fair ; but, what at once gives him a singular and more youthful look, his beard, which is very bushy, is coloured of a bright yellow. This exterior may not seem the most promising, and might create distaste, if the benevolence that beams from his countenance, were not foremost to secure the heart of the beholder. Neither can the shrillness of his voice, which is harsh and dissonant, destroy

stroy the beauty of the sentiments, which it is made use of to convey. He is still active, for a man of his size and age; and his spirits are so good, that were it not for the ravage that time has made among his teeth, he might pass for a younger man by twenty years at least. Except the viziers of Yambo and Ghinnah, whom we had found to be villains by sad experience, we had hitherto dealt with the dross of the nation. It was reserved for this moment, for us to meet with the polite gentleman and the honest man, comprized in the person where they ought to be found, in the representative of his people.

We had quickly cause to find, that we had not given the shaik too much credit for his integrity. His impatience to acquit himself in our opinion, of any connivance at the conduct of his servants, could scarcely be restrained by the forms of civility, which precluded business during our repast. But no sooner was it ended, than he shifted the conversation, and came directly to the point which we were so much concerned in. He lamented the treatment which we had undergone, and which could only have happened in his absence; and he vehemently reprobated the behaviour of his officers, which he was determined to punish in the most exemplary manner. After a few leading questions, which tended to confirm the report that had been made to him touching our story, he professed, that his return to Ghinnah had been hastened on our account. That he had come purposely to do us strict justice on our persecutors, and to dispatch us under a safe conduct to Cairo. As

a proof of his sincerity, he ordered Ally, the brother of Mahomet, their landlord, and a partaker in the spoil, to be brought before him. He had been previously taken into custody, and was waiting without, to be examined. With this fellow came Sauker, one of the rogues who had assisted to plunder us, and who of his own accord produced the things which had fallen to his share, in the division of the spoils. He laid them at the shaik's feet; and with the greatest effrontery declared, that he had taken them, only to secure them from the thieves of the house: and that his truth might be deduced from his care of our property. Though his offence was palpable, this step was sufficient to screen him from punishment in a country, where retribution is all that is required by the prosecutor, and where justice is generally to be appeased by pecuniary fines. But the ill-advised Ally did not escape in this manner. He boldly denied having robbed us of money or valuables, and was loudly exclaiming at the injustice of the accusation, when the shaik raised his voice, and a dozen Abyssinian slaves suddenly seized on the culprit, and hurried him out of the room. We were in pain for the fellow, and were meditating on the consequences of his arrest, when he was brought into our presence again, bound hand and foot, with a chain about his neck, by which he was held. He was on the point of receiving the bastinado on his knees, when he confessed the charge, and promised to return all that he had taken from us. The shaik was inclined to inflict the punish-

punishment on him; but by the interposition of those about him, in which we joined, he remitted it for the present; and directed Ally to be led home, that he might produce the goods. Our triumph was complete. One of our ancient enemies had atoned for his crime, in a manner that outwent the most sanguine idea of revenge. The other was humbled at our feet. He survived indeed: but it was only to abase himself before us, and to depend upon our moderation for his security!

In about half an hour Ally returned, and produced a few of the least valuable articles. He earnestly requested until the morning to deliver up the rest, and to repay us the money that he had cheated us out of. This was granted him at our desire, and the prisoner committed to his own house, under the custody of a strong guard.

We breakfasted betimes, and at seven o'clock went to the shaik's house. The court were already assembled in an open spot before the house, which was shaded by an high wall from the morning sun. Here we found the shaik encompassed by his great men, with a number of soldiers and attendants at some distance in their front. Carpets were spread in the intermediate space for our reception. Here we seated ourselves, after making our obeisance to the shaik, and waited in silence the issue of the trial. Next to the shaik's right hand was placed his nephew, and, as we understand, his declared successor in the government.

Just before we came in, the culprit Ally had undergone a severe bastinado, on again proving re-

fractory; and the hakeem was sent to search his house for the stolen goods. This occasioned a pause in the proceedings, which were interrupted by the sudden appearance of the vizier, who, to our great astonishment, took a seat which was vacant next to the shaik's nephew. This confidence was unexpected, and filled us with unfavourable prognostics of the event of our suit. But our doubts were of short continuance. He had entered unregarded by his master, and was talking with great ease to those about him, when the shaik turned about, and in a solemn tone asked him for the shauls and things, which he had received from the English gentlemen. The whole frame of this gay courtier was evidently discomposed by this question. He had probably laid his account with our suppressing the part he had taken against us, after the high hand with which he had once stopped the accusation of Abdul Ruffar, and was unprepared with an evasion. His countenance instantly was disrobed of its pleasantry; his limbs trembled, and his tongue faltered in framing a reply, the substance of which was, that he was a stranger to the matter with which he was charged. We were ashamed of the meanness of a man of his rank, but the wrath of the shaik was wound up to the highest pitch at the hearing of this falshood. He was confirmed of the guilt from the symptoms which the offender displayed; and without calling any fresh evidence to corroborate it, he proceeded to decide. But he could hardly find utterance for his orders, which were to arrest and
flog

flog the vizier immediately. A number of slaves started from the croud, to execute his orders. The astonished minister could not believe his ears, and would fain have persuaded himself that the affair was a jest. He was presently convinced of his mistake. The officers of justice laid violent hands upon his person, tumbled him from his proud seat, and in a rude manner hurried him away, in spite of his outcries and fruitless resistance. This behaviour served only to exasperate the shaik. His eyes flashed with the honest indignation which lighted his bosom; his strength could scarcely support the agitations of mind; and after some effort, he raised himself from his carpet, and repeated his commands in a voice, that struck terror into the breasts of all present. He was immediately surrounded by a croud of his courtiers, who kissed his hands, embraced his knees, and interceded with him for the pardon of the vizier. These nobles took no share in the passions of their monarch, and were only attentive to exculpate one of their body, though at the expence of honour and justice.

I must own that I was concerned at the fearful situation of a man, who had never been guilty of any actual violence towards us, and whose greatest trespass was the receipt of presents, on his assurances of protection, when he permitted our being plundered by our inhospitable host and his adherents. These, however, were crimes of the deepest dye, in the eyes of the good old shaik. When we directed Ibrahim to plead for the inoffensive conduct of the vizier towards us,

he would not hear of any apology for a villain, who had so little the honour of his country at heart, as to injure its character by winking at the mal-treatment of strangers. He could the less overlook it in a servant of his own, and added, that it was at our instance only, he would remit the punishment due to his enormity. The mortification nevertheless was reserved for the vizier, that he should be brought before us, disarrayed of his gay apparel, his hands bound behind him, and a chain fastened about his neck. In this miserable plight, he was told of the obligation he was under to our generous application; and led home by a guard, to produce his ill-gotten acquisition, as his only hope of safety. We observed a general murmur among the grantees, at the compliment which was paid us on this occasion. The disgrace of one of their body excited no friendly sentiments towards us; and not a few menacing looks were thrown upon us from the circle. On the other hand, the shaik harangued them in a sensible and pathetic speech, on the honour of their nation. He cast the most just and severe reproaches on the character of the absent minister, and warned them in future, against such inhuman practices towards christians and strangers. He then turned to us with the kindest aspect, and reassured us of his protection. He attributed the commission of the offence to the neglect of the ha-keem of Ghinnah, who had slumbered like an unwary centinel on his duty. For this he had been discharged from his office, and a slave of his own been sent to take

care of us until his arrival. All that was now wanting to complete our satisfaction, was the recovery of our losses, which he would see effected; and our journey to Cairo, which he swore should be accomplished without any injury being offered to an hair of our heads.

Our ignorance of the Arabian language obliged us to have recourse to our interpreter, for an acknowledgment of these favours. But, at the same time, it saved us the confusion of appearing at a loss for a suitable reply. We sheltered ourselves under this fortunate circumstance, which, in a great measure, left our patron to conceive a gratitude, which words would have but poorly expressed.

A messenger now arrived with two shauls and my chreese, from the vizier. The other shaul, he said, he had parted with; and the pistols he had given to Ally. Once more, therefore, was the wretched Ally produced before the court; and on denying the receipt of them, the bastinado was again inflicted on him. Besides the articles which had been restored, there were still a silver urn, a pair of gold knee-buckles, and a quantity of valuable linen to be accounted for. Not to speak of the money which they obtained from us, under various pretences. But these were said to have fallen to Mahomet's share in the division; and his robbery and death were made a plea of by the family, to satisfy us for our loss. The shaik would not hear of this apology, which he termed false and evasive. And sooner than we should suffer by that family, he declared, that he would first order their substance to be disposed of,

and if that would not repay us for our losses, Ally and the rest of them should be sold as slaves, to make up the sum. It was now time for us to interfere. The matter was exceeding the bounds to which we meant to push it; and policy, as well as humanity, prompted us to drop it. Our principal aim was to get from Ghinnah, under a proper protection. Our persecutors had been chastised, and it was preferable for us to put up with some inconvenience, rather than run the risk of being detained here, in the pursuit of full redress. On this account we listened to the mediation of the hakeem, and some of the courtiers, who beseeched us to withdraw our claim to all but eighty dollars of the remaining debt, which Ally might raise from the camels he possessed. Our acquiescence in this proposal gained us credit with all present, and drew a particular compliment from the worthy shaik; who protested, that he could not but admire our generosity, though it was exercised at the expence of their national character. The reader, perhaps, may agree with us, that we ought not to have subscribed to this insinuation, as such a man as was then before us, was enough to redeem his nation from obloquy.

The court now broke up, and we were dismissed, not a little pleased with this mode of administering justice. The punishment inflicted upon robbers in other countries, suppresses the growth of them in the general opinion. But when we reflect on the frequent robberies that are committed in our own, it seems doubtful, whether the

the severity of the sentence answers the expected end. As a small token of our respect, on our return home, we made up such a present as we judged would be most acceptable to a man of his turn of mind, and sent it to the shaik by Ibrahim. It consisted of a couple of fine shauls, an Indian carpet, and a palampore, and an handsome fabre and case of pistols. The fabre and pistols, though articles of the greatest value, he returned, and sent us many thanks for our remembrance of him in the rest, which he said he would keep for our sake. He also told Ibrahim, that he had directed a merchant to furnish us with camels for our journey, as the river was too perilous for us to venture on."

The reader will undoubtedly be sorry to hear of the death of this good old man. Egypt was then in a state of convulsion, and in one of their revolutions his head was taken off. But such events are matters of course in Africa and Asia.

The good old shaik above-mentioned, and who from circumstances is supposed to be the same so favourably spoken of by Dr. Pococke, in his Travels, delivered Mr. Irwin and his fellow-sufferers to the care of Hadgee Uttalah, the master of his camels; with a charge to convey them and their baggage safely to Cairo: adding, that, should the least complaint be made against his conduct, he should answer it with his head; and he was ordered not to return without a letter under their hands and seals, to advise the shaik of their safety. To secure his fidelity beyond the reach of

temptation, the shaik also directed, that the family of Hadgee Uttalah should be placed under a guard, as the surest hostage for his integrity.

On September 4, at 11 o'clock at night, as the most private hour, the English travellers left Ghinnah, where, notwithstanding the redress they had received, they found their baggage reduced to one half of the bulk they brought into the town. Their journey lay through the desert of Thebais, with eighteen camels for the accommodation of them, their baggage, attendants, and guard. On the third day of their journey in this desert, they met with an adventure sufficiently alarming, which we shall give in the author's own words, first premising that they had halted to dine.

"At half past three o'clock we were mounted again, and going through the same valley, in about an hour, reached the bottom of another steep mountain. We were obliged to lead our camels up, and in about half an hour gained the summit, where we found a plain near two miles in length, over which we rode. At six o'clock, we came to the extremity of the mountain, when our advanced guard alarmed us with the news of a party of camels being in the vale. As it was a suspicious place to encounter any of our own species, we all took to our arms, and assembled on the descent, which was so craggy, and so perpendicular, that, small as our numbers were, we were enabled by our situation to have coped with a multitude of enemies. The strangers had observed our motions, and drew up in a body below to wait the result.

We counted no less than thirty camels, and deduced therefrom, that we should have two to one against us, in case of hostilities. To gain intelligence, however, of the disposition of the strangers, Hadgee Uttalah himself descended into the valley. He ventured himself unarmed, as a token of peace; and we were not a little impatient to behold the interview which was about to take place. We were deeply interested in its event; and, circumstanced as we were, it is not surprising that we should doubt of its success. But we were happily deceived in our ideas. No sooner had Hadgee Uttalah approached the new party, than he was recognized by one among them, who ran with open arms to receive him. He was presently encompassed by the rest; and we could discern that he was served with coffee and bread. This staggered us in our opinion of these people's profession; and we began to conceive that they might be travellers like ourselves, who, in these critical times, had explored the desert, in preference to the river. And we were now confirmed in this conceit by the signs which Hadgee made to us to descend. These signs were interpreted to us by our Arabs, who told us there was nothing to fear. We obeyed, therefore, and went down the hill in as good order as the path would admit of. We were met at the foot of it by Hadgee, who conveyed us and our baggage to a spot at some distance from the strangers, and then returned to them. Many were the embraces and congratulations that were exchanged between the Arabs on both sides. The first thing we

learned was, that water is to be procured in this valley, which has induced our gentry to halt here and replenish our skins. We arrived here at half past six o'clock, so that our last stage was three hours, or seven miles.

While Hadgee Uttalah was engaged in an earnest conversation with the leader of the other party, Ibrahim and Abdul Ruffar came to us with looks of surprize, and informed us, that they had discovered the strangers to be what we at first apprehended—a band of robbers. That they had overheard one of them boast, that this band took the forty camels near Cefire during our stay in that town—an anecdote which I before mentioned—and that, on the banks of the Nile, they had plundered a caravan but a few days ago, with the spoils of which they were now returning to their own country! It may be imagined that we were not a little startled at this intelligence. The novelty of the circumstance did not diminish its unpleasantness; and our situation was as alarming as uncommon: but our minds were presently relieved by the assurances of Hadgee Uttalah, who now joined us. He made no scruple to acquaint us with the profession of the robbers; but added, that they had as much regard for their word as other people. They happily knew him, which was indeed the saving of an effusion of blood. For, on the score of friendship, they had pledged their word to him, that they would not meditate the least wrong against us. We might trust them implicitly, for the wild Arabs had never been known to break their

their faith on such occasions. After this prelude, we were the less surprised at a proposition which they had made him, to accompany us to Cairo. Hadgee himself recommended us to accept of it. Our interest, he said, was every way concerned in it. They would serve us both as guides and protectors, in this unfrequented waste; and where they once adopted a cause, it was their character to promote it at the expence of their blood. Had we distrusted this panyotic, it was not for us to dissent against the opinion of our conductor, who was actually the master of our persons and effects. The pledges he has left at Ghinnah will prevent his risking his charge wantonly, and on this we rely at this juncture. We have fallen into precious company! And it behoves us to be on our guard as much as possible. Never did heroes in romance plunge into greater perplexities; and were not this narrative well attested, it might seem here to breathe the air of fiction. But the good genius which presided over every adventure we have achieved, will, we trust, conduct us safely through the present.

At seven o'clock the camels belonging to the robbers went on for water, and left their captain and a guard only with their baggage. This was a proof of confidence; but we betook ourselves to bed, with our arms by us as usual, and got as much sleep as the cold would admit of. I was so unfortunate as to be stripped of my night-cloak at Ghinnah, and have no defence but a chintz coverlid against the sharpness of the

wind, which is due north, and as cutting as I ever felt it out of Europe.

The captain of the gang (says Mr. Irwin) was introduced to us by Hadgee Uttalah at breakfast, and took a cup of coffee with us. He is a bold, laughing villain, of a middle size, but large limbed; and would be well featured, were not his mouth disfigured by a deep scar, which contracts his upper lip, and betrays the loss of several of his fore teeth; the effects we suppose of one of his rencounters! There is a freedom in his behaviour, which gains him our confidence. Far from being ashamed of his way of life, he talks of his late exploits, and produced two pair of Morocco slippers, a Turkish vest, and other articles of dress, for sale. These we readily purchased, to conciliate his good opinion; and necessity must excuse our receiving stolen goods, knowing them to be stolen. Abdul Ruffar bought an Alcoran, and other religious books, the plunder perhaps of some poor priest; and Ibrahim a French horse-pistol, which will be of more show than use to him. These things we have procured for at least a third of their value; and Hadgee Uttalah has satisfied the robber, for which we are to account with the former at Cairo. We had been careful to instil into our own people the belief of our being destitute of money; or God knows, what mischief the discovery of our real treasures might produce against us.

In truth, the conscience of this robber is no less wonderful than his manners. He is easy of ac-

cess, and yet carries a proper command over his party; and by his own example teaches them to be civil, and even obliging to us. We would willingly make him a suitable acknowledgment for this behaviour, but do not think it safe to produce money, or to depart in the least from our professions of poverty. It was with the greatest pleasure imaginable, that I could oblige him in a trifling point: with a couple of razors, which he saw in my servant's hands, and expressed a desire for."

After a fortnight's travelling through this dreary waste, under the guidance and protection of a band of Arabian robbers, a little before their arrival at the banks of the Nile, the robbers left them abruptly, taking a French leave; and Hadgee Uttalah insinuated that the captain took this method of shewing his disinterestedness, and to save the travellers the pain of dismissing him without a present. Indeed, as Mr. Irwin observes, the whole behaviour of these robbers was so extraordinary, and the adventure of so novel a cast, that the reader would hardly excuse his parting with them, without particular notice.

Mr. Irwin's arrival at Grand Cairo put an end to the troubles and anxiety of him and his companions, as they then came to a commercial port, where the transactions of mankind, even of Easterns, were conducted upon more liberal principles than in the interior parts of the country.

Narrative of the Sufferings of Mr. de St. Germain, and his Companions, in the Deserts of Egypt.

M. de St. Germain, and his brother M. de Chilly, were, the one commandant at Daka, and the other at Cassimbazar, two very important factories at Bengal, when they were taken prisoners of war by the English. Having obtained leave on their parole of honour to return to France, and finding no ship to bring them to Europe when they doubled the Cape of Good Hope, they set out in a Danish vessel for Suez in the Red-sea, in hopes of crossing over, with ease, the Isthmus that separates that sea from the Mediterranean, and then embarking at Alexandria for Marseilles. After a perilous navigation they arrived at Suez the 24th of May 1779, with several French and English that were passengers in the same ship. They were no sooner landed, than the Danish captain wrote to the French merchants at Cairo, to procure a caravan, that is, the camels necessary to carry the merchandize of the vessel, which was estimated at several millions. Egypt is governed, or rather oppressed, by 16 Beys or Lords. The Porte preserves there nothing but a shadow of authority, that resides in the hands of a Bashaw, whom the Beys keep, as a kind of prisoner, in the castle of Cairo. In the absence of Murat Bey, the most powerful of these 16 tyrants, who was gone to fight Hassem Bey, one of his brethren, application was made to Ibrahim Bey; he promised the most striking protection, and even offered his own people

people and camels to carry the goods. This proposal was accepted without hesitation: but unhappily the wealth of the caravan, which his avidity prompted him still to exaggerate, made him wish to carry it off; and he concerted for that purpose with the Arabs of Tort (famous for their ferocity and plundering) the blackest and most cowardly of all perfidies. The camels filed off from Suez the 15th of June. The travellers set out at six o'clock in the evening; the night passed without accident; but at break of day, in the middle of a defile, formed by two chains of hills, the caravan was beset by about 1200 Arabs: they first made three discharges of their musquetry, and then fell sabre in hand on the ten Europeans that composed the caravan, who being dispersed were hacked, taken, and stripped even of their shirts, and driven naked into the desert. On the other hand, the real conductors of the camels, on the first shot being fired, which was undoubtedly the signal agreed on, turned the camels about, and drove them into the town of Tort, belonging to the Arabs, after having passed four days under the walls of Suez.

The Europeans, maimed, stripped, and still pursued by the banditti, divided themselves by chance into two parties. One took the road to Suez, which was but eight leagues off, and the other, consisting of the persons who had marched foremost, and could not make their way through the body of the Arabs, to gain Suez, ran towards Cairo, which was twenty-two leagues off; but, in order to escape the ferocity of the Arabs,

were obliged to take by-roads, which increased prodigiously the distance. Unfortunately Messrs. de St. Germain, and de Chilly, were in that troop; it consisted, with them, of a black, who belonged to them; of Messrs. Barington and Jenkins, Englishmen; of Mr. Vendelwelden, Captain of the Danish ship; of an Armenian, named Paul, who was interpreter to the ship; and two Mendicant Arabs: in all nine persons.

It is impossible to describe the dreadful torments and mortal anguish that overpowered eight of these unhappy fugitives, and which M. de St. Germain could not have escaped without a miracle.

There is not a more burning climate on the face of the globe, than the deserts of Egypt: the wind that blows there is a consuming fire; there no rain ever falls: there is not a drop of water to be got, nor does a shrub grow within a space of thirty leagues; and the sand, almost turned red by the scorching heat of the sun, is composed of little angular pebbles that tear the skin, and enter it like glass: by a strange contrast, the nights, in that frightful climate, are almost as cold as the days are hot; and when a man escapes the suffocating vapours of the day, it is almost impossible to withstand, without cloathing, the freezing air of the night.

It was in this murdering desert, that M. de St. Germain, with his unfortunate companions, had to struggle against all the horrors of death during three days and four nights, without eating or drinking, parched with a consuming thirst, scorched by the sun, ex-

posed naked, stark-naked, to clouds of insects and flies, the torment of which is more cruel than can be imagined; falling down twenty times in an hour with fatigue, and rising again by the excess of pain occasioned by the pebbles tearing every part of their body; walking oftentimes on their hands, and at last covered with an universal ulcer. But the greatest of his misfortunes, the most cruel of all his torments, which made him twenty times over to wish for the death he was struggling against, was to have beheld the successive exit of all his companions. Mr. Barrington was the first victim that fell; Messrs. Jenkins and Vendelwelden followed next; the black, the Armenian interpreter, and one of the Mendicant Arabs, although robust and inured to the rigour of the climate, perished like the rest. But the most terrible of all sights for M. de St. Germain, that which a feeling heart cannot figure to itself without being seized with horror, was to see his brother overwhelmed with fatigue, heat and thirst, with twenty-two wounds of a sabre, conjuring him to abandon him, and provide for his own safety; and to be reduced to the alternative of seeing him perish before his eyes, or leave him in the desert, in order to employ the poor remains of strength he had left, to procure him some assistance. He chose the latter. The excess of their sufferings made them hope they were drawing near the end of their miseries. His strength redoubled at the sight of his brother's danger, but all his care proved fruitless. They were

still at too great a distance from Cairo; and the Bey's people, whom he had engaged to run to the desert in quest of his unfortunate brother, and the black that accompanied him, could not discover either of them; they found only the bodies of the other Europeans; and M. de Chilly either fell a victim to the many torments he endured, or he was dragged away into slavery, if he has been so fortunate as to have his life saved by any of the Arabs.

M. de St. Germain, having thus seen all his companions fall, reduced to skin and bone, having drank his urine, his lips and tongue dried to his mouth, his sight dim, his hearing gone, no longer able to speak, and seized at frequent intervals with a violent fever and the delirium of death, having had several fits of a kind of apoplexy and lethargy, at last arrived, by a species of miracle, naked, alone, and in a dying condition, at the country-house of the Bey. The assistance he received there stopt the progress of the disorder: afterwards he was carried to Cairo, to the quarter of the Franks, where he owed his life to the skill of M. Grasse, a French physician, and to the praise-worthy care of Messrs. Magallon and Olive, merchants of Marseilles, who took him into their house.

The French were not the only persons that gave him tokens of the part they took in his misfortunes. Several Englishmen that sailed with him from Bengal to Suez, particularly Mr. Ross, who commanded the English factory at Daka, whilst himself was at the head

head of the French factory, gave him the most feeling proofs of their sensibility. It was with the greatest difficulty that he declined accepting the offers of every kind that were made him, chusing rather to give the preference to the French merchants at Cairo.

M. de St. Germain, being happily recovered, tried every means, but in vain, to obtain restitution of about 300,000 livres in effects and merchandize that belonged to him in the caravan; but in abandoning his fortune he must comfort himself with the thoughts, that he had the happiness to escape, all at once, every possible kind of death, hunger, thirst, suffocating heat by day, mortal cold by night, excessive fatigue, the destructive sting of the insects, the fire and sword of the Arabs, the grief of seeing his companions perish, and his inability to succour his brother; and, finally, a long and dangerous illness, the consequences of such horrors and miseries!

'The history of this dreadful event, worthy in every respect to be laid before the public, in exhibiting a picture of the greatest dangers that any traveller ever encountered, proves that, in attempting the passages of the Isthmus of Suez, one must be aware, both of the ferocity of the Arabs, and the perfidy of the Beys that tyrannize over Egypt.'

Of the Religion of the Kalmucs and Mongouls. From the Account of the Nations of the Russian Empire.

FORMERLY both the Kalmucs and Mongouls professed the religion of the Schamans. This they afterwards changed for that of Tibet and Tungut, or the religion of Dalai Lama.

In the interior regions of the east, three religions prevail; which must be carefully distinguished from each other. These are the Schamane, the Brahmine, and the religion of Lama. That of the Schamans is the oldest religion in India of which we have any account. It is mentioned by Strabo, Clemens Alexandrinus, and Porphyry. The first of whom calls them *Germanians*, the second *Sarmanians*, and the third *Samanians*. Its followers cultivated philosophy; and the Brahmans themselves confess that they are indebted to them for their science: and they read the writings of these Schamans just as we read the Greek and Latin authors. Yet the Brahmans persecuted their preceptors, and stopped not till they had forced them to fly. Infomuch that for six hundred years past we no longer find any traces of them on the other side of the river Ganges*.

All the religions that continue to prevail on the other side of the Ganges, seem derived from the Schamane. Even the religion of Lama is nothing more than a reformed Schamanism. The old

* Histoire du Christianisme des Indes par M. de la Croze, liv. xvii.

Schamans had nothing certainly fixed as to the origin of their gods, or the time, quality, or persons of the succession. Among the Lamaites one god succeeds to another, in an uninterrupted series, in the person of their Lama.

The religion of the ancient Mongouls sprang likewise from that of the Schamans. But these barbarians being destitute of all writing, this religion could only be propagated by oral tradition. As for the Burats, Jakutes, and the heathen Tartars, their religion resembles that of the ancient Mongouls; but it is without any coherence, and so mutilated, that it would be very difficult to collect from its fragments any sort of system of the old Schamans.

We are able to trace the name of the god of the ancient Schamans, indeed, in the denomination of the chief goddess of the Siamese and Peguans, which is *Sommona Kodom**.

The Mongouls call this god *Schigimuni*, and the Kalmucs *Schakamuni*, or *Schak-Schimona*, which last denomination must be our guide in obtaining our knowledge of this deity, who can be no other than the well-known *Schaka* or *Schakia*, who was born 1017 years before the time of our Blessed Saviour, and was called after his apotheosis *Fo*. Pere Gaubil, in his *Histoire des Mongoux*, confesses that he cannot discover whence the name *Fo* takes its origin. It is true nothing certain can be adduced about it. But it

seems highly probable, that *Fo* is the *Bed* or *Budda* of St. Jerome; for neither the Tibetans, nor Mongouls, nor Kalmucs, have an *F* in their language. Mr. D'Anoille observes that *Bod* seems generally to signify goddess; and *Bodtan*, or *Boutan*, a name given to the kingdom of Tibet, signifies *God's-land*.

Of this name *Budda*, a great many traces are still to be found in the countries of the Mongouls and of India. This god *Sommona Kodom* is likewise called *Pouti-Sat*, i. e. The lord *Pouti*. The Burats call their priests *Bo*. Wednesday is termed in all the languages of India *Budda*. In the Samkret, or holy language of the Brahmans, that day is named *Budda-waram*: in that of Ceylon, *Budda-dina*: in that of Siam, *Van-pout*: and in the Malabarian language, *Buden-kiramci*.

All these names are the appellatives of one and the same god. The inhabitants of the kingdom of Leao have an academy, to which the priests of Siam resort for the acquisition of their knowledge. These call their principal god indifferently either *Budda*, *Sommona Kodom*, or *Schaka*. In Tibet, this divinity has still another name, *La*. Perhaps the name of *Lama*, as also that of the kingdom *Leao* itself, are derived from this denomination of the deity.

The signification of the word *Schaman* is differently explained by three learned men. Our countryman, Mr. Thomas Hyde, in-

* The Tartars called god *Kutai*, *Chutai*, or *Gudai*; the Persians *Khoda*. *Sommona Kodom* signifies therefore probably the god of the Schamans.

interprets it a *sighing or sobbing man*. Kämpfer * explains it by a *man without passions*. M. de la Loubere, an ingenious and very learned man, who travelled to Siam, tells us, that it signifies in the Balian, or holy language of the Siamese, *a man living in the woods; a hermit*.

The last of these interpretations may very well be reconciled with what Clemens Alexandrinus relates of his Sarmanes. "They are hermits," he says, "and live neither in towns nor houses: they cover their body with the bark of trees, and eat nothing but wild fruits. Their drink is only water, which they scoop from the brook in the hollow of their hands, &c." In the same manner M. de la Loubere very ingeniously explains the word *Schaka*. He derives it from the Siamese word *Tschau-ka*, my lord, the usual title of the Talapouns or priests of Siam. Schaman and Talapoin mean the same, the former in the Balian, and the other in the common language of the Siamese.

Of the Religion of Tibet; or, of the Dalai Lama. From the same.

WE have likewise only obscure and confused accounts of the religion of these people; and the missionaries relate numberless absurdities, both as to its origin and its dogmas. The monk Rubruquis seems to have had some knowledge of them †. But, speaking likewise of the Nestorian Christians (who have even a bishop resident in the Kittaian town Segin ‡), and of another sort of idolaters whom he calls the Tuinians §, he confounds the three together. Carpini §, another monk, who travelled before Rubruquis to the great hord of the Tartars, represents the *Uigures* as Christians of the Nestorian sect. The Jesuit Gaubil asserts the same thing †.

All these writers unanimously assert, that Christianity was disseminated over Tongert, China, among the Mongouls, and even in the family of their khans. But it is no easy matter to make these testimonies accord with the pre-

* Histoire du Japon, tom. i. p. 46. Amst. 1732. 16°.

† Voyage du Rubruquis, chap. xvi.—xxviii.

‡ Rubruquis, chap. xxviii. p. 60. & chap. xlvii. p. 125. Marco Paolo mentions likewise a Kittaian town Sin-gui [the termination *gui* is the Chinese *djebu*], and that a part of the inhabitants were Nestorian Christians.

§ Rubruquis, chap. xlv. assures us the Tuinians were idolaters. But, what is extraordinary, in the very same chapter he affirms, that the Tuinians were addicted to the sect of the Manicheans. The Oriental Christians often call Manes *Al Thenaoui*, and his sect *Al Thenaouiab*; which word signifies the doctrine of the two principles. See D'Herbelot, Biblioth. Orient. art. *Mani*. Hence it seems probable, that these Tuinians are Manicheans.

§ Carpini, Voyage, art. v. p. 40.

† Observations Mathematiques, &c. publiées par le pere Souciet, tom. i. p. 224. D'Herbelot, Biblioth. Orientale, art. *Igur*.—Uigur is called, according to the Chinese geography, Turfan,

sent state of those countries. For we find not the least trace of Christianity therein, except among such as have been converted perhaps by the Jesuits in China in modern times. On the contrary, the religion of Lama prevails much at Tongut, in some kingdoms of India, in Mongolia, among the Eluts, and also in China.

It seems therefore probable, that the Nestorian monks in former time might have visited these regions. But, in process of time, as their priests became more and more ignorant, as well as remoter from other Christians, Christianity became likewise more and more corrupted, till at length it vanished quite away, or was absorbed in the religion of Lama.

This religion seems not to be of a very antient date. It is a mixture of the superstition of the old Schamans with the Christian religion. From the Schamans it retained Fo and the metempsychosis: from Christianity it probably took its ceremonies and habits.

Several learned writers derive the ceremonial of the religion of Lama from the Indians, and that from the Egyptians: as it is thought that the ceremonies of the Egyptians were spread almost over the face of the whole earth. From all which we shall only ob-

serve, that in the remotest ages the Egyptians had no other physicians than their priests. This custom obtained likewise amongst the Syrians and Hebrews. Asa first used the assistance of proper physicians, and was reproved for it*. The same custom prevailed in India and over all the East. The antient Tartars and Mongouls had no other physicians than their priests. And we find it so at present among all the savage nations of Siberia, and even in America. It seems very probable that the earlier Christians took some ceremonies from the neighbouring nations; and perhaps all the rites and ceremonies among different nations, that are very similar to each other, came originally from the religion of the Egyptians†.

Kämpfer ‡ labours much to make it probable, that the founder of the religion of Fo was an Egyptian. But he seems to be in the wrong: and his conjecture would have been more probable, if he had put the religion of the Brahmans instead of that of Fo.

It might furnish matter of dispute between the Indians and Egyptians which of them were the elder nation. If Shuckford's conjecture could be proved true, that Mount Ararat, on which the ark of Noah rested, is one of those mountains which form the nor-

* "And Asa, in the thirty and ninth year of his reign, was diseased in his feet, until his disease was exceeding great: yet in his disease he sought not to the Lord, but to the physicians." 2 Chron. xvi. 12.

† The priests of Egypt shaved their head and wore linen garments. Martial, epigram. xii. 29. Juvenal, sat. vi. lin. 533.

Qui grege linigero circumdatus, et grege calvo
Plangentis populi currit derisor Anubis.

‡ Histoire du Japon, tom. I. p. 31. 34.

thern frontier of India, it would be a great argument in favour of the Indians. Several writers endeavour to prove likewise, that the Persian magi received their knowledge and their religion from the Indians*. And indeed as the Ægyptians and the Brahmaus have so great a similitude in their manner of life, police, tenets, and religious ceremonies, one nation certainly transcribed from the other. But the question is, which nation received them from the other? Some arts, as well as some of the doctrines of philosophers, came from India to Europe, as the game of chess, the art of reckoning with ten cyphers, Democritus's doctrine of atoms, the metempsychosis, &c. which last was received likewise by the Ægyptians.

Pythagoras brought this doctrine from India, not from Egypt. Eusebius, in his Chronicle, relates that about four hundred years after the birth of Abraham, which happened a hundred and twenty years before the going out of Ægypt, there came a swarm of Æthiopians from the river Indus, and settled in the neighbourhood of Ægypt. We here see that the Indians made a voyage by water to Ægypt; but we find no accounts that the Ægyptians ever made such an one.

The Ægyptians, on the contrary, may alledge the expeditions of Osiris, Bacchus, and Sesostris. For, notwithstanding these events are mixed with fables, the most absurd relations have yet some certain foundation in truth, which

we are not capable of thoroughly developing. It may be that some Ægyptians emigrated likewise to India, in order to avoid the cruel treatment of the Persian king Cambyses. At least the history of mankind seems to support this conjecture; for the limits of every religion have always been extended as often as it has been persecuted.

There are two personages that have for several centuries been very famous in the world, Prester John and Dalai Lama. Three travellers, Carpini, Rubruquis, and Marco Paolo, first made Europe acquainted with Prester John, but they all have different opinions about him. The first represents him as an Indian king; the second as a Christian king of the Tartarian hord Naiman, whom he believed to be likewise Christians. But both their accounts are certainly wrong.

The Portuguese having found a way to India by sea round Africa, discovered a certain Christian prince in Abyssinia, whom they took for Prester John, notwithstanding the three before-mentioned travellers had placed him, not in Africa, but in the remotest parts of the East, in the neighbourhood of China. This circumstance they overlooked.

But we must first proceed to give some accounts of Dalai Lama. He lives in a pagoda on the mountain Potula, which, according to the Jesuit Gaubil, is under 29° 6' northern latitude, and 25° 58' western longitude from Peking†.

* Ammian. Marcellin. lib. xxiii.

† See Du Halde, Description de la Chine, et de la Tartarie Chinoise, tom. IV. p. 122. 125.

His followers explain the nature of his immortality in the following manner: that his soul, after the death of his body, passes into another human body which is born exactly at that time, and this man is the new Dalai Lama*.

Almost all the nations of the East, except the Mohammedans, believe the metempsychosis as the most important article of their faith; especially the Indians, the inhabitants of Tibet, and Ava, the Peguans, Siamese, Mongouls, all the Kalmucs, and the greatest part of the Chinese and Japanese. According to the doctrine of the metempsychosis, the soul is always in action, and never at rest; for no sooner does she leave her old habitation but she enters a new one. The Dalai Lama being a divine person, he can find no better lodging than the body of his successor; or, properly not the soul, but the Fo residing in the Dalai Lama which passes into his successor: and this being a god to whom all things are known†, the Dalai Lama therefore is acquainted with every thing that happened during his residence in the former body. Thus, at least, the thinking people of that religion would perhaps explain their metempsychosis. The far greater part of the worshippers of Lama, however, do not require reason and arguments for what they believe; but take all in a literal sense, and examine no farther;

having the same notion of the Lama as the Mongouls had of the Pope‡.

Prester John, of whom we have spoken above, in like manner gave rise to many conjectures; the greatest part of which are so improbable as not to deserve refutation. We will begin therefore at once by that method which seems to promise the best elucidation of the matter.

The name *Prêtre Jean*, or *Juan*, was mistakenly heard by the first Europeans that visited these regions. And their fancy working upon it, formed many extravagant ideas which were received and cherished in Europe. These travellers perceived a certain resemblance between the sound of a word in the Mongolian and Tibetan languages with that of a French, Italian, and Portuguese word. Unused to the study of languages, they imagined that such words as had a similar sound must have likewise the same signification in the language of Tibet and of the Mongouls which they bore in some of the European. This idea being once received, many fantastical etymologies and fables naturally arose, as that about a certain Indian *Johanes Presbyter*, &c.

Among all the etymologies, that of Scaliger|| seems to be the most probable. This name, according to his opinion, came from India, and properly was *Preste*

* Others relate, that they keep a young man in the pagoda during the life of the Dalai Lama, who is to succeed him.

† Du Halde, tom IV. p. 573.

‡ Rubruquis says, that in his travels to the Greater Tartary, he was asked by several Mongouls whether the Pope was really five hundred years old.

|| *De emendatione temperum*, p. 637.

Jehan (Preste Giani; for Gehan in the Persian and Indian languages signifies *the world*), which is as much as to say, *a messenger of the world*; or *an universal apostle*. The Nestorian patriarchs always appropriated to themselves the pompous title of CATHOLICUS *, which signifies, as every one knows, almost the same thing.

Now, if we can admit that the missionaries of the Nestorians came into these countries (which almost every competent judge in such matters will allow) then the Nestorian patriarch and Prester John are one person; at least according to the rules of etymology. And this Prester John being a christian, he must have been the Catholicus of the Nestorians; or perhaps only a bishop sent by the Catholicus, who in these distant regions assumed a greater title than was strictly due to him.

In the pursuit of these enquiries we shall find this Prester John, or this Nestorian Catholicus, to be likewise one and the same with the Dalai Lama.

Prester John was heard-of earlier than the Dalai Lama. In the country of the Mongouls, where Prester John is said to have formerly resided, they knew nothing about a Dalai Lama before the time of Kajuk-khan, one of the descendants of Tschingis-khan †. Among the Europeans, Pere Andrada is one of the first who men-

tions him, about the year 1624 ‡, and Bernier speaks of him as of a strange novelty §.

It deserves to be remarked, that the old writers, whilst they take notice of the Nestorians and Prester John, say not a syllable of the Dalai Lama. But no sooner are they become acquainted with the Dalai Lama, than they cease all mention of Prester John and the Nestorians in Mongolia and Tibet.

All these circumstances seem sufficiently to prove that the Catholicus, Preste Gehan, and Dalai §, are only one person.

An Account of the Sufferings of Lady Harriet Ackland, in the Campaigns of 1776 and 1777, in Canada.

The following extraordinary Example of Female Excellence is taken from Lieutenant-General Burgoyne's State of the Expedition into Canada. 'It would exhibit (says the General) if well delineated, an interesting Picture of the Spirit, the Enterprize, and the Distress of Romance, realized and regulated upon the chaste and sober Principles of rational Love and connubial Duty.' Indeed one cannot well imagine the Female Frame capable of supporting such extreme Distresses; and the General relates

* See Dissertation de la predication de la foi Chretienne a la Chine, par M. Renaudot, dans les anciennes relations des Indes, et de la Chine, p. 238, & seqq.

† Rubruquis, chap. xix. Marco Paolo, lib. c. 51. Gaubil, p. 105. & 143.

‡ Du Halde, tom. IV. p. 576.

§ Voyages, vol. II. p. 309.

§ Dalai, in the language of the Mongouls, signifies a *sea*, or *ocean*, and in a metaphorical signification, an *immense distance*.

the Story in a Manner that does Honour to his Feelings.

LADY Harriet Ackland had accompanied her husband to Canada in the beginning of the year 1776. In the course of that campaign she had traversed a vast space of country, in different extremities of seasons, and with difficulties that an European traveller will not easily conceive, to attend her husband, in a poor hut at Chamblée, upon his sick-bed.

In the opening of the campaign of 1777, she was restrained from offering herself to a share of the hazard expected before Ticonderoga, by the positive injunction of her husband. The day after the conquest of that place, he was badly wounded, and she crossed the Lake Champlain to join him.

As soon as he recovered, Lady Harriet proceeded to follow his fortunes through the campaign, and at Fort Edward, or at the next camp, she acquired a two-wheel tumbril, which had been constructed by the artillery, similar to the carriage used for the mail upon the great roads of England. Major Ackland commanded the British grenadiers, which were attached to General Frazer's corps, and consequently were the most advanced post of the army. Their situations were often so alert, that no persons slept out of their clothes. In one of these situations a tent, in which the major and lady Harriet were asleep, suddenly took fire. An orderly serjeant of grenadiers, with great hazard of suffocation, dragged out the first person he caught hold of. It proved to be the major. It happened, that in the same instant she had, un-

knowing what she did, and perhaps not perfectly awake, providentially made her escape, by creeping under the walls of the back part of the tent. The first object she saw upon the recovery of her senses, was the major on the other side, and in the same instant again in the fire, in search of her. The serjeant again saved him, but not without the major being very severely burned in the face and different parts of the body. Every thing they had with them in the tent was consumed.

This accident happened a little time before the army had passed the Hudson's river. It neither altered the resolution nor the cheerfulness of lady Harriet; and she continued her progress, a partaker of the fatigues of the advanced corps. The next call upon her fortitude was of a different nature, and more distressful, as of longer suspense. On the march of the 19th, the grenadiers being liable to action at every step, she had been directed by the major to follow the route of the artillery and baggage, which was not exposed. At the time the action began, she found herself near a small uninhabited hut, where she alighted. When it was found the action was becoming general and bloody, the surgeons of the hospital took possession of the same place, as the most convenient for the first care of the wounded. Thus was this lady in hearing of one continued fire of cannon and musketry, for some hours together, with the presumption, from the post of her husband at the head of the grenadiers, that he was in the most exposed part of the action. She had three female companions; the

the baroness of Reidesfel, and the wives of two British officers, major Harnage and lieutenant Reynell; but in the event their presence served but little for comfort. Major Harnage was soon brought to the surgeons, very badly wounded; and a little while after came intelligence that lieutenant Reynell was shot dead. Imagination will want no helps to figure the state of the whole groupe.

From the date of that action to the 7th of October, lady Harriet, with her usual serenity, stood prepared for new trials! And it was her lot that their severity increased with their numbers. She was again exposed to the hearing of the whole action, and at last received the shock of her individual misfortune, mixed with the intelligence of the general calamity; the troops were defeated, and major Ackland, desperately wounded, was a prisoner.

The day of the 8th was passed by lady Harriet and her companions in common anxiety, not a tent, nor a shed, being standing, except what belonged to the hospital, their refuge was among the wounded and the dying.

I soon received a message from lady Harriet, submitting to my decision a proposal (and expressing an earnest solicitude to execute it,

if not interfering with my designs) of passing to the camp of the enemy, and requesting general Gates's permission to attend her husband.

Though I was ready to believe (for I had experienced) that patience and fortitude, in a supreme degree, were to be found, as well as every virtue, under the most tender forms, I was astonished at this proposal. After so long an agitation of the spirits, exhausted not only for want of rest, but absolutely want of food, drenched in rains for twelve hours together, that a woman should be capable of such an undertaking as delivering herself to the enemy, probably in the night, and uncertain of what hands she might fall into, appeared an effort above human nature. The assistance I was enabled to give was small indeed; I had not even a cup of wine to offer her; but I was told she had found, from some kind and fortunate hand, a little rum and dirty water. All I could furnish to her was an open boat and a few lines, written upon dirty and wet paper, to general Gates, recommending her to his protection.

Mr. Bradenell, the chaplain to the artillery (the same gentleman who had officiated so signally at general Fraser's funeral*) readily undertook to accompany her, and with

* The circumstances attending the funeral of this brave officer were very remarkable:—Early in the morning general Fraser breathed his last—and with the kindest expressions of his affection his last request was brought to me, that he might be carried without parade by the soldiers of his corps to the great redoubt, and buried there.

About sun-set the body of general Fraser was brought up the hill, attended only by the officers who had lived in his family. To arrive at the redoubt, it passed within view of the greatest part of both armies. General Philips, general Reidesfel, and myself, who were standing together, were struck with the humility of the procession: they, who were ignorant that privacy had been requested,

with one female servant, and the major's valet-de-chambre (who had a ball, which he had received in the late action, then in his shoulder) she rowed down the river to meet the enemy. But her distresses were not yet to end. The night was advanced before the boat reached the enemy's out-posts, and the sentinel would not let it pass, nor even come on shore. In vain Mr. Brudenell offered the flag of truce, and represented the state of the extraordinary passenger. The guard, apprehensive of treachery, and punctilious to their orders, threatened to fire into the boat if they stirred before day-light. Her anxiety and sufferings were thus protracted through seven or eight dark and cold hours; and her reflections upon that first reception could not give her very encouraging ideas of the treatment she was afterwards to expect. But it is due to justice at the close of this adventure to say, that she was received and accommodated by general Gates with all the humanity and respect that her rank, her merits, and her fortunes deserved.

Let such as are affected by these circumstances of alarm, hardship, and danger, recollect, that

the subject of them was a woman; of the most tender and delicate frame; of the gentlest manners, habituated to all the soft elegances, and refined enjoyment, that attend high birth and fortune; and far advanced in a state in which the tender cares, always due to the sex, become indispensably necessary. Her mind alone was formed for such trials!

Translation of a short Extract from a Journal kept by C. P. Thunberg, M. D. during his Voyage to, and Residence in, the Empire of Japan, in a Letter addressed to the P. R. S.

[From the *Philos. Trans.* Vol. 69.]

SIR,

DURING my short residence in London, where you did me the honour of introducing me to many men of learning, conversations frequently arose, in which questions were asked of me concerning the empire of Japan: to these I could at that time give answers only from memory; but, having now got possession of my papers, I have drawn out, for the farther satisfaction of the Royal Society, and your particular

might construe it into neglect. We could neither endure that reflection, nor indeed restrain our natural propensity to pay our last attention to his remains.

The incessant cannonade during the solemnity; the steady attitude and unaltered voice with which the chaplain officiated, though frequently covered with dust, which the shot threw up on all sides of him; the mute but expressive mixture of sensibility and indignation upon every countenance: these objects will remain to the last of life upon the minds of every man who was present. The growing duskiness added to the scenery, and the whole marked a character of that juncture, that would make one of the finest subjects for the pencil of a master that the field ever exhibited. To the canvass, and to the faithful page of a more important historian, gallant friend, I consign thy memory! There may thy talents, thy manly virtues, their progress and their period, find due distinction; and long may they survive!—long after the frail record of my pen shall be forgotten.

friends, the following short extract of a journal which I kept regularly during a residence of sixteen months in that distant country.

To you, Sir, it is already known, that I was sent out by the directors of the Botanic Gardens at Amsterdam, and some other eminent men of that place; first to the Cape of Good Hope, and from thence to Japan: in order to investigate the natural history of those countries, and to send from thence seeds and living plants of unknown kinds, for the use of their collections in Holland. At the first of these places I resided three years; and during that time had the good fortune to observe and describe many new species both of animals and vegetables.

In the year 1775 I sailed from thence for Batavia, and after a short stay there, embarked on board a Dutch ship, called *Stavenisse*, bound for Japan, in company with the *Blyenburg*. On the 21st of June, we sailed and passed Pulo Sapatoo, the coast of China, and the island Formosa. On the 13th of August we made the land of Japan, and the day after were off the harbour of Nagasacci, the only one in that empire where foreign ships are allowed to anchor.

During this passage we met with severe gales of wind, in one of which the *Blyenburg*, having received much damage in her masts, parted company, and (as we afterwards learned) was obliged to go back to Canton, to refit.

We sailed into the harbour of Nagasacci with our colours flying, and saluted the *Papenburg*, the emperor's and empress's guard,

and the town itself. During this time there came on board of us two over banjos, several interpreters, and inferior officers, and some people belonging to the Dutch factory.

These over banjos may be compared to the mandarins of China: a place is prepared for them upon the ship's deck, and some of them (for they are frequently changed) must be present when any thing is taken out of, or received into, her. They inspect every thing, muster the people, give passports to such as go on shore, and every day report to the governor of Nagasacci the proceedings on board.

The attention and care with which these gentlemen execute the orders issued by the Imperial Court in 1775 is well worthy of relation. The most minute articles which are carried out of a ship undergo a jealous inspection, both when they are put into the boats, and when they are landed from them; and the same caution is used in embarking goods from the shore.

Bedding is ripped open, and the very feathers examined; chests are not only emptied of their contents, but the boards of which they are made are searched, lest contraband goods should be concealed in their substance. Pots of sweetmeats and of butter are stirred round with an iron skewer. Our cheeses had a more narrow inspection; a large hole was cut into the middle of each, and a knife thrust into the sides of it in every direction: even the eggs were not exempted from suspicion; many of them were broken, lest they should conceal contraband goods within them.

Ourselves, from the highest to the lowest, underwent the same suspicious scrutiny whenever we went from or returned on board the ship. Our backs were first stroked down by the hand of the inspector; our sides, bellies, and thighs, were then in like manner examined; so that it was next to impossible that any thing could be concealed.

Formerly they were less exact in this visitation; the chief of the factory and captain of the vessel were even exempted from it. This privilege they used in its utmost extent: each dressed himself in a great coat, in which were two large pockets, or rather sacks, for the reception of contraband goods, and they got easily passed back-ward and forward three times a day.

Alarms of this nature induced the Japan government to resolve, that they resolved to make new regulations. For some time they found, that the more dextrous they used in dressing the trick, or the Europeans, the more dextrous they contrived to evade them: at last, however, by repeated trials, they have so completely abridged their liberties, that it is now almost, if not absolutely, impossible to smuggle any thing.

The complexions of the Japanese are in general yellowish, although some few, generally women, are almost white. Their narrow eyes and high eye-brows are like those of the Chinese and Tartars. Their noses, though not flat, are shorter and thicker than ours. Their hair is universally black; and such a sameness of fashion reigns through this whole empire, that

the head dress is the same from the emperor to the peasant.

The mode of the men's head-dress is singular; the middle part of their heads, from the forehead very far back, is close-shaven; the hair remaining round the temples and nape of the neck is turned up and tied upon the top of the head into a kind of brush, about as long as a finger; this brush is again lapped round with white thread, and bent a little backwards.

The women preserve all their hair, and, drawing it together on the top of the head, roll it round a loop, and fastening it down with pins, to which ornaments are affixed, draw out the sides till they appear like little wings; behind this a comb is stuck in.

Physicians and priests are the only exception to the general fashion; they shave their heads entirely, and are by that means distinguished from the rest of the people.

The fashion of their cloaths has also remained the same from the highest antiquity. They consist of one or more loose gowns, tied about the middle with a sash; the women wear them much longer than the men, and dragging on the ground. In summer they are very thin; but in winter quilted with silk or cotton wadding.

People of rank have them made of silk; the lower class of cotton stuff. Women generally wear a greater number of them than men, and have them more ornamented, often with gold or silver flowers woven into the stuff.

These gowns are generally left open at the breast; their sleeves are very wide, but partly sewed up

up in front, so as to make a kind of pocket, into which they can easily put their hands, and in this they generally carry papers, or such like light things.

Men of consequence are distinguished from those of inferior rank by a short jacket of thin black stuff, which is worn over their gowns, and trowsers open on the sides, but sewed together near the bottom, which take in their skirts. Some use drawers, but all have their legs naked. They wear sandals of straw, fastened to their feet by a bow passing over the instep, and a string which passes between the great toe and that next to it, fixing to the bow. In winter they have socks of linen, and in rainy or dirty weather, wooden shoes.

They never cover their heads but on a journey, when they use a conical cap made of straw, at other times they defend themselves from the sun or the rain by fans or umbrellas.

In their sash they fasten the sabre, fan, and tobacco-pipe; the sabre always on the left side, and (contrary to our European custom) with the sharp edge uppermost. Those who are in public employments wear two, the one considerably longer than the other.

Their houses are built with upright posts, crossed and wattled with bamboo, plastered both without and within, and whitewashed. They generally have two stories; but the uppermost is low, and seldom inhabited. The roofs are covered with pantiles, large and heavy, but neatly made. The floors are elevated two feet from the ground, and covered with planks. On these are laid mats

which are double, and filled with straw three or four inches thick. The whole house consists of one large room; but may be divided at pleasure into several smaller, by partitions made with frames of wood, filled up with painted paper, that fix into grooves made for that purpose in the floor and ceiling. The windows are also frames of wood, divided into squares, filled up with very thin white paper, transparent enough to answer tolerably well the purpose of glass.

They have no furniture in their rooms; neither tables, chairs, stools, benches, cupboards, or even beds. Their custom is to sit down on their heels upon the mats, which are always soft and clean. Their viands are served up to them on a low board, raised but a few inches from the floor, and one dish only at a time. Mirrors they have, but never fix them up in their houses as ornamental furniture; they are made of a compound metal, and used only at their toilets.

Notwithstanding the severity of their winters, which oblige them to warm their houses from November to March, they have neither fire-places nor stoves; instead of these they use large copper pots standing upon legs; these are lined on the inside with loam, on which ashes are laid to some depth, and charcoal lighted upon them, which seems to be prepared in some manner which renders the fumes of it not at all dangerous.

The Portuguese, in all probability, first introduced the use of tobacco into Japan: however, be that as it may, they use it now with great frugality, though both

sexes, old and young, continually smoke it, blowing out the smoke through their nostrils. The first compliment offered to a stranger in their houses is a dish of tea and a pipe of tobacco. Their pipes have mouth-pieces and bowls of brass or white copper. The hollow of the bowl is so small as scarce to contain an ordinary pea. The tobacco is cut as fine as a hair, about a finger's length, and is rolled up in small balls like pills, to fit the small hollow in the bowl of the pipe; which pills, as they can last but for a few whiffs, must be very frequently renewed.

Fans are used by both sexes equally, and are, within or without doors, their inseparable companions.

The whole nation are naturally cleanly; every house, whether public or private, has a bath, of which constant and daily use is made by the whole family.

You seldom meet a man who has not his mark imprinted on the sleeves and back of his cloaths, in the same colour in which the pattern is printed; white spots are left in manufacturing them, for the purpose of inserting these marks.

Obedience to parents and respect to superiors is the characteristic of this nation: it is pleasing to see the respect with which inferiors treat those of high rank; if they meet them abroad, they stop till they have passed by; if in a house, they keep at a distance, bowing their heads to the ground. Their salutations and conversations between equals abound also with civility and politeness: to this children are early accustomed by the example of their parents.

Their penal laws are very severe; but punishments are seldom inflicted. Perhaps there is no country where fewer crimes against society are committed.

Their usage of names differs from that of all other nations. The family name is never made use of but in signing solemn contracts, and the particular name by which individuals are distinguished in conversation varies according to the age or situation of the person who makes use of it: so that sometimes the same person is, in his life-time, known by five or six different names.

They reckon their age by even years, not regarding whether they were born at the beginning or the end of a year, so that a child is said to be a year old on the new year's day next after his birth, even though he has not been born many days.

Commerce and manufactures flourish here, though, as these people have few wants, they are not carried to the extent which we see in Europe. Agriculture is so well understood, that the whole country, even to the tops of the hills, is cultivated. They trade with no foreigners but the Dutch and Chinese, and in both cases with companies of privileged merchants. The Dutch export copper and raw camphire, for which they give in return sugar, ripe cloves, sappan wood, ivory, tin, lead, tortoise-shell, chintzs, and a few trifles more.

As the Dutch company do not pay duty in Japan, either on their exports or imports, they send an annual present to the court, consisting of cloth, chintzs, saccotas, cottons, stuffs, and trinkets.

I had the satisfaction to attend the ambassador, who was intrusted with these presents, on his journey to Jeddo, the capital of this vast empire, situated at an immense distance from Nagasacci, a journey on which three Europeans only are permitted to go, attended by two hundred Japanese at least.

We left our little island of Dezima, and the town of Nagasacci, on the 4th of March, 1776, and travelled through Cocora to Simonofeki, where we arrived on the 12th, and found a vessel prepared for us; we embarked on board her, and coasted along to Fiogo. From thence we travelled by land to Ofacca, one of the principal commercial towns in the empire. At this place we remained the 8th and 9th of April, and on the 10th arrived at Miaco, the residence of the Dairi, or ecclesiastical emperor. Here we also stayed two days; but after that made the best of our way to Jeddo, where we arrived on the 1st of May.

We were carried by men in a kind of palankins, called norimons, covered, and provided with windows. The presents also and our provisions were carried on men's shoulders, except a few articles, which were loaded on pack-horses. The Japanese officers who attended us provided us with every thing, so that our journey was by no means troublesome.

On the 18th we had an audience of the cubo, or temporal emperor, of the heir-apparent, and of the twelve senators; the day following, of the ecclesiastical governors, the governors of the town, and other high officers. On the 23d we had our audience of leave. We left Jeddo on the 26th of May, and arrived at Miaco on the 7th of June. Here we had an audience of the emperor's viceroy, to whom we also made presents, as we were not allowed to see the dairi, or ecclesiastical emperor. On the 11th we procured leave to walk about the town, and visit the temples and principal buildings. In the evening we set out for Ofacca, which town we were also permitted to view, which we did on the 13th.

We saw temples, theatres, and many curious buildings; but, above all, the manufactory of copper, which is melted here, and no where else in the empire.

On the 14th we had an audience of the governors of this town; after which we resumed our journey to Fiogo, where we again embarked on the 18th, and proceeded by sea to Simonofeki, from whence we arrived on the 23d at Cocota, and from thence were carried in norimons to Nagasacci, and arrived at our little island Dezima on the last day of June, after an absence of one hundred and eighteen days.

NATURAL HISTORY.

An Account of the Eruption of Mount Vesuvius, which happened in August, 1779. From Sir William Hamilton's Letter to Mr. Banks, P. R. S.

Naples, Oct. 1, 1779.

THE late eruption of Mount Vesuvius was of so singular a nature, so very violent and alarming, that it necessarily attracted the attention of every one, not only in its immediate neighbourhood, but for many miles around; and, consequently, several slight descriptions of it have been already handed about, and some (as I am informed) more accurate and circumstantial are preparing for the press*.

That on which the Abbot Bottis is actually employed, by command of his Sicilian majesty, will undoubtedly be executed with the same accuracy, truth, and precision, as have rendered that author's former publications upon the subject of Mount Vesuvius so universally and deservedly esteemed.

Such a publication, executed with magnificence in the royal printing-office, may, perhaps, render every other account of the late eruption superfluous: nevertheless,

I should think myself in some degree guilty of a neglect towards the Royal Society, who have done so much honour to my former communications, if I did not, through the respectable canal of its worthy president, and my good friend, simply relate to them such remarkable circumstances as attended the late tremendous explosions of Mount Vesuvius, and as either came immediately under my own inspection, or have been related to me by such good authority as cannot be called in question.

Since the great eruption of 1767, of which I had the honour of giving a particular account to the Royal Society, Vesuvius has never been free from smoke, nor ever many months without throwing up red-hot scoriae, which increasing, to a certain degree, were usually followed by a current of liquid lava, and except in the eruption of 1777, those lavas broke out nearly from the same spot, and ran much in the same direction, as that of the famous eruption of 1767.

No less than nine such eruptions are recorded here since the great one above-mentioned, and some

* The inhabitants of this great city in general give so little attention to Mount Vesuvius, though in full view of the greatest part of it, that I am well convinced many of its eruptions pass totally unnoticed by at least two-thirds of them.

of them were considerable. I never failed visiting those lavas whilst they were in full force, and as constantly examined them and the crater of the volcano after the ceasing of each eruption*.

It would be but a repetition of what has been described in my former letters on this subject, were I to relate my remarks on those different expeditions. The lavas, when they either boiled over the crater, or broke out from the conical parts of the volcano, constantly formed channels as regular as if they had been cut by art down the steep part of the mountain, and, whilst in a state of perfect fusion, continued their course in those channels, which were sometimes full to the brim, and at other times more or less so, according to the quantity of matter in motion.

These channels, upon examination after an eruption, I have found to be in general from two to five or six feet wide, and seven or eight feet deep. They were often hid from the light by a quantity of scoriae that had formed a crust over them, and the lava having been conveyed in a covered way for some yards, came out fresh again into an open channel. After an eruption I have walked in some of those subterraneous or covered galleries, which were exceedingly curious,

the sides, top, and bottom, being worn perfectly smooth and even in most parts by the violence of the currents of the red-hot lavas, which they had conveyed for many weeks successively; in others, the lava had incrusted the sides of those channels with some very extraordinary scoriae: beautifully ramified white salts†, in the form of dropping stalactites, were also attached to many parts of the ceiling of those galleries. It is imagined here, that the salts of Vesuvius are chiefly ammoniac, though often tinged with green, deep, or pale yellow, by the vapour of various minerals.

In the month of May last, there was a considerable eruption of Mount Vesuvius, when I passed a night on the mountain in the company of one of my countrymen, as eager as myself in the pursuit of this branch of natural history‡.

We saw the operation of the lava, in the channels as above-mentioned, in the greatest perfection; but it was, indeed, owing to our perseverance, and some degree of resolution. After the lava had quitted its regular channels, it spread itself in the valley, and, being loaded with scoriae, ran gently on, like a river that had been frozen, and had masses of ice floating on it: the wind changing

* The last visit to the crater of Vesuvius, which was in the month of May, 1779, was my fifty-eighth, and to be sure I have been four times as often on parts of the mountain, without climbing to its summit, and after all am not ashamed to own, that I comprehend very little of the wonders I have seen in this great laboratory of Nature; yet there have been Naturalists of such a wonderful penetrating genius as to have thought themselves sufficiently qualified to account for every hidden phenomenon of Vesuvius, after having, literally speaking, given the volcano *un coup d'œil*.

† I sent a large specimen of this curious volcanic production to the British Museum last year.

‡ Mr. Bowdler, of Bath.

when

when we were close to this gentle stream of lava, which might be about fifty or sixty feet in breadth, incommoded us so much with its heat and smoke, that we must have returned without having satisfied our curiosity, had not our guide * proposed the expedient of walking across it, which, to our astonishment, he instantly put in execution, and with so little difficulty, that we followed him without hesitation, having felt no other inconveniency than what proceeded from the violence of the heat on our legs and feet; the crust of the lava was so tough, besides being loaded with cinders and scorizæ, that our weight made not the least impression on it; and its motion was so slow, that we were not in any danger of losing our balance, and falling on it: however, this experiment should not be tried, except in cases of real necessity; and I mention it with no other view than to point out a possibility of escaping, should any one hereafter, upon such an expedition as ours, have the misfortune to be inclosed between two currents of lava.

Having thus got rid of the troublesome heat and smoke, we coasted the river of lava and its channels up to its very source, within a quarter of a mile of the crater. The liquid and red-hot matter bubbled up violently, with a hissing and crackling noise, like that which attends the playing off

of an artificial firework, and by the continual splashing up of the vitrified matter, a kind of arch or dome was formed over the crevice from whence the lava issued. It was cracked in many parts, and appeared red-hot within, like an heated oven: this hollowed hillock might be about fifteen feet high, and the lava that ran from under it was received into a regular channel, raised upon a sort of wall of scorizæ and cinders, almost perpendicularly, of about the height of eight or ten feet, resembling much an ancient aqueduct.

We then went up to the crater of the volcano, in which we found, as usual, a little mountain throwing scorizæ and red-hot matter with loud explosions; but the smoke and smell of sulphur was so intolerable, that we were under the necessity of quitting that curious spot with the utmost precipitation.

In another of my excursions to Mount Vesuvius last year, I picked up some fragments of large and regular crystals of close-grained lava or basalt, the diameter of which, when the prisms were complete, may have been eight or nine inches. As Vesuvius does not exhibit any lavas regularly crystallized, and forming what are vulgarly called giants causeways (except a lava that ran into the sea near Torre del Greco in 1631, and which in a small degree has such an appearance), this discovery gave me the greatest pleasure †.

After

* Bartolomeo, the cyclops of Vesuvius, who has attended me on all my expeditions to the mountain, and who is an excellent guide.

† As the fragments of basalt columns, which I found on the cone of Vesuvius, had been evidently thrown out of its crater, may not lava be more subject to crystallize within the bowels of a volcano than after its emission, and having been exposed to the open air? And may not many of the giants causeways, already

After this slight sketch of the most remarkable events on Vesuvius since the year 1767, which I flatter myself will not be unacceptable, as it may serve to connect what I am going to relate with what has already been communicated to the Society in my former letters on the same subject, I come to the account of the late eruption, which affords indeed ample matter for curious speculation.

As many poetical descriptions of this eruption will not be wanting, I shall confine mine to simple matter of fact in plain prose, and endeavour to convey to you, Sir, as clearly and as distinctly as I am able, what I saw myself, and the impression it made upon me at the time, without aiming in the least at a flowery style.

The usual symptoms of an approaching eruption, such as rumbling noises and explosions within the bowels of the volcano, a quantity of smoke issuing with force from its crater, accompanied at times with an emission of red-hot scoriæ and ashes, were manifest, more or less, during the whole month of July; and towards the end of the month, those symptoms were increased to such a degree as to exhibit in the night-time the most beautiful fireworks that can be imagined.

These kinds of throws of red-hot scoriæ and other volcanic matter, which at night are so bright and luminous, appear in broad day-light like so many black spots

in the midst of the white smoke; and it is this circumstance that occasions the vulgar and false supposition, that volcanos burn much more violently at night than in the day-time.

On Thursday, the 5th of August last, about two o'clock in the afternoon, I perceived from my villa at Paufilipo, in the bay of Naples, from whence I have a full view of Vesuvius (which is just opposite, and at the distance of about six miles in a direct line from it) that the volcano was in a most violent agitation: a white and sulphureous smoke issued continually and impetuously from its crater, one puff impelling another, and by an accumulation of those clouds of smoke resembling bales of the whitest cotton, such a mass of them was soon piled over the top of the volcano as exceeded the height and size of the mountain itself at least four times. In the midst of this very white smoke, an immense quantity of stones, scoriæ, and ashes, were shot up to a wonderful height, certainly not less than two thousand feet. I could also perceive, by the help of one of Ramsden's most excellent refracting telescopes, at times, a quantity of liquid lava, seemingly very weighty, just heaved up high enough to clear the rim of the crater, and then take its course impetuously down the steep side of Vesuvius, opposite to Somma. Soon after a lava broke out on the same side from about the middle of

already discovered, be the *nuclei* of volcanic mountains, whose lighter and less solid parts may have been worn away by the hand of time? Mr. Faujeis de St. Fond, in his curious book lately published, and intitled, "*Recherches sur les Volcains éteints du Vivarais de Velay*," gives (p. 286.) an example of basalt columns, that are placed deep within the crater of an extinguished volcano.

the

the conical part of the volcano, and, having run with violence some hours, ceased suddenly, just before it had arrived at the cultivated parts of the mountain above Portici, near four miles from the spot where it issued.

During this day's eruption, as I have been credibly informed since, the heat was intolerable at the towns of Somma and Ottaviano; and was likewise sensibly felt at Palma and Lauro, which are much farther from Vesuvius than the former. Minute ashes, of a reddish hue, fell so thick at Somma and Ottaviano, that they darkened the air in such a manner as that objects could not be distinguished at the distance of ten feet. Long filaments of a vitrified matter, like spun glass, were mixed and fell with these ashes*; and the sulphureous smoke was so violent, that several birds in cages were suffocated, the leaves of the trees in the neighbourhood of Somma and Ottaviano were covered with white felt, very corrosive. About two o'clock in the afternoon, an extraordinary globe of smoke, of a very great diameter, was distinctly perceived, by many of the inhabitants of Portici, to issue from the crater of Vesuvius, and proceed hastily towards the mountain of Somma, against which it struck

and dispersed itself, having left a train of white smoke, marking the course it had taken: this train I perceived plainly from my villa, as it lasted some minutes; but I did not see the globe itself.

A poor labourer, who was making faggots on the mountain of Somma, lost his life at this time; and his body not having been found, it is supposed that, suffocated by the smoke, he must have fallen into the valley from the craggy rocks on which he was at work, and been covered by the current of lava that took its course through that valley soon after. An ass, that was waiting for its master in the valley, left it very judiciously as soon as the mountain became violent, and, arriving safe home, gave the first alarm to this poor man's family.

It was generally remarked, that the explosions of the volcano were attended with more noise during this day's eruption than in any of the succeeding ones, when, most probably, the mouth of Vesuvius was widened, and the volcanic matter had a freer passage. It is certain, however, that the great eruption of 1767 (which in every other respect was mild, when compared to the late violent eruption) occasioned much greater concussions in the air by its louder explosions.

* During the eruption of the volcano in the isle of Bourbon in 1766, some miles of country, at the distance of six leagues from that volcano, were covered with a flexible, capillary, spun glass, some of which were two or three feet long, with small vitreous globules at a little distance one from the other. Count Buffon there found some of these capillary and flexible glass, which is preserved in the Royal Museum at Paris, and which perfectly resembles the filaments of vitrified matter which fell at Ottaviano, and in other parts on the borders of Vesuvius during this eruption. Sorrentino, in his *Storia del Vesuvio*, published at Naples in 1774, likewise mentions vitrified matter, like herbs and straw, being found on the ground in the neighbourhood of Vesuvius, during an eruption of that mountain in the year 1724.

Friday,

Friday, August the 6th, the fermentation in the mountain was less violent; but, about noon, there was a loud report, at which time it was supposed, that a portion of the little mountain within the crater had fallen in. At night the throws from the crater increased, and proceeded evidently from two separate mouths, which emitting red-hot scorice, and in different directions, formed a most beautiful and almost continued fire-work.

On Saturday, August the 7th, the volcano remained much in the same state; but, about twelve o'clock at night, its fermentation increased greatly. The second fever-fit of the mountain may be said to have manifested itself at this time. I was watching its motions from the mole of Naples, which has a full view of the volcano, and had been witness to several glorious picturesque effects produced by the reflection of the deep red fire which issued from the crater of Vesuvius, and mounted up in the midst of the huge clouds, when a summer storm, called here, a *trattia*, came on suddenly, and blended its heavy watery clouds with the sulphureous and mineral ones, which were already like so many other mountains, piled over the summit of the volcano; at this moment a fountain of fire was shot up to an incredible height, casting so bright a light, that the smallest objects could be clearly distinguished at any place within six miles or more of Vesuvius.

The black stormy clouds passing swiftly over, and at times covering the whole, or a part of the bright column of fire, at other times,

clearing away, and giving a full view of it, with the various tints produced by its reverberated light on the white clouds above, in contrast with the pale flashes of forked lightning that attended the *trattia*, formed such a scene as no power of art can ever express.

That which followed the next evening was surely much more formidable and alarming; but this was more beautiful and sublime than even the most lively imagination can paint to itself. This great explosion did not last above eight or ten minutes, after which Vesuvius was totally eclipsed by the dark clouds, and there fell a heavy shower of rain.

Some scorice and small stones fell at Ottaviano during this eruption, and some of a very great size in the valley between Vesuvius and the Lierninge. All the inhabitants of the towns at the foot of the volcano were in the greatest alarm, and preparing to abandon their homes, had the eruption continued longer.

One of his Sicilian majesty's game-keepers, who was out in the fields near Ottaviano, whilst this combined storm was at its height, was greatly surprised to find the drops of rain scald his face and hands, which phenomenon was probably occasioned by the clouds having acquired a great degree of heat in passing through the above-mentioned column of fire. The King of Naples did me the honour of informing me of this curious circumstance.

Sunday, August the 8th, Vesuvius was quiet till towards six o'clock in the evening, when a great smoke began to gather again over its crater, and about an hour after,

after, a rumbling subterraneous noise was heard in the neighbourhood of the volcano; the usual throws of red-hot stones and scoria began, and increased every instant. I was at this time at Paufilipo, in the company of several of my countrymen, observing with good telescopes the curious phenomena in the crater of Vesuvius, which, with such help, we could distinguish as well as if we had been actually seated on the summit of the volcano. The crater seemed much enlarged by the violence of last night's explosions, and the little mountain no longer existed. About nine o'clock there was a loud report, which shook the houses of Portici and its neighbourhood to such a degree as to alarm their inhabitants, and drive them out into the streets; and, as I have since seen, many windows were broken, and walls cracked, by the concussion of the air from that explosion, though faintly heard at Naples.

In an instant a fountain of liquid transparent fire began to rise, and, gradually increasing, arrived at so amazing a height as to strike every one who beheld it with the most awful astonishment. I shall scarcely be credited when I assure you, Sir, that, to the best of my judgment, the height of this stupendous column of fire could not be less than three times that of Vesuvius itself, which, as you

know, rises perpendicularly near 3700 feet above the level of the sea*.

Puffs of smoke, as black as can possibly be imagined, succeeded one another hastily, and accompanied the red-hot transparent and liquid lava, interrupting its splendid brightness here and there by patches of the darkest hue. Within these puffs of smoke, at the very moment of their emission from the crater, I could perceive a bright, but pale electrical fire, briskly playing about in zig-zag lines†.

The wind was S. W.; and though gentle, was sufficient to carry these detached clouds or puffs of smoke out of the column of fire; and a collection of them, by degrees, formed a black and extensive curtain (if I may be allowed the expression) behind it; in other parts of the sky it was perfectly clear, and the stars were bright.

The fiery fountain, of so gigantic a size, upon the dark ground above-mentioned, made the most glorious contrast imaginable, and the blaze of it reflected strongly on the surface of the sea, which was at that time perfectly smooth, added greatly to this sublime view.

The liquid lava, mixed with stones and scoriæ, after having mounted, I verily believe, at the least ten thousand feet, was partly directed by the wind towards Ottaviano, and partly falling almost perpendicularly, still red-hot and

* *Se tu se' or lettore, a creder lento
Cid, ch'è lo diò, non sarà maraviglia;
Che io, che l'vidi; appena t' mi consento.*

DAVE INF. Cant. xxv. verso 46.

† I mention this circumstance to prove, that the electrical matter, so manifest during this eruption, actually proceeded from the bowels of the volcano, and was not attracted from a great height in the air, and conducted into its crater by the vast column of smoke.

liquid, on Vesuvius, covered its whole cone, part of that of the mountain of Somma, and the valley between them. The falling matter being nearly as vivid and inflamed as that which was continually issuing fresh from the crater, formed with it one complete body of fire, which could not be less than two miles and a half in breadth, and of the extraordinary height above-mentioned, casting a heat to the distance of at least six miles around it.

The brush-wood on the mountain of Somma was soon in a blaze, which flame being of a different tint from the deep red of the matter thrown out of the volcano, and from the silvery blue of the electrical fire, still added to the contrast of this most extraordinary scene.

The black cloud increasing greatly once bent towards Naples, and seemed to threaten this fair city with speedy destruction; for it was charged with electrical matter, which kept constantly darting

about it in strong and bright zig-zags, just like those described by Pliny the younger in his letter to Tacitus, and which accompanied the great eruption of Vesuvius that proved fatal to his uncle*. This volcanic lightning, however, as I particularly remarked, very rarely quitted the cloud, but usually returned to the great column of fire towards the crater of the volcano from whence it originally came†. Once or twice, indeed, I saw this lightning (or *ferilli*, as it is called here) fall on the top of Somma, and set fire to some dry grass and bushes‡.

Fortunately for us, the wind increasing from the S. W. quarter, carried back the threatening cloud just as it had reached the city, and began to occasion great alarm. All public diversions ceased in an instant, and the theatres being shut, the doors of the churches were thrown open. Numerous processions were formed in the streets, and women and children with dishevelled heads filled the

* “Ab altero latere, nubes atra et horrenda, ignei spiritus tortis vibratisque discursibus rupta, in longas flammarum figuras dehiscēbat; fulgoribus illæ et similēs et majores.” Plin. Epist.

† Sorrentino mentions the like observation, which he made during an eruption of Vesuvius in 1707, when the same kind of black cloud bent over Naples; these are his words: “Alle ore 19. tutti i cittadini nelle oscure tenebre si trovarono in mezzo delle Saette, delle quali, alcune vedeano uscir dalla fornace del Vesuvio, e scorrere fino al capo di Pausilipo, d’onde non passando più inanzi fuor la nuvola delle ceneri, o divertirsi altronde, indietro per l’istessa linea tornarono a scopiar su la fornace, onde uscirono: qual moto retrogrado mai hopotuto intendere.”

‡ Some time after the eruption had ceased, the air continued greatly impregnated with electrical matter. The Duke of Cotrofiano, a Neapolitan nobleman (who. from his superior knowledge in experimental philosophy and mechanics, does honour to his country) told me, that having, about half an hour after the great eruption had ceased, held a Leyden bottle, armed with a pointed wire, out of his window at Naples, it soon became considerably charged. While the eruption was in force, its appearance was too alarming to allow one to think of such experiments.

air with their cries, insisting loudly upon the relics of St. Januarius being immediately opposed to the fury of the mountain: in short, the populace of this great city began to display its usual extravagant mixture of riot and bigotry; and if some speedy and well-timed precautions had not been taken, Naples would, perhaps, have been in more danger of suffering from the irregularities of its lower class of inhabitants than from the angry volcano.

But to return to my subject: after the column of fire had continued in full force near half an hour, the eruption ceased all at once, and Vesuvius remained fullen and silent. After the dazzling light of the fiery fountain, all seemed dark and dismal except the cone of Vesuvius, which was covered with glowing cinders and scoriae, from under which, at times, here and there, small streams of liquid lava had escaped, and rolled down the steep sides of the volcano. This scene put me in mind of Martial's description of *luna*:
Cuncta jacent, launide, & nulli mensa favilla.

In the parts of Naples nearest Vesuvius, whilst the eruption lasted, a mixed smell, like that of sulphur, with the vapours of an iron sulphate, was sensible; but nearer to the mountain that smell was very offensive, as I have often found it in my visits to *Vesuvius* during an eruption.

Thus, Sir, have I endeavoured to convey to you at least a faint idea of a scene so glorious and sublime as, perhaps, may have never before been viewed by human eyes, at least in such perfection.

I am sensible, from the traces of them I have observed in the volcanic strata, which compose the greatest part of this country, that there have been many more considerable eruptions than the one just described; yet, most probably, these very violent eruptions must either have been attended with earthquakes, and other such alarming circumstances, as to make the beholders less attentive to the beauty of the scenes such phenomena offered than to their own safety; or clouds of smoke and ashes, as is usually the case in all great eruptions, must have so far obscured the volcano, as to exhibit only a confused mass of fire and smoke.

Whilst we had been enjoying the extraordinary sight of this gigantic fountain of liquid fire in perfect safety, the unfortunate inhabitants of the other side of the mountain of Somma, particularly at Ottaviano and Cocchia-bella, were involved in that dark and footy cloud which formed so proper a back ground to our bright picture, and were pelted with stones and scoriae of lava; but I shall presently give you a particular description of their truly distressful situations, just as I had it from many of the poor sufferers them-

* The light diffused by this huge column of fire was so strong, that the most minute objects could be discerned only within the compass of ten miles or more round the mountain. Mr. Adams, an English gentleman, told me, that at Sorrento, which is twelve miles from Vesuvius, he read the title page of a book by that volcanic light.

selves, when I visited that part of the country a few days after this eruption.

Monday, Aug. 9, about nine o'clock in the morning, the fourth fever-fit of the mountain began to manifest itself by the usual symptoms, such as a subterraneous boiling noise, violent explosions of inflamed matter from the crater of the volcano, accompanied with smoke and ashes, which symptoms increased every instant. The smoke was of two sorts; the one as white as snow, and the other as black as jet.

The white, as described in the former part of this journal, rolled gently mass over mass, resembling bales of the softest cotton; and the black composed of scorix and minute ashes shot up with force in the midst of the white smoke, which, from the minerals, was also sometimes tinged with yellow, blue, and green. Presently such a tremendous mass of these accumulated clouds stood over Vesuvius as seemed to threaten Naples again, and actually made the mountain itself appear a mole-hill.

This day's eruption was similar to that of Thursday last, but many degrees more violent. Some stones, thrown near as high as those of last night, fell on the mountain of Somma, and set fire to the brush-wood with which it is covered; but there being little wind, and that westerly, the volcanic matter rose and fell in a more perpendicular direction, and Ottaviano did not suffer by this day's eruption; but most of the inhabitants of the towns on the borders of Vesuvius fled to Naples, alarmed by the tremendous clouds, and the loud explosions.

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We remarked, that several very large stones, after having mounted to an immense height, formed a parabola, leaving behind them a trace of white smoke that marked their course: some burst in the air exactly like bombs, and others fell into the valley between Somma and Vesuvius without bursting; others again burst into a thousand pieces soon after their emission from the crater: they might very properly be called volcanic bombs.

In the smoke issuing from the crater of Vesuvius, we often remarked a sudden brisk and quivering motion, which seemed to communicate itself instantaneously from one cloud to another, and sometimes affected those that were very high in the great mass above the volcano. Though I could not discern any electrical fire, yet I make no doubt, but that the effect above-mentioned was occasioned by it, and would have been visible in the night-time.

Upon the whole, this day's eruption was very alarming: until the lava broke out about two o'clock, and ran three miles between the two mountains, we were in continual apprehension of some fatal event. It continued to run about three hours, during which time every other symptom of the mountain-fever gradually abated, and at seven o'clock at night all was calm.

It was universally remarked, that the air this night, for many hours after the eruption, was filled with meteors, such as are vulgarly called falling stars; they shot generally in a horizontal direction, leaving a luminous trace behind them, but which quickly disappeared. The night was remarkably fine, star-
light,

light, and without a cloud. This kind of electrical fire seemed to be harmless, and never to reach the ground; whereas that with which the black volcanic cloud of last night was pregnant appeared mischievous, like the lightning that attends a severe thunder storm, as we should undoubtedly have experienced had the eruption continued longer, and the cloud spread over Naples. The same kind of lightning proved fatal to several people, and did great damage within the space of many miles round Vesuvius during its great eruption of 1631, as is mentioned in one of my former letters on this subject.

During this day's eruption, the relics of St. Januarius were carried in procession, and exposed to the furious mountain from the bridge of the Maddalena, amidst a prodigious concourse of people, who are at this moment well convinced, that to this ceremony alone Naples may attribute its happy escape.

It was from their Sicilian majesties palace at Paufilipo that I made my observations on this day's eruption, and in the presence of their majesties, who had been pleased to send for me in the morning, as soon as the volcano became turbulent.

Tuesday, August 10, Vesuvius was quiet.

Wednesday, Aug. 11, about six o'clock in the morning, the fifth and last fever-fit of the mountain came on, and gradually increased. About twelve o'clock, it was at its height*, and very violent indeed,

the explosions being louder than those that attended the former eruptions: we could not judge of the height of the volleys of stones and scoriae, as some rainy clouds were blended with the volcanic ones, and hid the upper part of the cone and crater of Vesuvius from our view.

The same mountains of white cotton-like clouds, piled one over another, rose to such an extraordinary height, and formed such a colossal mass over Vesuvius, as cannot possibly be described, or scarcely imagined. It may have been from a scene of this kind, that the ancient poets took their ideas of the giants waging war with Jupiter.

About five o'clock in the evening the eruption ceased, some rain having fallen this day, which having been greatly impregnated with the corrosive salts of the volcano, did much damage to the vines in its neighbourhood.

Thursday and Friday, Aug. 12 and 13, Vesuvius continued to smoke considerably, and at times slight explosions were heard, like cannon at a great distance; but there have been no more throws from its crater, nor any streams of lava from its flanks, since Wednesday last.

On Saturday, Aug. 15, I went, accompanied by Count Lamberg, the imperial minister at this court, to visit Ottaviano and Caccia-bella, the district which had been most severely treated by the heavy and destructive shower of volcanic mat-

* It has been remarked by the oldest people in the neighbourhood of Vesuvius, that in its eruptions the volcano is subject to a crisis at noon and midnight; and indeed, from my own observation, I believe that remark to be well founded.

ter from the crater of Vesuvius last Sunday night.

Soon after having passed the town of Somma, we began to perceive that the heat of the fiery shower which had fallen in its neighbourhood had affected the leaves of the trees and vines, which we found still more parched and shrivelled in proportion as we approached the town of Ottaviano, which may be about three miles from Somma. At about the distance of a mile from Somma, we began to perceive fresh cinders or scorix of lava, thinly scattered on the road and in the fields. Every step we advanced we found them of a larger dimension, and in greater abundance. At the distance of a mile and a half from Ottaviano, the soil was totally covered by them, and the leaves and fruit were either entirely stripped from the trees, or remained thinly on them, shrivelled and dried up by the intense heat of the volcanic shower.

After having passed through the most fertile country, abounding with trees loaded with fruits of every kind, and the most luxuriant vegetation, through gay villages crowded with chearful inhabitants, to come at once to such a scene of desolation and misery, affording to

our view nothing but heaps of black cinders and ashes, blasted trees, ruined houses, with a few of their scattered inhabitants just returned with ghastly, dismayed countenances, to survey the havoc done to their tenements and habitations, and from which they themselves had with much difficulty escaped alive on Sunday last, was such a melancholy scene, as can neither be described or forgotten.

We found the roof of his Sicilian majesty's sporting seat at Cacciabella much damaged by the fall of large stones and heavy scorix, some of which, after having been broken by their fall through the roof, still weighed upwards of thirty pounds. This place, in a direct line, cannot be less than four miles from the crater of Vesuvius.

The most authentic accounts have been received of the fall of small volcanic stones and cinders (some of which weighed two ounces) at Benevento, Foggia, and Monte Mileto, upwards of thirty miles from Vesuvius*; but what is most extraordinary (as there was but little wind during the eruption of the eighth of August), minute ashes fell thick that very night upon the town of Manfredonia, which is at the distance of an hundred miles from Vesuvius†.

* The Prince of Monte Mileto told me, that his son, the Duke of Popoli, who was at Monte Mileto the 8th of August, had been alarmed by the shower of cinders that fell there, some of which he had sent to Naples, weighing two ounces; and that stones of an ounce had fallen upon an estate of his ten miles farther off. Monte Mileto is about thirty miles from the volcano.

† The Abbe Galini, well known in the literary world, told me, that his sister, a nun in a Convent at Manfredonia, had wrote to enquire after him, imagining that Naples must have been destroyed, when they, at so great a distance, had been so much alarmed by a shower of minute ashes, which fell on that city at eleven o'clock at night, Aug. 8. as to open all the churches, and go to prayers. As the great eruption happened at nine o'clock at night, the ashes must have travelled an hundred miles within the short space of two hours.

These facts seem to confirm the extreme supposed height of the column of fire that issued from the crater of Vesuvius last Sunday night, and are greatly in support of what we find recorded in the history of Vesuvius with respect to the fall of its ashes at an amazing distance, and in a short space of time, during its violent eruptions.

We proceeded from Caccia bella to Ottaviano, which is a mile nearer to Vesuvius, and is reckoned to contain twelve thousand inhabitants. Nothing could be more dismal than the sight of this town, unroofed, half buried under black scorice and ashes; all the windows towards the mountain broken, and some of the houses themselves burnt; the streets choked up with these ashes (in some that were narrow, the stratum was not less than four feet thick); and a few of the inhabitants just returned were employed in clearing them away, and piling up the ashes in hillocks to get at their ruined houses. Others were assembled in little groups, enquiring after their friends and neighbours, relating each other's woes, crossing themselves, and lifting up their eyes to Heaven when they mentioned their miraculous escapes. Some Monks, who were in their convent during the whole of the horrid shower, gave us the following particulars, which they related with solemnity and precision.

The mountain of Somma, at the foot of which Ottaviano is situated, hides Vesuvius from its sight, so

that till the eruption became considerable, it was not visible to them. On Sunday night, when the noise increased, and the fire began to appear above the mountain of Somma, many of the inhabitants of this town flew to the churches, and others were preparing to quit the town, when a sudden violent report was heard; soon after which they found themselves involved in a thick cloud of smoke and minute ashes: a horrid clashing noise was heard in the air, and presently fell a deluge of stones and large scorice, some of which scorice were of the diameter of seven or eight feet, and must have weighed more than an hundred pounds before they were broken by their fall, as some of the fragments of them, which I picked up in the streets, still weighed upwards of sixty pounds. When these large vitrified masses either struck against one another in the air, or fell on the ground, they broke in many pieces, and covered a large space around them with vivid sparks of fire, which communicated their heat to every thing that was combustible*. In an instant the town and country about it was on fire in many parts; for in the vineyards there were several straw huts, which had been erected for the watchmen of the grapes, all of which were burnt. A great magazine of wood in the heart of the town was all in a blaze, and, had there been much wind, the flames must have spread universally, and all the inhabitants would have infallibly been

* These masses were formed of the liquid lava, the exterior parts of which had become black and porous by cooling in the long traverse they had made through the air, whilst the interior parts, less exposed, retained an extreme heat, and were perfectly red.

burnt in their houses, for it was impossible for them to stir out. Some who attempted it with pillows, tables, chairs, the tops of wine casks, &c. on their heads, were either knocked down, or soon driven back to their close quarters under arches, and in the cellars of their houses. Many were wounded, but only two persons have died of the wounds they received from this dreadful volcanic shower. To add to the horror of the scene, incessant volcanic lightning was whisking about the black cloud that surrounded them, and the sulphureous smell and heat would scarcely allow them to draw their breath.

In this miserable and alarming situation they remained about twenty-five minutes, when the volcanic storm ceased all at once, and the frightened inhabitants of Ottaviano, apprehending a fresh attack from the turbulent mountain, hastily quitted the country, after having deposited the sick and bedridden, at their own desire, in the churches.

Had the eruption lasted an hour longer, Ottaviano must have remained exactly in the state of Pompeia, which was buried under the ashes of Vesuvius just 1700 years ago, with most of its inhabitants, whose bones are to this day frequently found under arches and in the cellars of the houses of that ancient city.

We were told of many miracles that had been wrought by the images of saints at this place during the late disaster; but, as they are quite foreign to my purpose, I shall, as usual, pass them over in silence.

The palace of the Prince of Ot-

taiano is situated on an eminence above the town, and nearer the mountain: the steps leading up to it, being deeply covered with volcanic matter, resembled the cone of Vesuvius, and the white marble statues on the balustrade made a singular appearance peeping from under the black ashes, which had entirely covered both the balustrade and their pedestals. The roof of the palace was totally destroyed, and the windows were broken; but the house itself, being strongly built, had not suffered much.

We had an opportunity of seeing here exactly the quality of the dreadful shower, as the volcanic matter which broke through the roof of the palace, and fell into the garrets, on the balconies and in the courts, had not been removed. It was composed of the scorice of fresh lava much vitrified, great and small, mixed with fragments of ancient solid lavas of different sorts: many pieces were enveloped by the new lava, which formed a crust about them; and others were only slightly varnished by the fresh lava. These kind of stones being very compact, and some weighing eight or ten pounds, must have fallen with greater force than the heavier scorice, which were very porous, and had the great surface above-mentioned.

The palace of Ottaviano is built on a thick stratum of ancient lava, which ran from the mountain of Somma when in its active volcanic state. Under this stratum we were shewn three grottoes, from which issues a constant extreme cold wind, and at times with impetuosity, and a noise like water dashing upon rocks. They are

shut up with doors like cellars, and are made use of as such, as also to keep provisions fresh and to cool liquors. I had never seen these *ventaroli* before. In my letter to Dr. Maty, upon the nature of the soil round Naples, I have mentioned others of the same kind that I had met with on Vesuvius, Etna, and in the Island of Ischia*.

We observed, that the tract of country completely covered with a stratum of the volcanic matter above mentioned was about two miles and a half broad, and as much in length, in which space the vines and fruit-trees were totally stripped of their leaves and fruit, and had the appearance of being quite burnt up; but, to my great surprize, having visited that country again two days ago, I saw those very trees, which were apple, pear, peach, and apricot, in blossom again, and some with the fruit already formed, and of the size of hazle nuts. The vines there had also put forth fresh leaves, and were in bloom. Many foxes, hares, and other game, were destroyed by the fiery shower in the district of Somma and Ottaviano†.

His Sicilian majesty, whose goodness of heart inclines him on all occasions to shew his benevolence and assist the unfortunate, has or-

dered a considerable sum of money to be distributed among the unhappy sufferers of Ottaviano and its neighbourhood.

On the 18th of September I went upon Mount Vesuvius, accompanied by Lord Herbert and my usual guide. We could not possibly reach its crater, being covered with a thick smoke, too sulphureous and offensive to be encountered; neither would it have been prudent to have ventured up, had there not been that impediment, as it was evident, from the loud reports we heard from time to time, that there existed still a great fermentation within the bowels of the volcano. We therefore contented ourselves with examining the effects of the late extraordinary eruption on its cone, and in the valley between it and the mountain of Somma.

The conical part of Vesuvius is now covered with fragments of lava and scoriæ, which makes the ascent much more difficult and troublesome than when it was only covered with minute ashes. The particularity of this last eruption was, that the lava which usually ran out of the flanks of the volcano, forming cascades, rivers, and rivulets of liquid fire, was now chiefly thrown up from its crater in the form of a gigantic fountain

* At Cesi, in the Roman State, towards the Adriatic, there are many such *ventaroli*; and the inhabitants of that town, by means of leaden pipes, conduct the fresh air from them into the very rooms of their houses, so that by turning a cock they can cool them to any degree. Some who have refined still more upon this luxury, by smaller pipes, bring this cold air under the dining table, so as to cool the bottle of liquor upon it.

† Having had the honour of being on a shooting party lately with the King of Naples, at the foot of Vesuvius and Somma, several dead hares were found, and we killed others whose backs were quite bare, the fur having been singed off of them by the hot ashes.

of fire*, which falling still in some degree of fusion, has, in a manner, cased up the conical part of Vesuvius with a stratum of hard scoriæ: on the side next the mountain of Somma, that stratum is surely more than one hundred feet thick, forming a high ridge. The valley between Vesuvius and Somma has received such a prodigious quantity of lava and other volcanic matter during this last eruption, that it is raised, as is imagined, two hundred and fifty feet or more. Three such eruptions as the last would completely fill up the valley, and, by uniting Vesuvius and Somma, form them into one mountain, as they most probably were before the great eruption in the reign of Titus. In short, I found the whole face of Vesuvius

changed. Those curious channels, in which the lava ran in the month of May last, are all buried. The volcano appears to have likewise encreased in height; the form of the crater is changed, a great piece of its rim towards Somma being wanting; and on the side towards the sea it is also broken. There are some very large cracks towards the point of the cone of the volcano, which makes it probable, that more of the borders of the crater will fall in. The ridge of fresh volcanic matter on the cone of Vesuvius towards Somma, and the thick stratum in the valley, are likewise full of cracks, from which there issues a constant sulphureous smoke that tinges them and the circumjacent scoriæ and cinders with a deep yellow, or

* Sorrentino mentions, in his *Istoria del Vesuvio*, that the volcano in 1676 vented itself in the like manner: "Non a torrenti modo mando fuori le sue viscere, ma tutti in aria menolla." Such wonderful, violent, and sudden emissions of liquid lava must have been occasioned by some accidental and extraordinary cause; and I was inclined to think, that a sudden communication of water with the lava in fusion might be the occasion of such a phenomenon, particularly as we know that pools of rain-water have been found formerly in caverns within the bowels of Vesuvius; and that a river, supposed to be that anciently called *Draco*, and which was buried by an ancient eruption, burst out some years ago with such force, from under a *stratum* of lava at Torre del Greco, as to be sufficient to turn mills there; but a late curious experiment, mentioned by *Monf. de Faujas*, in his *Recherches sur les Volcans éteints*, p. 176, seems to contradict my supposition; and that water introduced to the furnace of a volcano, finding there a more rarefied air, would not produce an explosion. *Monf. Deslaudes*, Director of the Royal Manufacture of Looking glasses at St. Gobin, made the following experiment in 1768, in the presence of the Duke de la Rochefoucault, *Monf. de Faujas*, and others. He poured some water upon a quantity of glass in fusion, and which had been in that state in the crucible for twelve hours. The water did not occasion the least fermentation; but, on the contrary, rolled upon its surface, without even producing any smoke; and after having become seemingly red-hot, like the metal in fusion, disappeared in about three minutes, without having occasioned the least explosion. If the great emissions of lava above-mentioned were not then occasioned by water mixing with the lava, may not they have been produced by violent subterraneous exhalations having forced their way into the cauldron of the volcano (if I may be allowed the expression) replete with matter in fusion, and blown its whole contents, with what even opposed its passage, at once into the air.

sometimes a white tint. These last mentioned cracks, though deep, do not, as I apprehend, pass the stratum formed by the last eruption, and which, from its extreme thickness, particularly in the valley, will probably retain a great degree of heat for some years to come, as did a thick stratum of lava that ran into the *fossé grande* in the year 1767.

The number and size of the stones, or, more properly speaking, of the fragments of lava which have been thrown out of the volcano in the course of the last eruption, and which lie scattered thick on the cone of Vesuvius, and at the foot of it, is really incredible. The largest we measured was in circumference no less than one hundred and eight English feet, and seventeen feet high. It is a solid block, and is much vitrified: in some parts of it there are large pieces of pure glass, of a brown yellow colour, like that of which our common bottles are made, and throughout its pores seem to be filled with perfect vitrifications of the same sort. The spot where it alighted is plainly marked by a deep impression almost at the foot of the cone of the volcano, and it took three bounds before it settled, as is plainly perceived by the marks it has left on the ground, and by the stones which it has pounded to atoms under its prodigious weight. When we consider the enormous size and weight of such a solid mass, thrown at least

a quarter of a mile clear of the mouth of the volcano, we can but admire the wonderful powers of nature, of which, being so very seldom within the reach of human inspection, we are in general too apt to judge upon much too small a scale.

Another solid block of ancient lava, sixty-six feet in circumference, and nineteen feet high, being nearly of a spherical shape, was thrown out at the same time, and lies near the former. This stone, which has the marks of having been rounded, nay, almost polished, by continual rolling in torrents, or on the sea-shore, and which yet has been so undoubtedly thrown out of the volcano, may be the subject of curious speculations*. Another block of solid lava that was thrown much farther, and lies in the valley between the cone of Vesuvius and the Hermitage, is sixteen feet high, and ninety-two feet in circumference, though it plainly appears, by the large fragments that lie round, and were detached from it by the shock of its fall, that it must have been twice as considerable when in the air.

There are thousands of very large fragments of different species of ancient and modern lavas, that lie scattered by the late explosions on the cone of Vesuvius, and in the vallies at its foot; but these three were the largest of those we measured†.

We

* Or may not this stone be a spherical volcanic basalt, such as one of forty-five feet in circumference, described by Monsr. Faujas de St. Fond, in p. 155. of his curious book on the subject of extinguished volcanos?

† We measured two other stones in the valley between Somma and Vesuvius; the one was twenty two feet and a half long, thirteen feet and a half broad, and

We found also many fragments of those volcanic bombs that burst in the air, as mentioned in the former part of this journal; and some entire, having fallen to the ground without bursting. The fresh red-hot and liquid lava having been thrown up with numberless fragments of ancient lavas, the latter were often closely enveloped by the former; and probably when such fragments of lava were porous and full of air bubbles, as is often the case, the extreme outward heat suddenly rarefying the confined air, caused an explosion. When these fragments were of a more compact lava they did not explode, but were simply enclosed by the fresh lava, and acquired a spherical form by whirling in the air, or rolling down the steep sides of the volcano.

The shell or outward coat of the bombs that burst, and of which we found several pieces, was always composed of fresh lava, in which many splinters of the more ancient lava that had been enclosed are seen sticking. I was much pleased with this discovery, having been greatly puzzled for an explanation of this volcanic operation, which was new to me, and which was very frequent during the eruption of the 9th of August.

The phenomenon of the natural spun-glass which fell at Ottaiano with the ashes on the 5th of August, was likewise clearly explained to me here. I have already mentioned, that the lava thrown up by this eruption was in general more perfectly vitrified than that of any former eruption, which appeared plainly upon a nearer ex-

amination of the fragments of fresh lava, the pores of which we generally found full of a pure vitrification, and the scorix themselves, upon a close examination with a magnifying glass, appeared like a confused heap of filaments, of a foul vitrification. When a piece of the solid fresh lava had been cracked in its fall without separating entirely, we always saw capillary fibres of perfect glass, reaching from side to side within the cracks. If I may be allowed a mean comparison, which, however, conveys the idea of what I wish to explain better than any other I can think of, this lava resembled a rich Parmesan cheese, which, when broken and gently separated, spins out transparent filaments from the little cells that contained the clammy liquor of which those filaments were composed. The natural spun-glass then that fell at Ottaiano during this eruption, as well as that which fell in the Isle of Bourbon in the year 1766, must have been formed most probably by the operation of such a sort of lava as has been just described, cracking and separating in the air at the time of its emission from the craters of the volcanos, and by that means spinning out the pure vitrified matter from its pores or cells, the wind at the same time carrying off those filaments of glass as fast as they were produced.

I observed sticking to some very large fragments of the new lava, which were of a close grain, some pieces of a substance, whose texture very much resembled that of a true pumice-stone; and upon a

ten feet high; the other eleven feet and a half high, and seventy-two feet in circumference.

close

close examination, and having separated them from the lava, I perceived that this substance had actually been forced out of the minute pores of the solid stone itself, and was a collection of fine vitreous fibres or filaments, confounded together at the time of their being pressed out by the contraction of the large fragments of lava in cooling, and which had bent downwards by their own weight. This curious substance has the lightness of a pumice, and resembles it in every respect, except being of a darker colour.

When the pores of the fresh solid lava were large and filled with pure vitrified matter, we found that matter sometimes blown into bubbles on its surface, I suppose by the air which had been forced out at the time the lava contracted itself in cooling: those bubbles being thin, shewed that this volcanic glass has the kind of transparency of our common glass bottles, and is like them of a dirty yellow colour. I detached with a hammer some large pieces of this kind of glass, as big as my fist, which adhered to, and was incorporated with, some of the larger fragments of lava, and, though of the same kind, from their thickness they appeared perfectly black, and were opaque.

Another particularity is remarkable in the lava of this eruption: many detached pieces of it are in the shape of a barley-corn, or of a plumb-stone, small at each end, and thick in the middle. We picked up several, and saw many more which were too heavy for us to carry off, for they must have weighed more than sixty pounds; some of the smaller ones did not

weigh an ounce. I suppose them to be drops from the liquid fountain of fire of the 8th of August, which might very naturally acquire such a form in their fall; but the peasants in the neighbourhood of Vesuvius are well convinced that they are the thunder-bolts that fell with the volcanic lightning.

We found many of the volcanic bombs, or, properly speaking, round balls of fresh lava, large and small; all of which have a *nucleus*, composed of a fragment of more ancient and solid lava. There were also some other curious vitrifications, very different from any I had ever seen before, mixed with the late fallen shower of huge *scoriae* and masses of lava.

Though I have endeavoured to be as particular and clear as possible in the description I have given of the curious substances produced by the late eruption of Vesuvius, yet, as specimens of those substances will explain more at one sight than I can pretend to do by whole pages in writing, I shall not fail to send you, by the first favourable opportunity, a collection of them, which I have set apart for that purpose, particularly as I flatter myself they may serve to give some light into a hitherto obscure subject: I mean, the nature and manner of the formation of pumice-stones.

Vesuvius continues to smoke considerably, and we had a slight shock of an earthquake yesterday; so that I do not think, notwithstanding the late eruptions having been so very considerable, that the volcano has vented itself so sufficiently as to remain long quiet.

I must now, Sir, beg your pardon if I have trespassed too much upon

upon your time: I meant to be short, clear, and explicit; and if, by aiming at the two latter, I have failed in the former, I hope I shall be excused, and that you will please to take the will for the deed.

I am, &c.

Relation of the recent Eruption of Mount Ætna.

TOWARDS the end of January, many reiterated shocks of an earthquake were felt in different parts of Sicily; and from that time it was observed, that Ætna emitted a thick smoke from its center, which extended commonly to the east. A new eminence was next observed on the western side of the mountain, visible at the distance of more than 50 miles, the certain sign of a local explosion.

The 28th of March and the 8th of April, the earthquakes were felt with more violence, in direction from north to south, and the smoke of the volcano augmented considerably; insomuch that, on the 28th of April, it was perceived to rise from the crater in the form of a straight and lofty pine, its head lost in the clouds, and casting out small fragments of a bituminous pumice-stone to the circumference of more than twenty miles. This continued till the 17th of May, when the smoke suddenly ceased.

The 18th of May, towards noon, a violent shock with a subterraneous trembling was heard on the mountain, and at six in the evening a mouth appeared at the foot of an ancient extinguished volcano, called Mount Frumento, very near the confines of the second region

of Ætna. The fire flowed from it like a river, and, entering a neighbouring valley, called Del Uffienza, it overran, in an instant, the space of half a league in the plain del Carpintero and delle Mandre del Favo, and then precipitated itself into the valley del Neve, rising to the height of a hundred feet.

At nine o'clock the mountain opened at two places lower still, on the land called li Scoperti di Palermo. These two openings, being very near each other, soon formed but one, the fire taking a direction to the west, where the first lava flowed. They each united in the plain called de Santi, and overran the space of one-third of a mile. The first lava again separated itself from the others, continuing its course alone in the valley del Uffienza, where it flowed again, although more slowly, threatening the country of la Malta, and the lands of the Cavalier, which belong to the Benedictines of Catania. The two other lavas took a direction towards Mount Parmentelli; the base of which, to the extent of about two miles, they quite surrounded, then flowing by the east of Mount del Mazzo, they extended along the vineyards of Rugalira, and, after having successively overran the space of three leagues, they stopped on the 25th of May. The greatest breadth of this branch was one mile, and its elevation about five feet.

During the night of the 26th, a new mouth opened at the foot of Mount Parmentelli, in the middle of the lava. This volcano, for more than an hour, threw out stones of a prodigious size, and to
a very

a very considerable height. The fire next opened itself a passage, dividing into two branches, the first to the west of the Mount del Mazzo, which it enclosed, and the other along the wood and vineyards of Rugalira for about a league.

At the end of five days the fire seemed to be diminished, and advanced but very slowly; but it was soon perceived again in a very sensible degree; and on the 5th of this month [July] threw out such a prodigious quantity, that the arm of the lava, which was then only thirty feet broad, augmented to fifty, in about half an hour, and it still continues with the same force. But as it finds the first lava cooled, it runs upon it, raising it to the height of more than thirty feet, in throwing it up forward, and on the sides; so that if the resistance this new lava is obliged to combat retards its progress, it nevertheless extends it in breadth, and produces the same destructive effects.

On the surface of this lava, in almost its whole extent, we observe evaporations, or globes of fire of different colours, according to the greater or less quantity of bitumen, sulphur, arsenic, and vitriol, of which the mass is composed, and which the chymists, who have analyzed it, say is very plentiful.

The damage already caused by this eruption is estimated at 40,000 Sicilian crowns; but many persons apprehend it to be more consi-

derable. The lava continues its course towards Palermo, from whence it is now distant no more than eight miles; and this is the richest and best cultivated country of Mount Ætna.

Of the Effects of Volcanos, and of the hot Springs, in Iceland. From Dr. Von Troil's Letters.

WE cast anchor not far from Bessledr, the dwelling-place of the celebrated Sturleson, where we found two tracts of lava called *Gorde* and *Hualey-re-Hraun* (for what we and the Italians call lava is in Iceland called *Hraun*, from *Hrimma*, to flow) of which the last particularly was remarkable, since we found there, besides a whole field covered with lava, which must have been liquid in the highest degree, whole mountains of turf. Chance had directed us exactly to a spot on which we could better, than on any other part of Iceland, consider the operations of a fire which had laid waste a tract of ten or twelve miles*. We spent several days here in examining every thing with so much the more pleasure; for we found ourselves, as it were, in a new world.

We had now seen almost all the effects of a volcano, except the crater, from which the fire had proceeded: in order therefore to examine this likewise, we undertook a journey of twelve days to Mount Heckla itself; we travelled

* The miles mentioned by Dr. Troil are always Swedish, ten and a half of which are equal to a degree on one of the great circles of the globe; and therefore, one Swedish mile is nearly equal to six English statute-miles. Ten or twelve miles are therefore sixty or seventy-two English miles.

fifty or sixty miles * over an interrupted track of lava, and gained the pleasure of being the first who ever reached the summit of this celebrated volcano. The cause that no one had been there before is partly founded in superstition, and partly in the extreme difficulty of the ascent before the last eruption of fire. There was not one of our company who did not wish to have his cloaths a little singed, only for the sake of seeing Heckla in a blaze; and we almost flattered ourselves with this hope, for the bishop of Skallholt had informed us by letter, in the night between the 5th and 6th of September, the day before our arrival, flames had proceeded from it; but now the mountain was more quiet than we wished. We however passed our time very agreeably, from one o'clock in the night till two next day, in visiting the mountain. We were even so happy, that the clouds which covered the greatest part of it dispersed towards evening, and procured us the most extensive prospect imaginable. The mountain is something above five thousand feet high, and separates at the top into three points, of which that in the middle is the highest. The most inconsiderable part of the mountain consists of lava, the rest is ashes, with hard, solid stones thrown from the craters, together with some pumice-stones, of which we found only a small piece, with a little native sulphur. A description of the various kinds of stones to be found here would be too prolix, and partly unintelligible; and I so much the more

willingly omit it, as I hope to satisfy your curiosity, as soon as the collection I made of them arrives in Sweden.

Amongst many other craters or openings, four were peculiarly remarkable; the first, the lava of which had taken the form of stacks of chimneys, half broken down; another, from which water had streamed; a third, all the stones of which were red as brick; and lastly, one from which the lava had burst forth in a stream, and was divided at some distance into three arms. I have said before, that we were not so happy to see Heckla vomit fire; but there were sufficient traces of its burning inwardly; for on the upper half of it, covered over with four or five inches deep of snow, we frequently observed spots without any snow; and on the highest point, where Fahrenheit's thermometer was at 24° in the air, it rose to 153° when it was set down on the ground; and in some little holes it was so hot, that we could no longer observe the heat with a small pocket thermometer. It is not known whether, since the year 1693, Heckla has been burning till 1766, when it began to vomit flames on the first of April, burnt for a long while, and destroyed the country many miles around. Last December some flames likewise proceeded from it; and the people in the neighbourhood believe it will begin to burn again very soon, as they pretend to have observed, that the rivers thereabouts are drying up. It is believed that this proceeds from the mountain's attracting the water, and is confi-

* Three hundred or three hundred and sixty English miles.

dered as a certain sign of an impending eruption. Besides this, the mountains of Myvatn and Kattlegia are known in this century, on account of the violent eruptions of the former, between the years 1730 and 1740, and of the latter in 1756.

But permit me, Sir, to omit a farther account of the volcano at this time *, in order to speak of another effect of the fire, which is more curious and as wonderful as the first, therefore must be the more remarkable, as there is not in any part of the known world any thing that resembles it; I mean the hot springs of water which abound in Iceland †.

They have different degrees of warmth, and are on that account divided by the inhabitants themselves into *lauger*, or warm baths, and *buerer*, or springs that throw up the water to a considerable height; the first are found in several other parts of Europe, though I do not believe that they are employed to the same purposes in any other place; that is to say, the inhabitants do not bathe in them here merely for their health, but they are likewise the occasion for a scene of gallantry. Poverty prevents here the lover from making presents to his fair one, and nature presents no flowers of which garlands elsewhere are made: it is therefore customary, that instead of all this the swain perfectly cleanses one of these baths, which is to be afterwards honoured with the visits of his bride. The other kind of springs mentioned above deserves

more attention. I have seen a great number of them; but will only say something of three of the most remarkable. Near Laugervatn, a small lake of about a mile in circumference, which is about two days journey distant from Heckla, I saw the first hot spouting springs; and I must confess that it was one of the most beautiful sights I ever beheld. The morning was uncommonly clear, and the sun had already begun to gild the tops of the neighbouring mountains; it was so perfect a calm, that the lake on which some swans were swimming was as smooth as a looking-glass, and round about it arose, in eight different places, the steam of the hot springs, which lost itself high in the air.

Water was spouting from all these springs; but one in particular continually threw up in the air a column from 18 to 24 feet high, and from 6 to 8 feet diameter; the water was extremely hot. A piece of mutton, and some salmon trouts, as likewise a ptarmigan, were almost boiled to pieces in six minutes, and tasted excellently. I wish it was in my power, Sir, to give you a description of this place as it deserves; but I fear it would always remain inferior in point of expression. So much is certain at least, nature never drew from any one a more cheerful homage to her great Creator than I here paid him.

At Reikium was another spout of the same sort; the water of which, I was assured, rose to 60 or 70 feet perpendicular height some years

* Dr. Troil treats more at large of the Icelandic volcanoes in his 18th and 19th letters; and in the 20th he speaks more particularly of Mount Heckla.

† The 21st letter treats more fully of the hot springs in Iceland.

ago; but a fall of earth having almost covered the whole opening, it now spouted only between 54 and 60 feet sideways. We found here a great many petrified leaves in this place, as likewise some native sulphur, of which also the water had a much stronger taste than any where else.

I have reserved the most remarkable water-spout for the end; the description of which will appear as incredible to you as it did to me, could I not assure you that it is all perfectly true, for I would not aver any thing but what I have seen myself. At Geyser, not far from Skallholt, one of the episcopal sees in Iceland, a most extraordinary large spouting fountain is to be seen, with which the celebrated water-works at Marley and St. Cloud, and at Cassel, and Herrenhausen near Hanover, can hardly be compared. One sees here, within the circumference of half a mile*, 40 or 50 boiling springs together, which, I believe, all proceed from one and the same reservoir. In some the water is perfectly clear, in others thick and clayey; in some, where it passes through a fine ochre, it is tinged red as scarlet; and in others, where it flows over a paler clay, it is white as milk.

The water spouts up from all, from some continually, from others only at intervals. The largest spring, which is in the midate, particularly engaged our attention the whole day that we spent here, from six in the morning till seven at night. The aperture through which the water arose, and the depth of which I cannot deter-

mine, was 19 feet in diameter; round the top of it is a basin, which, together with the pipe, has the form of a cauldron; the margin of the basin is upwards of nine feet one inch higher than the conduit, and its diameter is of fifty-six feet. Here the water does not spout continually, but only by intervals several times a day; and, as I was informed by the people in the neighbourhood, in bad rainy weather, higher than at other times.

On the day that we were there, the water spouted at ten different times, from six in the morning till eleven A. M. each time, to the height of between five and ten fathoms; till then the water had not risen above the margin of the pipe, but now it began by degrees to fill the upper basin, and at last ran over. The people who were with us told us, that the water would soon spout up much higher than it had done till then, and this appeared very credible to us. To determine its height therefore, with the utmost accuracy, Dr. Lind, who had accompanied us on this voyage in the capacity of an astronomer, set up his quadrant.

Soon after four o'clock we observed that the earth began to tremble in three different places, as likewise the top of a mountain, which was about three hundred fathoms distant from the mouth of the spring. We also frequently heard a subterraneous noise like the discharge of a cannon; and immediately after a column of water spouted from the opening, which at a great height divided

* About three English miles,

itself into several rays, and, according to the observations made with the quadrant, was ninety-two feet high. Our great surprize at this uncommon force of the air and fire was yet increased, when many stones, which we had flung into the aperture, were thrown up again with the spouting water. You can easily conceive, Sir, with how much pleasure we spent the day here; and indeed, I am not much surprized, that a people so much inclined to superstition as the Icelanders are, imagine this to be the entrance of hell; for this reason they seldom pass one of these openings without spitting into it; or, as they say, *ut i fundens mun*, into the devil's mouth.

Of the Basaltic Pillars. From Professor Berginen's Letter to Dr. Troil.

OF all the mountains hitherto known, there are without doubt not any more remarkable than those that are composed of angular pillars. A few years ago only one or two of this kind were known; but new ones are daily discovered, which is a plain proof how much our attention requires being roused to prevent it from slumbering, on the most important occasions.

It cannot be much doubted that there has been some connections between these pillars, and the effects of a subterraneous fire, as they are found in places where the signs of fire are yet visible; and as they are even found mixed with lava, tuff, and other substances produced by fire.

The cause of the regular form of

these pillars is a problem which we have hitherto been unable to solve satisfactorily. This difficulty has appeared so insurmountable to some, that they have thought it impossible to be the effects of nature, and have considered them as works made by human hands: this idea betrays the utmost ignorance in regard to the true nature of these mountains of pillars, and does not even deserve a refutation.

As far as we know, nature makes use of three methods to produce regular forms in the mineral kingdom, namely, that of crystallization or precipitation: 2dly, the crusting or settling of the external surface of a liquid mass whilst it is cooling: and, 3dly, the bursting of a moist substance whilst it is drying.

The first method is the most common, but to all appearance nature has not made use of this in the present case. Crystals are seldom or never found in any considerable quantity running in the same direction, but either inclining from one another, or, what is still more common, placed towards one another in several sloping directions. They are also generally separated a little from one another, when they are regular; the nature of the thing likewise requires this; because the several particles, of which the crystals are composed, must have the liberty of following that power which affects their regular disposition.

The basalt columns, on the contrary, whose height are frequently from thirty to forty feet, are placed parallel to one another in considerable numbers, and so close together that the point of a knife can hardly be introduced between them. Besides, in most places,

places, each pillar is divided into several parts or joints, that seem to be placed upon one another; and indeed it is not uncommon for crystals to be formed above one another in different layers, when the solvent has been visibly diminished at different times; but then the upper crystals never fit so exactly upon the lower ones as to produce connected prisms of the same length and depth as all the strata taken together, but each stratum separately forms its own crystals.

How then can the Giant's Causeway, in the county of Antrim, Fingal's Cave at Staffa, and all other assemblages of pillars of the same kind, be considered as crystallizations? Precipitation, both in the wet and dry manner, requires that the particles should be free enough to fix themselves in a certain order; and as this is not practicable in a large melted mass, no crystallizations appear in it, except on its surface, or in its cavities.

Add to this, that the basalts in a fresh fracture do not shew a plain smooth surface under the microscope, but appear sometimes like grains of different magnitude, and at other times resemble fine rays running in different directions, that do not correspond with the internal structure of the crystals, which I have endeavoured to examine in another place.

From what I have hitherto mentioned, the opinion that the basalts have been produced by crystallization, becomes at least less probable, whether we admit the wet or dry method. But I must not omit that the spars exhibit a kind of crystallization, which at first

sight resembles a heap of basalts; but, upon a closer examination, a very great difference is observed. The form of the spar is every where alike, but the basalts differ from one another in point of size and number of sides; the former, when broken, consists of many small unequal cubes, but the basalt does not separate in regular parts, &c.

Nature's second method to produce regular forms is that of crustifying the outer surface of a melted mass, by a sudden refrigeration. Nature, to effect this purpose, makes use of polyedrous and irregular forms. If we suppose a considerable bed, which is become fluid by fire, and spread over a plain, it evidently appears that the surface must first of all lose the degree of heat requisite for melting, and begin to congeal; but the cold requisite for this purpose likewise contracts the uppermost congealed stratum into a narrower space, and consequently causes it to separate from the remaining liquid mass, as the side exposed to the air is already too stiff to give way. In this manner a stratum is produced running in a parallel direction with the whole mass, others still are produced by the same cause, in proportion as the refrigeration penetrates deeper.

Hence we may, in my opinion, very plainly see how a bed may be divided into strata. In the same manner the refrigeration advances on the sides, and consequently divides the strata into polyedrous pieces of pillars, that can hardly ever be exactly square, as the strongest refrigeration into the inner parts of the mass advances almost in a diagonal line from the corners. If we add to this, that

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a large mass cannot be equal throughout its composition, nor every where liquid in the same degree, it will be easy to discover the cause of several irregularities. If the depth of the bed is very considerable, in proportion to its breadth, prismatic pillars, without cross-divisions, are produced, at least lengthways from the uppermost surface downwards.

The third way is perfectly similar to the preceding in respect to the effect, but is different from it by the mass being soaked with water, and by the bursting of it asunder, which is the effect of the contraction whilst it is drying. If we suppose such a bed to be spread over a level space, the drying advances in the same manner as the refrigeration in the former case.

This separation into strata properly happens when a considerable quantity of clay enters into the whole composition, because the clay decreases more than any other kind of earth in drying.

We must now examine which of these two ways may best serve to explain the manner in which the basalts are produced, for it is hardly possible that they should have been formed by crystallization.

However well founded the opinion may appear of deducing them from a melted substance, several very considerable objections may nevertheless be raised against it, that I shall not forget to mention. It seems therefore more credible to me, that they have been produced out of their substance whilst it was yet soft, or at least not too hard to be softened by exhalations. If we therefore suppose that a bed is spread over a place where a volcano

begins to work, it is evident that a great quantity of the water, always present on these occasions, is driven upwards in exhalations or vapours; these it is well known possess a penetrating softening power, by means of which they also produce their first effect; but when they are increased to a sufficient quantity, they force this tough moist substance upwards, which then gradually falls, and during this time bursts in the manner described above.

My reasons for this opinion are these; first, we do not find the internal grain of the basalts melted or vitrified, which however soon happens by fusion, and for that purpose a very small degree of fire only is requisite. It consequently is very hard to explain how this substance could have been so fluid, that no traces of bubbles appear in it (at least I have not been able to discover any on the nicest examination into the Scotch and Icelandic basalts) and yet when broken appear dull and uneven. I know very well that lava is seldom vitrified within; but the great number of bubbles and pores which are found in the whole mass, are more than sufficient proofs that it has not been perfectly melted to its smallest parts, but has only been brought to be near fluid.

Secondly, the basalts so much resemble the more fine trapp, both in respect to their grain and original composition, that they can hardly be distinguished in small fragments, as will be more plainly proved in the comparison I hereafter make. See No. 24.

But the trapp in all probability has never been melted, at least not in those parts where I have had

had opportunities of examining it.

Almost in all the West Gothia stratified mountains, the uppermost stratum is trapp; and it must be properly observed that it always lies upon black allum slate. Is it therefore credible that this substance, which in many places exceeds a hundred yards in depth, can have been perfectly melted without causing the slate lying beneath it to lose some part of its blackness, even in those places where they touch one another, as this effect may be produced in a small culinary fire?

There is besides a more fine kind of trapp, which is generally found in veins or loads, and frequently in very antient mountains, where not the least traces of subterranean fire are to be seen.

The basalt mountains seem to be very antient, at least I do not know that the age of any one is ascertained. Should they then be so old, that the substance of the trapp was not yet perfectly hardened, when were they produced? Besides, we frequently find to this day clayey substances at a great depth, which are so soft that they may be scraped by the nail, but afterwards become very hard when exposed to the air.

There have without doubt been many eruptions of fire on the isle of Staffa, as the situation of the pillars, and their being removed out of their places, evidently prove.

You, Sir, have likewise brought a very clear proof of this from thence, which is a piece of basalt, that exteriorly is full of hollows, and in a manner burnt.

A hard substance, when exposed

to a degree of heat insufficient to melt the whole piece, may however be attacked by it in some parts of the surface most liable to become fluid. The mixture of a large mass is seldom every where so uniform, that some parts should not be more liable to melt than others.

Crooked pillars may be produced as well by the drying as the refrigeration of a liquid mass; for this purpose it is only necessary that the surface should be bent, as the stratum always runs in a parallel direction with it.

From what I have hitherto said, you will perceive it is my opinion, that the basalts have been produced by the assistance of a subterranean fire, but that it is not yet determined whether they have been separated by the fusion, or by drying: this last however appears more credible to me on account of the reasons I have mentioned. For to speak strictly, the substances inclosed in the basalts, though they should even be volcanic, do not yet with certainty prove a preceding fusion, as a substance softened by water may be as proper for it as one fused by fire. I am, however, very far from being inclined to maintain my opinion any farther than it agrees with certain experiments and observations.

Truth will sooner or later be discovered; and I know nothing more derogatory to the honour of a natural historian, than having wilfully obstructed its knowledge.

Homo naturæ minister & interpret, tantum facit & intelligit, quantum de naturæ ordine, re vel mente observaverit, nec amplius scit aut potest. Baco.

Natural History of the Grana Kermes, or, Scarlet grain. From Dillon's Travels through Spain.

AMONGST the various and valuable productions with which the beneficent hand of nature has enriched the dominions of Spain, the *Grana Kermes* is chiefly deserving of attention. This valuable production had been considerably neglected in that kingdom since the importation of cochineal from America; however, the royal Junta de Comercio, or board of trade at Madrid, having an eye to the further advantages to be drawn from this precious article, gave orders a few years ago to Don Juan Pablo Canals, director general of the madder and dyes of Spain, to report the state of this product; and to him I am indebted for the present information on this subject.

The grana kermes is the *coccus baphica* of the Greeks; the vermiculus, or coccum infectorium of the Romans; and the kermes, al-kermes, of the Arabs; being the ingredient with which the ancients used to dye their garments of that beautiful grain colour, called coccineus, coccineus, or cocceus, different from the purpura of the Phœnicians, which at first had been obtained from that testaceous

fish, called the murex*. But in course of time the purple colour and other tints having been more easily effected by means of the kermes, the murex was neglected on account of the expence, and the kermes we are now speaking of, was introduced; which giving a stronger and brighter colour, was universally adopted, and supported its reputation for ages, till the discovery of America; as is evident from the many old tapestries, damasks, and velvet hangings, still preserved in cathedrals, which seem yet to retain their primitive lustre and brightness†.

In the reign of Lewis the fourteenth, Giles and John Gobelin, in the year 1667, under the patronage of Colbert, introduced the secret into France of dying woollen of that beautiful scarlet called after their name, which was done with the kermes that had been long in use in Flanders, where many old pieces of tapestry, though above two hundred years old, had scarcely lost any thing of their bloom. But cochineal, being now introduced into the dyehouse, so called from the Latin word *coccinella*, as a diminutive of *coccum*, and giving that brightness to scarlet, at first called Dutch, and afterwards Paris scarlet, the invention of which, according to Kun-

* Though the dye obtained from the murex was thought to have been lost, it seems to be known on the coasts of England, France, Spain, and the West Indies, though neglected on account of the great trouble and expence. See Padre Feijoo Theat. critico, tom 6. disc. 4. According to Gage, they find a shell fish in the seas of the Spanish West Indies, which perfectly resembles the ancient purpura, and in all probability is the same. Cloth of Segovia dyed with it, used to sell for 20 crowns the ell, and none but the greatest Spanish lords wore it. Don Antonio de Ulloa also gives a particular account of this fish, and the use made of it in America.

† This was the colour called *carmesi*, by the Spaniards; *cramoisi*, by the French; and *crimson*, by the English.

kel, is owing to Kuster, a German, by means of a solution of tin in aqua regia; the kermes then began to decline, and yield in its turn as the murex had done before, of which Colbert makes a particular complaint, in his general instructions to the dyers of France, in the year 1671*. Insensibly, the kermes was totally laid aside, and cochineal made use of, not only in yarns, but also in silk; this new method being every where in fashion, except at Venice, and in Persia, for scarlet, and in other parts of the east for crimson.

The ancients thought the kermes was a gall-nut on account of its figure and size, not being larger than a juniper berry, round, smooth, glossy, and rather black, with a cinereous down. It is found sticking to the branches, or tender leaves of the oak called in Spain *cofcoxa*, a derivative of the Latin word *cusculium*, the *coccus illicis* of Linneus, likewise called *carrafea* in Spanish, from the Arabic word *yxquerlat*, softened afterwards to *esearlata*; being the smallest species of oak, the same which Caspar Bauhine and other botanists call *ilex aculeata cocci-glandifera*.

This tree, whose height is about two or three feet, grows in Spain, Provence, Languedoc, and along the Mediterranean coast; also in Galatia, Armenia, Syria, and

Persia, where it was first made use of.

Joseph Moya, a Catalan writer of the last century, published a treatise entitled *Ramillet de Tinturas*, dedicated to the city of Barcelona, under the feigned name of Pheño Mayo. He says, the kermes is common all over Spain, principally in that part of Aragon bordering on Catalonia, in Valencia, and in the bishoprick of Badajoz in Estremadura, as likewise in Setimbre of Portugal, where it is the best, and equal to the kermes of Galatia and Armenia. Mr. Hellot of the French academy of sciences, in his Art of Dying, chap. 12. says it is found in the woods of Vauvert, Vendeman, and Narbonne; but more abundantly in Spain, towards Alicante, and Valencia. It not only abounds in Valencia, but also in Murcia, Jaen, Cordova, Seville, Estremadura, la Mancha, Serranias de Cuenca, and other places.

In Xixona and Tierra de Rellou, there is a district, called De la Grana, where the people of Valencia first began to gather it, whose example was followed all over Spain. It has, some years, produced thirty thousand dollars (5000l.) to the inhabitants of Xixona. In the year 1758, there went out of that town, Rellou, Buffot, Castilla, Ibi, Tibi, Unil, Santa faz, Muchiamel, and San Juan de la Huerta de Alicante,

* "As the Phœnicians neglected the antient purple, and gave a preference to the scarlet, whose colour is less costly and more beautiful; just so, the French have forsaken our scarlet for that of the Dutch. This new-invented colour was at first in esteem on account of its brightness; but being less durable than that of France, and under a notion that they were both equally liable to spots, they were soon laid aside, which occasioned the downfall of our most valuable cloth manufactures."

above a thousand persons to gather the kermes, which was afterwards sent to Alicant, where it was put into casks for exportation, being chiefly shipped for Genoa and Leghorn, passing from thence to Tunis. In the same year, 1758, they gathered about 300 arrobes of kermes at Xixona, which sold for about twenty-four dollars (41.) the arrobe*, with about six per cent. duty and shipping charges, till on board. In the kingdom of Seville it is put up to public sale, and is generally bought by the people of the neighbourhood, who sell it again for exportation to the merchants of Cadiz.

Both antients and moderns seem to have had very confused notions concerning the origin and nature of the kermes; some considering it as a fruit, without a just knowledge of the tree which produced it; others, taking it for an excrescence formed by the puncture of a particular fly, the same as the common gall observed upon oaks. Tournesfort was of this number. Count Marfigli, and Dr. Nisole, a physician of Montpellier, made experiments and observations, with a view of further discoveries, but did not perfectly succeed. Two other physicians at Aix, in Provence, Dr. Emeric, and Dr. Garidel, applied themselves about the same time, and with greater success; having finally discovered that the kermes is in reality nothing else but the body of an insect transformed into a grain, berry or husk, according to the course of nature; whose history I shall now briefly relate:

The progress of this transformation must be considered at three different seasons. In the first stage, at the beginning of March, an animalcule, no larger than a grain of millet, scarce able to crawl, is perceived flicking to the branches of the tree, where it fixes itself, and soon becomes immovable; at this period it grows the most, appears to swell and thrive with the sustenance it draws in by degrees: this state of rest seems to have deceived the curious observer, it then resembling an excrescence of the bark: during this period of its growth, it appears to be covered with a down, extending over its whole frame, like a net, and adhering to the bark: its figure is convex, not unlike a small floe: in such parts as are not quite hidden by this soft garment, many bright specks are perceived of a gold colour, as well as stripes running across the body from one space to another.

At the second stage in April, its growth is compleated, its shape is then round, and about the size of a pea: it has then acquired more strength, and its down is changed into dust, and seems to be nothing but a husk, or a capsule, full of a reddish juice not unlike discoloured blood.

Its third state is towards the end of May, a little sooner or later, according to the warmth of the climate. The husk appears replete with small eggs, less than the seed of a poppy. These are properly ranged under the belly of the insect, progressively placed in the nest of down, that covers its body,

* An arrobe is 25 lb. Spanish weight; 100 lb. Spanish weight equal to 97 lb. English.

which it withdraws in proportion to the number of eggs: after this work is performed, it soon dies, though it still adheres to its position, rendering a further service to its progeny, and shielding them from the inclemency of the weather or the hostile attacks of an enemy. In a good season they multiply exceedingly, having from 1800 to 2000 eggs, which produce the same number of animalcules. The ancients knew them to be insects, for Pliny says, "*Coccum ilicis celerrime in vermiculum se mutans.*" Lib. 24. sect. 4. When observed with the microscope in July or August, we find that what appeared as dust, are so many eggs, or open capsules, as white as snow, out of each of which, issues a gold coloured animalcule, of the shape of a cockroche, with two horns, six feet, and a forked tail.

Mr. De Reaumur has placed the kermes in the class of gall insects, on account of the analogy in their mode of propagation, and immoveable form, continuing even after death, like the other species of this class, found upon different trees, appearing only like galls, or excrescences, to the most accurate naturalists: therefore they could not be more properly named, than gall insects. There are of them of different shapes and sizes, but that of the *coccinea* or *carrafea* (the kermes) is of a spherical figure, about the size of a juniper berry. It is found most plentifully on the oldest and lowest trees, and when the kermes are gathered near the sea, they are larger and give a brighter colour than those in any other places.

There are several species of galls

discovered on different trees and plants of Spain, though they only make use of those gathered on oaks, either for dying, or any other purposes; such are those, from the Levant, called Aleppo galls, which were generally made use of, till it was discovered by frequent experiments, that the new ingredient called dividivi was preferable, being a fruit from the province of Carracas, and Maracaybo, in South America.

The great mystery which hitherto had not been discovered, by those naturalists who knew how to distinguish the gall insect, from the galls, was to investigate their mode of propagation: Mr. de Reaumur assures us, that from frequent observations it appeared to him, that there are both male and female, but that some which are extremely small, transform themselves into gnats, while others, growing larger, deposit their eggs, without any transformation; from which, and their analogy with the others, he concluded, that the small gnats with wings, though large in comparison with their body, and striped with a beautiful crimson, were the males of the gall insect, which he observed with the help of a microscope, seeing how they fecundate the females, before they assume a globular form towards March; but this happens when it is scarcely ever noticed, and in so singular a manner, that a common observer would never imagine such an event to have happened, or even suppose, that the males which he saw frisking about, had the least connection with the females; but on the contrary, were small gnats which accidentally light upon the same boughs; if to this ob-

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servation we add, that as the new kermes which come forth in June, remain small without engaging our attention till March ensuing, when they begin to swell without any appearance of animal life, it will not be thought so extraordinary, that they have been generally held as a vegetable production. In Languedoc, and Provence, the poor are employed to gather the kermes, the women letting their nails grow for that purpose, in order to pick them off with greater facility.

The custom of lopping off the boughs is very injudicious, as by this means they destroy the next year's harvest. Some women will gather two or three pounds a day, the great point being to know the places where they are most likely to be found in any quantity, and to gather them early with the morning dew, as the leaves are more pliable and tender at that time, than after they have been dried and parched by the rays of the sun; strong dews will occasionally make them fall from the trees sooner than usual: when the proper season passes, they fall off of themselves, and become food for birds, particularly doves. Sometimes there will be a second production, which is commonly of a less size with a fainter tinge. The first is generally found adhering to the bark, as well as on the branches and stalks; the second is principally on the leaves, as the worms choose that part where the nutritious juice preserves itself the longest, is most abundant, and can be most easily devoured in the short time that remains of their existence, the bark being then drier and harder than the leaves.

Those who buy the kermes to send to foreign parts, spread it on linnen, taking care to sprinkle it with vinegar, to kill the worms that are within, which produces a red dust which in Spain is separated from the husk. Then they let it dry, passing it through a sieve, and make it up into bags. In the middle of each its proportion of red dust put in a little leather bag also belongs to the buyer, and then it is ready for exportation, being always in demand on the African coast.

The people of Hinojos, Bonares, Villalba, and other parts of the kingdom of Seville, dry it on mats in the sun, stirring it about, and separating the red dust, which is the finest part, and being mixed with vinegar, goes by the name of *Pascl*. The same is done with the husks; but these have but half the value of the dust.

There is no doubt, but if this branch of industry was more closely attended to, there is yet room for improvement, and the kermes would give a brighter colour, similar to that obtained from the cochineal, likewise an insect found in the Mexican woods on a plant called nopal by the Americans, and *tuna* by the Spaniards; being the *opuntia maxima folio obtuso rotundo* of Sir Hans Sloane, and the *cactus opuntia* of Linneus.

It is remarked that those plants which are cultivated by art, give a much finer cochineal, known by the name of *mestica*, so called from the quantities collected of it in the district of Meteca, in the province of Honduras*.

But neither the cochineal, the kermes, or any similar production,

* See second memoir of Mr. de Reaumur, tom. 4.

would afford that beautiful colour, were it not for the salts employed in the lye by the dyers, to bring it to perfection. Mr. Maquer, in his art of dying silks, assures us, that the white tartar employed for crimson colours, gives by means of its acidity, that brilliancy to cochineal, and that though other acids might produce the same effect, it would not be with so much success. Mr. Goguet, in his "origin of laws, arts and sciences," tells us, the ancients used a great deal of salt, to make their dyes solid, and permanent, supplying the place of our chemical preparations by other secrets unknown to us. Plutarch, in the life of Alexander the Great, mentions, that conqueror having found in the treasures of the King of Persia, a prodigious quantity of purple stuffs, which though they had lain by above one hundred and ninety years, still preserved their lustre, because they had been prepared with honey; behold, says Mr. Goguet, a secret unknown to us! but if we reflect for a moment, that honey is a vegetable salt, like sugar, we shall find it to be the same as tartar, which is no more than an essential salt of wine; so that the salts employed by the ancients, were equivalent to those used at present in the dye-house. Probably the salts of fruits have the same effect in the manner they are used in Persia for dying of silk, where, instead of tartar and honey, they use the pulp of red melons, well dried, mixed with allum, barilla, and other salts.

The kermes of Spain is preferred on the coast of Barbary, on account of its goodness. The people of Tunis mix it with that of

Tetuan, for dying those scarlet caps so much used in the Levant. The Tunisians export every year above one hundred and fifty thousand dozen of these caps, which yields to the Dey a revenue of one hundred and fifty thousand hard dollars, (33,750l.) per annum for duties; so that, exclusive of the uses and advantages of kermes in medicine, it appears to be a very valuable branch of commerce in Spain, and there is still sufficient encouragement to use every effort for its improvement.

The Method of making Saltpetre in Spain. From the same.

IN the year 1754, I received orders from the ministry to inspect into several saltpetre works, as well as into the making of gunpowder, which having complied with, the following reflections occurred to my mind.

All the professors of chemistry I had conversed with, either in France or in Germany, laid down as a fixed principle, that there are three mineral acids in nature: that the vitriolic, is the universal one, belonging to metals, from whence the other two arise. That the nitrous is second in activity, and belongs to the vegetable kingdom, and the marine being the weakest of all, is homogeneous to fish. They do not include the animal acid, which, united with the phlogiston, forms the phosphorus. I was further taught, that the fixed alkali of saltpetre, did not exist purely, and simply in nature, but was generated by fire, and when they found saltpetre, to be dug out of the earth naturally in the

East

East Indies, they thought to solve the difficulty, by saying it proceeded from the incineration of woods, which had impregnated the earth with this fixed alkali, the basis of saltpetre; so that I had been led to believe, it was formed by certain combinations, that took place in the act of combustion; but I soon found my error, when I had had seen the method of making saltpetre in the different provinces of Spain. I have now evident proofs that the basis of nitre really exists in the earth and in plants, the same as in the *Soda* of Alicant. Let these learned gentlemen come to Spain, they may convince themselves of this truth, and see saltpetre with its alkaline basis, in the manufactures of Castile, Aragon, Navarre, Valencia, Murcia, and Andalusia, where it is made without the assistance of vegetable matter; sometimes throwing in a handful of ashes of mat-weed, merely to filter the lye of earth, and though they often meet with gypseous stone in the neighbourhood of their works, yet they make excellent saltpetre by boiling the lixivium of their lands only, in which they do not find an atom of gypsum; consequently they have gunpowder in Spain, without being indebted for its fixed alkali, to the vegetable kingdom, and without the visible or sensible conversion of the vitriolic acid of gypsum into the nitrous.

Having thus discovered in Spain a perfect fixed alkali in the earth, I pursued my observations on other salts, and vegetable productions, and after many reflections and experiments, I discovered that similar fixed alkalies, many oils, and neutral salts, proceed from differ-

ent combinations of the air, earth, and water, with such matters as the air conveys in a dissolved state, and that these three elements, rising, falling, and meeting, combine together, and form new bodies in the organs of vegetation.

Those who are versed in physics, agree, that all the substances of the very globe we inhabit, consist of the combinations of fire, water, earth, and air; why then deny them the power of combining, in the living organs of plants? when we so often perceive in them, the faculty of changing, and transforming productions in the kingdom of nature. In proof of it, we find that many cruciformed plants give, by analysis, the same volatile alkali as animals, notwithstanding that their tubes are similar to the eye with those that give acids.

Some plants have their roots so small, and yet their branches, leaves and fruit so ponderous, that it appears impossible, so inconsiderable a root should draw sufficient nurture out of the earth for such various purposes. It seems therefore, that the ambient air, containing many dissolved bodies, penetrates into the plants, and combines in the vegetative tubes, forming those substances discovered by analysis.

I have frequently seen water melons in Spain weigh from twenty to thirty pounds, with a stem of only two or three ounces, so great was the increase of the fibrous and tubulous substance of those plants, owing to the watery particles they imbibed from the air. It should seem then, that many plants draw their principal support from the air, water, and a small portion of earth,

earth, combined by the imperceptible labour of the vegetative tubes, and vessels of air, which convert those matters into the products we contemplate, and taste; many plants producing all these effects in water only; and we find that mint, and other odoriferous plants, whose roots grow in water, and in the air, give the same spiritus rector, and oils, as those that grow in the earth.

Botanists know very well that those aquatic plants that spring up from the bottom of waters have, with a very trifling deviation, the same properties and qualities in the frozen regions, as in sultry and parching climates, and that their acrimony, causticity, insipidity, and coolness, are invariable.

The experiments made by Van Helmont on the willow tree, making it grow in water, and a small portion of dried earth, shew how much air, and water, added to the internal labour of plants, contribute to vegetation.

In the memoirs of the French academy of sciences, we find experiments of a celebrated chemist, to prove the existence of three neutral salts, in the extract of borragé. If he had gone further, and proved that one of these three salts, existed in the earth, which produced the borragé, he would have illustrated the system of physics, and cleared up the point I am speaking of. The same memoirs mention another academician, who reared an oak for many years, only with water, the consequences of which speak for themselves.

There are millions of firs about Valladolid, and Tortosa, replete with turpentine, and growing in a small portion of earth, and great

quantity of sand, in which it would be difficult to prove that the thousandth part of the turpentine, so plentifully produced by these trees, had existed; of course, it must be owing to channels of air, connected with the tubes of vegetation.

The conductory vessels of the wormwood of Granada, convey a bitterness to the very juice of the sugar cane, which grows by its side: the soil of the king's botanic garden at Madrid, is of one equal kind, for all the different plants that are reared there; yet some produce a wholesome fruit, while others near them, are poisonous; and one, with fixed alkali, will thrive close to another, full of volatile alkali.

The mountains and vallies of Spain, as well as the gardens, are full of aromatic plants, yet I do not know that any body has ever extracted by analysis, any aromatic water, or volatile oil, from any uncultivated land.

The variation of soil, or culture, may alter the form of plants, change the lustre of their diaphery, or give additional flavour to their fruit, but it can never change their essence, and nature. In proof of this, it is known, there is only one indigenous tulip in Europe, (I found it in flower near Almaden,) it is small, yellow, and ugly, appearing only in the spring. Gardeners may invent modes of cultivation, try all the climates of Europe, they may produce larger tulips with brighter colours, but they all will be inodorous; and the little tulip of Spain will give, by analysis, the very same product as the most superb of the east, whose beautiful garment in
common

common with other gay flowers, is owing to the phlogiston in the organs of vegetation, and not to iron as has been thought. This phlogiston is manifest by analysis in the leaves, where the least atom of iron has never been discovered.

There are many lands in Spain which naturally produce saltpetre, sea-salt, and vitriolic salts; but the plants which grow spontaneously in those soils, give by analysis the same product as those of their species in gardens, where there never was any appearance of saltpetre, sea-salt, or vitriolic acid.

Analyze as often as you please, those plants so numerous near iron mines, whose roots penetrate into the very ore, or those that grow in ferruginous and superficial earth. I am sure you will not collect from their roots, branches, ashes, extracts, or oils, more iron, than what is found in the same species of plants that spring up in places without the least communication with any such minerals.

Whatever efficacy there may be in culture, and manure, to remove, absorb, and open the pores of the earth, enriching the watery particles, that rise in the vegetative tubes, conveying new substances which contribute to that perfection, we observe, from the soil, and which they lose when transplanted, yet they still attain various substances of vegetation from the air, which chemists may look for in vain in the earth*.

* The ingenious author of this reasoning does not seem to be aware, that it would be equally fruitless to look for these substances in the water, or in the air. It is true that we cannot extract turpentine from the sand, or from the earth, in which the fir trees of Valladolid and Tortosa grow; but it is equally true, that we cannot extract it either from the air, or from the water of these countries.

† The existence of vitriolic acid in vegetables has not yet been proved.

Many plants are emollient in the spring and summer, and astringent in autumn and winter. Their mucilaginous quality admits of alteration in the tubes, and the combination of earth, air, and water, engenders a vitriolic acid †, just as the alkali and the leaves receive colour from the phlogiston; from whence I conceive the reason of the nitrous soil in Spain, abounding with such a prodigious quantity of fixed natural alkali; which calls to my mind what is fondly advanced by the adepts, “that some lands have the natural properties of loadstone to attract peculiar substances from the air.”

It is certain then, that plants have proper tubes to attract the elements, and form a natural fixed alkali, and have peculiar separate principles which only combine by the means of fire in the act of combustion to form that artificial fixed alkali I had been taught to believe was the only one that existed in nature.

Perhaps the soda and salicornia may thrive better when nurtured by salt water, but it is no less certain that the alkaline basis of common salt is found formed in these two plants, and in many others as well as in the barilla, which is sowed in many parts of Spain, where they make as good soap as that famous sort at Alicante made with soda and salicornia. With respect to neutral salts, there are at least five substances, in which they

are found, viz. earth, plants, salt water, mineral, and artificial substances.

After this digression, let us now see how saltpetre is generally made in France and in Spain; I say nothing of England or Holland, because they make none, importing what they want from the East Indies, where it is found naturally in the earth, as in Spain, where I have seen saltpetre made with the lixivium of nitrous earth, collected in places where perhaps there never was a tree nor a plant.

In Paris they have seventeen saltpetre works: every thing that is carried on there, as well as in other parts of the kingdom, is done according to royal ordinances, in the manner I am going to relate: the rubbish and filth of old houses is carried to the works, and pounded with hammers; the dust is then put into casks, perforated at bottom, the aperture covered with straw, to give a free passage to the liquor. Water is then poured on this dust, which in its passage carries away all the saline matter. This impregnated matter is called a lye, which if they were at that period to boil, would produce saltpetre of a greasy nature; to remedy this, they purchase the ashes of all the wood fires in Paris, from which they also draw a lye that is mixed with the former, then boil up the whole*. In proportion as the water evaporates, the common salt which crystallizes when hot, soon falls to the bottom of the cauldron, and the saltpetre, which

only crystallizes when cool, remains dissolved in the water. They draw off this water, loaded with saltpetre, into other vessels, and place it in the shade, where the nitre crystallizes. This is called saltpetre of the first boiling, having still some remains of common salt, earth, and greasy matter, incorporated with it; it is conveyed to the arsenal to be properly refined, being boiled over again, and left to crystallize two or three times, or more if found necessary; by which means it is cleared of all its impurities, and becomes perfectly adapted to the making of gunpowder, and the other uses to which it is applied in the arts; but for medical purposes, it must undergo another purification. Those who are curious of being more exactly informed, may find a very accurate account of these works in the memoirs of the academy of sciences by Mr. Petit, to which I refer them.

In Spain, where a third part of all the lands, and the very dust on the roads in the eastern and southern parts of the kingdom, contain natural saltpetre, I have seen them prepare it in the following manner:

They plough the ground two or three times in winter, and spring, near the villages. In August they pile it up in heaps of twenty and thirty feet high: then fill with this earth a range of vessels, of a conic shape, perforated at bottom, observing to cover the aperture with mat-weed and a few ashes, two

* The fact seems to be this; the salt they obtain from the lye of the rubbish, is a nitre with an earthy basis, the fixed vegetable alkali procured from the wood ashes is then added; this alkali precipitates the earth from the nitrous acid, and taking its place, forms true saltpetre.

or three fingers deep, that the water may just filter through. They then pour on the water, (sometimes without putting any ashes); the lye that results from this operation is put into a boiler. The common salt, which as we said before precipitates, and crystallizes when warm, falls to the bottom of the cauldron in a proportion of 40lb. to a quintal of materials*; then the liquor is poured into buckets placed in the shade, where it shoots, and crystallizes into saltpetre. The great quantity of common salt which accompanies the nitre, makes me think, that the marine acid with its basis is converted into nitre. The same earth, deprived of its nitrous quality by this process, is again carried back to the fields, and exposed to the elements, by which means in the course of a twelvemonth, assisted by the all-powerful and invisible hand of nature, it again becomes impregnated with a fresh supply of nitre; and what is still more surprising, and cannot be observed without admiring the wonderful works of the omnipotent Creator, the same lands have produced time immemorial an equal quantity of saltpetre; so that if the supreme power was to annihilate all the factitious saltpetre of France and Germany, Spain alone could supply the rest of the world, without the aid of a fixed alkali, ashes or vegetables, if public oeconomy joined hands with industry, and assisted in bringing these great points to perfection. I once asked one of these people the reason of

that constant production of saltpetre, but his only answer was, "I have two fields, I sow one with corn, and have a crop, I plough the other, and it furnishes me saltpetre."

This saltpetre thus crystallized is similar to that of Paris of the first boiling. In Spain they only boil it once more, and it becomes perfect, and proper for making of gunpowder, aqua fortis, and other purposes of the shops. Its basis placed in a cellar, attracts the dampness of the air, loses its activity, and forms a fixed alkali, which mixed with the vitriolic acid, forms a vitriolated tartar, a certain proof that the nitrous air of Spain is natural and perfect in itself, without the assistance of any fixed alkali whatever.

I shall not dwell upon the proportion of saltpetre, sulphur, and coal, used in the making of gunpowder; as it depends upon experience, and is generally known. I was present at the proofs made by the king's officers in Granada, to ascertain whether the powder had the qualities required, in order to be admitted or refused; but I do not think those proofs were to the purpose, as new made powder perhaps may throw a ball to the distance required; yet to form a true judgment of its real quality and goodness, it should be tried in different places and climates, and at various seasons of the year; for I am convinced that the gunpowder which would come up to the strength required by the king in the dry and warm climate of Andalusia, would be found defi-

* The Spanish quintal is 100lb. weight, and about 97lb. English. The arroba of Madrid is 25 lb. Spanish, and four arrobas make one quintal.

cient in the damp and moist air of Galicia, which shews how little such experiments are to be depended upon. Of all the inventions I know of for this purpose, the least imperfect is that of Mr. Darcy, a design of which may be seen in the first volume of Mr. Beaume's treatise on chemistry.

When the Count de Aranda was director of the engineers, I remember an old officer of artillery informed me that in the last wars in Italy, he had seen barrels of gunpowder, that were good in the morning, and bad the next night: this did not surprize me, knowing the variations of weather, and the effects of dampness piercing through the casks and damaging the powder, so as to render it unfit for service, for which reason every precaution should be taken to guard against these inconveniences.

Extract from Dr. Ingenhousz's Account of a new inflammable Air, which can be made in a Moment without Apparatus, and is as fit for Explosion as any other inflammable Gasses.

[From the Philos. Transf. Vol. 69.]

THE discovery of the various kinds of inflammable airs or gasses becoming powerfully explosive, when they are mixed with a sufficient quantity of common air, and still more so when they are combined with dephlogisticated air, is one of those improvements in natural philosophy which, giving occasion to various amusing and interesting experiments, have cast at the same time a new light upon some powerful agents, whose mis-

chievous force was known, though their nature was still in the dark.

As those inflammable airs have been of late years one of the principal philosophical amusements, I intend to lay before the Royal Society an easy method of producing, without any trouble or particular apparatus, such quantity of an inflammable air or gas as may be required.

Being at Amsterdam in November 1777, Messieurs *Æneae* and Cuthbertson, two ingenious philosophers of that city, were so good as to shew me some curious experiments with explosive and inflammable airs of different kinds. They produced an inflammable air, by mixing together equal quantities of oil of vitriol and spirit of wine, and applying heat to the phial containing the compound. A great quantity of white vapour was extricated, which, passing up the inverted receiver filled with water, settled at the top and depressed the water, as other airs do. This air soon became clear, the white fumes being absorbed by the water. This air was easily lighted in an open cylindrical glass, and burnt almost as clear as a candle, the flame descending gradually lower and lower till it reached the bottom. A very little quantity of this air mixed with common or dephlogisticated air, for instance, one fourteenth or one tenth part, and kindled by an electrical spark, exploded with a very loud report, and shattered the glass to pieces in which it was kindled, when it did not find a ready vent.

They had contrived a kind of a pistol for the purpose, consisting of a strong cylindrical glass tube with a piston adapted to it. To the end

end of this tube was fixed a brass barrel, like that of a common pistol: into this barrel a brass bullet was put loose, so that the barrel was placed a little above the level, to prevent the bullet rolling out. The barrel was directed to a board of oak at eight or ten feet distance. A proper quantity of common and inflammable air (produced in the manner above mentioned) being drawn into the glass tube by means of the piston, it was fired by directing an electrical explosion through it. The explosion was very loud: the ball hit the board with such a force that it made a strong impression in it, and recoiled with a considerable force, so as to hit the wall behind us, and to put us in some danger of being hurt by its rebounding force.

The same gentlemen told me, that this inflammable air had in some respects the advantage over the inflammable airs extracted from metals by the vitriolic or marine acid, and that extracted from mud or marshes; because this air being heavier than either of these airs, and even than common air, is not so easily lost out of an open vessel; and, that when it escapes into the open air, it agreeably perfumes the room with the smell of *spiritus vitrioli dulcis* or æther; whereas the other inflammable airs, which from their less specific gravity escape easily into the common air, yield an offensive, disagreeable stench.

Mr. Æneæ, having examined the specific gravities of the different inflammable airs compared with common air, favoured me with the following result of his inquiries:

A vessel, which contained the

weight of 138 grains of common air, contained 25 grains of inflammable air extracted from iron by vitriolic acid, and 92 grains of inflammable air extracted from mud or marshes, and 150 grains of that extracted from oil of vitriol and spirit of wine.

I was much pleased with the above mentioned experiment, and immediately thought that the operation of extracting this inflammable air or vapour could be dispensed with by employing vitriolic æther, which in reality is contained in the vapour expelled by heat from oil of vitriol and spirit of wine, which vapour, condensed in the process of distillation, yields æther.

The first attempts I made proved unsuccessful; however, the reasons why I did not succeed in the beginning I found afterwards to be, either that I employed too great a quantity of æther, or that the air or vapour of the æther was not thoroughly incorporated with the other air; for the same number of drops of æther poured into the air pistol, which would not produce an explosion when the pistol was not shaken, made a very loud one when it was forcibly agitated.

The surest method of succeeding I find to be the following: I dip a small glass tube, open on both sides, and the bore of which is one twelfth of an inch in diameter, into a phial containing æther, and when two or three drops of the liquid have entered the tube I apply my finger to the upper end of it, to keep the liquor suspended. I take the tube out of the phial, and thrust it immediately into a small *countouch*, or elastic gum bottle: this being

being done, I withdraw my finger from the tube, and take it out of the *caoutchouc*; thus the little quantity of æther, suspended in the end of the tube, is dropped into the *caoutchouc*, the neck of which is to be immediately inverted into the orifice of the air pistol, and, after giving it a gentle squeeze, withdrawn out of it: after which, a bullet or a cork is to be thrust into the mouth of the pistol, when it is ready for firing. This whole operation may be performed in the space of five or six seconds.

The considerable force of explosion, and the loud report of the ordinary inflammable airs, induced Mr. Volta, of Como, to believe, that these airs might, perhaps, become a substitute to gunpowder. If this expectation had been well founded, the greatest *desideratum* would, I think, have been to find out a way to produce such air at any time without trouble, and to carry it about in as little compass as possible: which two conditions I should have pretty nearly fulfilled, as all the inflammable air requisite for the explosion of the pistols contrived by Mr. Volta is contained in the bulk of one single drop of æther; which drop, poured in the pistol itself, is full sufficient to produce a very powerful explosion.

I found that æther, in which as much urinous phosphorus is dissolved as will make it luminous in the dark, when some drops are poured upon water; is very brisk in taking fire, when employed for an inflammable air pistol; but that the experiment, when repeated, will be apt to fail, because the phosphoric acid which remains in the pistol, and by its nature at-

tracts the humidity of the atmosphere, will soon fill the inside of the pistol with a coat of moisture, and prevent the electrical spark from kindling the inflammable air.

It appeared, that a little camphire dissolved in æther increases its explosive force, and makes it less apt to fail.

As this inflammable air is heavier than common air, it is clear, that the mouth of the air pistol should be kept upwards at the time of charging it; whereas it is better to invert the pistol when the ordinary inflammable airs are employed, which, being specifically lighter than common air, rise of themselves in the pistol when its mouth is placed inverted upon the orifice of the vessel which contains them.

It is true, that the squeezing the elastic gum bottle, when placed upon the pistol, forces some of the inflammable gas out of it, which is lost in the common air; but notwithstanding this waste, the inflammable air which remains in the pistol is sufficient to produce a loud report, which is all that is required. Indeed, one single drop of the æther could be easily shaken out of the glass tube immediately into the pistol, without making use of the elastic gum bottle; but this drop, evaporating into elastic air, leaves behind it a good deal of moisture, whether inherent in the æther itself, or attracted from the atmosphere. This moisture, in the way I use to load the pistol, remains in the elastic gum bottle, which is therefore always found moist when the experiment is repeated several times.

It was, indeed, known before this time, that æther and other

volatile inflammable liquors spread, by evaporating, inflammable effluvia thro' the surrounding air, especially when they are heated; and that these effluvia have sometimes by the imprudent approach of a candle taken fire, and conveyed the inflammation to the liquor itself: but I never heard that any body employed these liquors instead of ordinary inflammable air in communicating to common air an explosive quality, or in firing inflammable air pistols, before I communicated the experiment to my friends.

Doctor Ingenhousz next gives a comparative view of the expanding force of this air and of gunpowder, together with some considerations on the nature of the latter substance. In the appendix, he has given the following account of some farther experiments on the same subject:

In the foregoing paper I attempted to give a comparative view of the explosive force of gunpowder and inflammable explosive air, which latter I had found to be so far short of the explosive force of gunpowder as not to conceive any well grounded hope that it could ever become a substitute to this ingredient.

At that time I had not yet tried the effect of very pure dephlogisticated air combined with that inflammable air, into which I had found that vitriolic æther is changed in an instant.

I must acknowledge, that I had but small expectations from the force of these two airs combined; for as I had always observed, that æther air combined with common air is less brisk in taking fire, and less powerful in exploding, than

inflammable air extracted from the vitriolic or marine acid, I thought that the same æther air combined with very pure dephlogisticated air would also be less powerful than common inflammable air from metals. But how far experience contradicted this theoretical analogy will be seen in the following lines.

Abbé Fontana was so good as to assist me in this pursuit. Having produced a good quantity of pure dephlogisticated air from red precipitate by heat, we first filled a strong two-ounce phial (the orifice of which was so wide that it could scarce be covered with the thumb; so that the bottle was almost cylindrical) with this air, in the usual manner, by filling it first with water, inverting it, and letting the air rise in it; which being done, we dropped one drop of æther (in which a small quantity of camphire was dissolved) into it, and shut it immediately with the thumb. After having given it some concussions, the orifice was applied to the flame of a candle, by withdrawing the thumb when the orifice was close to the flame the air instantly took fire, and exploded with such a strong report that, if the phial had not been very stout, it would most probably have been shattered into pieces notwithstanding its wide orifice. We repeated the same experiment with the same success.

I was the more astonished at the uncommon loud report (considering the wide orifice of the phial) because, having often tried æther air in the same way with common air, I never found it explode with any considerable degree of force, and therefore I found it necessary in order to procure a loud report

to kindle it by an electrical spark directed through the pistol, when its orifice was shut up by a cork, the resistance of which was the chief cause of the report.

This wonderful effect in an open vessel could not fail of giving me a good expectation of a very powerful effect, if this compound air was shut up in an air pistol by a cork squeezed into its orifice. As it had been now kindled twice by the flame of a candle, I wanted to kindle it by the same means in an air pistol; for this purpose we drilled a small hole in the side of the pistol, which was made of tin, and contained about nine cubic inches of space. We filled it with dephlogisticated air in the same manner as we had filled the phial by means of water; and after having poured into it one drop of æther by means of a glass tube (in the manner above described), we shut the orifice by thrusting a cork into it, and kept a finger applied to the touch-hole which was drilled in the side of the pistol. To avoid accidents if the pistol should burst, we thought it prudent to squeeze the cork very gently into the orifice, so that the resistance should be very moderate. Abbé Fontana wrapped a towel round the pistol for security's sake, leaving only the touch-hole uncovered; which being brought near the flame of a wax taper, the air instantly took fire, and exploded with such a strong report, that his hearing, as well as mine, was much hurt by it. The cork, which was a very hard one, flew to pieces against the wall; and the Abbé felt such considerable shock in his hands, that he did not think it safe to re-

peat the experiment, unless a stronger pistol could be procured.

Encouraged by such uncommon and unexpected effects, I went immediately to Mr. Nairne to enquire, whether he still had in his possession a strong brass air pistol, which he had made last summer according to my direction? I was lucky enough to find it: nothing was to be done to it but to drill a touch-hole in the left side of it, in order to kindle it by a flame if required. This touch-hole was to be shut up by a brass male screw fitted exactly to it, when the pistol was intended to be fired by an electrical spark.

The air box of this pistol was a cylinder four inches long and two inches in diameter. The fore part of the air box, to which the pistol barrel fitted to receive a leaden ball or a cork was fixed, had a broad shoulder, which was fastened to the body of the air box by six strong brass screws, which never had been loosened by former explosions. A leaden bullet, wrapped up in leather, was forcibly rammed into the pistol barrel as far as the screw, which joins the barrel with the air box. The pistol was filled with pure dephlogisticated air (which was drawn-in by the piston from an elastic gum bottle), and one drop of æther being poured into it, the air within was kindled by an electrical spark directed through it. The air took fire: the explosion was as loud as that of a common musket, and the force so great, that the whole fore part of the air box with the pistol barrel flew off, all the six screws were broke, and the strong and tough metal of which they were made

made was rent. Three strong brass screws, by which the bottom of the air box was fixed to the wooden handle, were loosened, and the whole frame of the pistol was out of order. The substance of the air barrel, where it was tore, was of the thickness of about a half crown piece.

Being now convinced, that tho' inflammable air from metals with dephlogistified or common air, is far inferior to the force of gunpowder, the explosive force of the compound of dephlogistified and æther air approaches it much nearer, I thought it worth while to fit the pistol up in such a manner as to be out of all danger of bursting. For this purpose I desired Mr. Nairne to adapt, and solder to the fore part of the air box, a hollow cone of brass, the extremity of which should terminate in the gun barrel.

As the piston could not reach to the extremity of this conical hollow (which consequently must be always filled with common air), I desired him to fix to the piston an ivory cone, through which the two wires would pass to meet one another at the surface of the cone, leaving an interstice between them of about one line, through which the electrical spark should leap and set fire to the air. This ivory cone shutting up exactly the whole cavity of the air box, no air could come into it but what was drawn in by the piston.

The cone, instead of ivory, may be made of solid glass, which is a better non-conductor than ivory. The canals in the ivory, through which the two wires pass, may be made wide enough to contain a

glass tube, through which the wires pass; or to be filled with a non-conducting cement, as sealing wax, for the same purpose. The cone may even be made of brass, provided two glass tubes are lodged in it, to give a passage to the two wires.

I kindle this pistol sometimes by putting in the touch-hole a little bit of a cotton thread soaked in moist gunpowder and dried afterwards; or a bit of those paper matches which the Chinese put into those little squibs, which go by the name of *India crackers*. I sometimes kindle it by holding the flame of a candle or a burning paper to the touch-hole. In this case it is to be observed, that the touch-hole must be kept upwards, if the pistol is loaded with inflammable air from metals, because this air being lighter than common air, will rise out of the hole and meet the flame. The contrary must be done when æther air is employed, it being heavier than common air, and thus disposed to descend and fall upon the flame kept under it.

To fill this pistol with any air I commonly first fill an elastic gun bottle with it, the orifice of which is just big enough to receive that part of the gun barrel which is fixed to the air box: thus, by squeezing between my feet the elastic gum bottle, I draw in at the same time the air by drawing up the piston. A bladder is also very fit for this purpose, and has the advantage above an elastic gun bottle in not requiring to be squeezed to draw the air out of it.

Inflammable air from metals will rise in the pistol of itself, when

its orifice is kept upon the bottle containing it.

If the pistol is destined to be always kindled by the flame of a candle or a match, as I have described, it would be better to have no piston to it, as it may then be filled by the means of water, and the explosive force will be so much the greater, as some of the flame makes easily its way over the leather of the piston, and rushes out backward, which, I find, is often the case, if the bullet is rammed in the barrel somewhat too tightly.

It would, perhaps, not be an easy undertaking to give a satisfactory reason, why a drop of æther communicates to dephlogisticated air a much stronger explosive force than common inflammable air from metals. May it not be said, that common inflammable air from metals, having only about one fifth of the specific gravity of the dephlogisticated air, the two fluids do not penetrate one another so readily and so intimately as the compound of dephlogisticated and æther air, which are both nearly of the same specific gravity, each being somewhat heavier than common air? for it seems not improbable, that the swiftness with which the flame is propagated through the mass of this compound air, depends partly on the intimate mixture of the phlogiston with the dephlogisticated air. Might not this phenomenon be ascribed to the greater bulk of inflammable air from metals compared with the small compass which one single drop of æther occupies, which last ingredient, when pure, seems to be an essence of the inflammable principle of the spirit

of wine, a pure phlogiston concentrated in the form of a liquid? Indeed the inflammable air from metals seems to be rather a compound of phlogiston and some kind of elastic permanent fluid than a pure inflammable fluid; for this air, after having lost all its inflammability, by being kept a long while upon water, occupies still a considerable space, and is then become phlogisticated air; that is to say, such an air as is not to be diminished by nitrous air, or to be inflamed.

Though I have no reason to alter my former assertion, that the force of gunpowder is proportionable to the sudden extrication of a great quantity of the elastic fluid generated in the moment of conflagration, and the expansion of this fluid by heat, communicated to it in the same moment of its extrication; and that the force of inflammable explosive air can only be proportionable to the sudden expansion by heat in the moment of the inflammation (for no new extrication here takes place); yet I did not consider enough in the account the suddenness of this expansion, which may make a considerable difference in the force of the explosion. And indeed the abovementioned experiments seem to demonstrate, that the inflammation of the compound of pure dephlogisticated and æther air spreads with such a velocity through the whole mass as to be almost instantaneous.

It is well known, that mechanical power chiefly depends upon the velocity with which a body is endowed in the instant of exerting it; or that the *momentum*, or force

of a body, must be computed by multiplying the quantity of matter into the velocity with which it moves. Thus, if this new compound of dephlogistified and æther air expands with ten times greater velocity than any other inflammable explosive air, its force will be about ten times greater.

As it seems to be probable, from what is already said, that this compound of explosive air may be put to more uses than that of an amusing experiment, I think it worth while for men engaged in this branch of natural philosophy to look out for a method of producing at pleasure any quantity of dephlogistified air required. Considering the rapid progress which is daily made on the important subject of air, I cannot but flatter myself, that this great discovery is not far off. The benefit which would arise from such a discovery for animal life must encourage every philosopher to pursue this object. Indeed, if we consider that nitre contains this wonderful aerial fluid in a most concentrated state, and that the

nitrous acid seems to be nothing else but this beneficial fluid combined with phlogiston, which seems to be imbibed by the vegetable alkali, when the acid is expelled by heat in the form of this air; that this beneficial aerial fluid exists also, in a most concentrated state, in bodies almost every where to be found, as are calces of metal, principally that of iron; that common water contains it in great abundance, so that the light and warmth of the sun extracts it to one fifteenth of the bulk of the water, as Dr. Priestley found, that even the mass of our atmosphere is nothing else but this very air soiled with impurities. If we consider, I say, all this, is it not reasonable to hope, that we are near the important instant when this salubrious aerial fluid will be procured for many useful purposes in a sufficient quantity, either by the discovery of a ready way to let loose this air from the bodies in which it is as it were imprisoned, or by filtrating or purifying common air from its impurities.

USEFUL PROJECTS.

Observations on Mineral Poisons.

OUR Vol. for the year 1778 contained an account of Monsr. Navier's proposal of the liver of sulphur as an antidote* against certain metallic poisons. This idea, it appears however, has long before occurred to, and been successfully applied by, others. We have since seen a paper on this subject, inserted in the 6th vol. of the Edinburgh Medical Commentaries, wherein alkaline salts are recommended on the same principle. The directions there laid down are full, clear and easy, being drawn up with a view to supply the omission on this head in Tissot and Buchan, authors on whom the public rely greatly and justly, but who have not noticed this efficacious remedy. As the particular species of poison taken is often not ascertained, and the effects produced by it are so sudden as sometimes not to admit of calling in medical assistance, it is of importance that a method which bids so fair to be attended with success should be extensively known.

We therefore lay before our readers the concluding paragraphs of that paper; in the former part of which is given the case of two

women poisoned at Liverpool, in April 1774, with corrosive sublimate, one of whom died, the other, under the direction of Dr. Houlston, took the alkali, by which she found instant relief, and soon perfectly recovered. The conclusion he draws from the history of this case is as follows :

' In all cases of poison it is
' prudent immediately to give a
' solution of an alkali, followed
' by a vomit. If the poison be
' corrosive sublimate, an alkali,
' either fixed or volatile, will
' decompose it, and precipitate
' the metal in a form nearly in-
' offensive. It will have a similar
' effect on the sugar of lead, the
' extract of lead, emetic tartar,
' or any metallic salt. If the
' poison be arsenic, Newmann
' observes, that "alkalies will
' very plentifully dissolve it."
' And if so, as it is difficultly so-
' luble in water, the vomit will
' then succeed the better to dis-
' charge it. Whether or no sul-
' phur, exhibited in any form,
' might lessen the danger of arse-
' nic is not clear, though these
' two, when united, are not poi-
' sonous. If the poison be of the
' vegetable class, an alkali can be
' of no disservice, nor interfere

* Printed by mistake, *Anecdote.*

‘ with the other means of remedying by evacuation, nor yet by the subsequent use of acids, to strongly insisted on by Tissot, as counteracting the effects of narcotics; since acids, given together with alkaline salts, are pronounced to be attended with great success in this case, by Dr. Mead and others.

‘ To supply the omission then in those popular writers, might not the following directions be given on this subject?’ “ When symptoms of poison appear, mix a tea-spoonful of any of the following articles, salt of tartar, salt of wormwood, pearl-ash, pot-ash, spirit of hartshorn, or sal volatile, with half a pint of water, and of this let one half be given to the patient immediately, and the other in a short time afterwards. It will sometimes give great relief, and the vomiting will cease. That however is still to be promoted, and if it does not return on drinking of warm water, &c. after waiting a while, it will be proper to give a vomit of ipecacuanha, or, if that is not sufficient, one still stronger. After each vomiting, a dose of this solution of salt of tartar should be given, and it may be repeated every two or three hours, especially if the pain of the stomach returns. It should be continued too, in small doses, for some time after the symptoms disappear. If none of these salts are at hand, a little wood-ashes mixed with boiling water will answer the same end, suffering them to stand till they settle, and pouring the water clear off, or filtering through

“ linen. By tasting it, the degree of saltiness will determine if the solution be strong enough; if it be not disagreeably so it may be given.”

The following Memoir has been obligingly communicated to us by Dr. Percival, whose zeal in whatever relates to the interests of society, can only be equalled by his profound and extensive knowledge of those subjects that are most essentially calculated to promote them.

To the Right Honourable the Earl of Stamford, President of the Agriculture Society at Manchester.

My Lord,

THE following account of a new method of making pot-ash was lately read before the Royal Society, and will be inserted in the next publication of that learned body. But as the discovery is highly interesting to the farmer, and the Philosophical Transactions are in few hands, I take the liberty of communicating it to the Agriculture Society.

I have the honour to be,

my lord, your lordship's

most faithful humble

Manchester, servant,

April 19, 1780. THO. PERCIVAL.

An Account of a new and cheap Method of preparing Pot-ashes; with Observations.

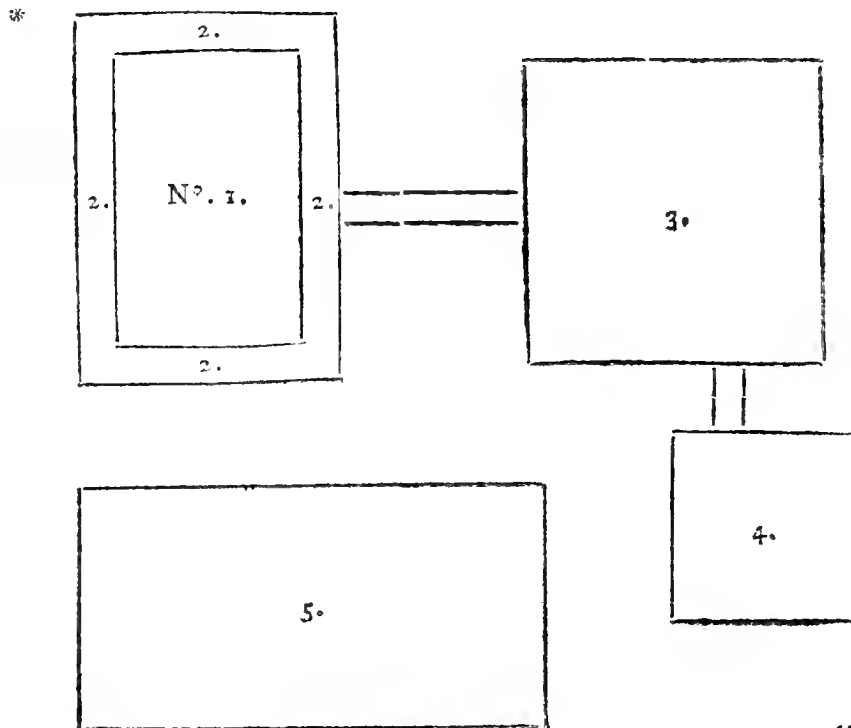
THE Agriculture Society at Manchester have long recommended the making of reservoirs, for the water which flows from

from dunghills in farm-yards. This water is strongly impregnated with the salts and putrid matter of the dunghill; and by stagnation, it acquires a much higher degree of putrescency, and probably becomes proportionably more replete with salts. When thus collected and improved, it is pumped into an hoghead, which being drawn upon a sledge or small cart, is conveyed into the meadows, for the purpose of sprinkling them with this rich manure. This important improvement in rural œconomy, I apprehend, has not been extended much beyond the district of our society; and it seems to be unknown to one of the latest, and most intelligent writers on husbandry. For Lord Kaimes, in a recent work on this subject, of which he has favoured me with a copy, has not even mentioned it.

But these reservoirs may be ap-

plied to a purpose still more subservient to public utility, than that above described. Josiah Birch, Esq. a gentleman, who carries on an extensive manufactory, and bleaches his own yarn, about six months ago, was induced, by a happy turn of thought, to try whether the dunghill water might not be converted into pot-ashes. He accordingly evaporated a large quantity of it, and burnt the residuum in an oven; the product of which so perfectly answered his expectations, that he has ever since continued to prepare these ashes, and to employ them in the process of bucking. A stranger to that narrowness of spirit, which seeks the concealment of a lucrative discovery, he is desirous that it should be communicated to the Royal Society, and has furnished me with the following account, together with the plan annexed*.

“ The



“ Nº. 1.

“ The quantity of muck water
 “ used, was twenty - four wine
 “ pipes full ; which employed a
 “ man and two horses two days,
 “ to cart it from the pump to the
 “ pan wherein it was boiled : but
 “ this expence I shall now save ;
 “ as I shall lay a fough of brick,
 “ which will convey it from the
 “ pump to the boiler. The coals
 “ used to boil and burn it, were

“ one hundred and twenty baskets ;
 “ and I suppose each basket weighs
 “ six score pounds, or upwards.
 “ One man was occupied three
 “ weeks in boiling and burning.
 “ The quantity of ashes made,
 “ was 9 cwt. 1 qr. 12 lb. well
 “ worth, at the present price of
 “ ashes here, two guineas per
 “ hundred.

“ 9 cwt. 1 qr. 12 lb. at 42s. per cwt.	-	-	£19 : 13 : 0
“ A man and two horses two days, at 6s.	£0 : 12 : 0		
“ 120 baskets of coals, at 5d. per basket,	2 : 10 : 0		
“ A man’s wages for three weeks,	-	1 : 7 : 0	
		<hr/>	£ 4 : 9 : 0
			<hr/>
			£15 : 4 : 0
			<hr/>

“ The gain therefore amounts to
 “ £15 : 4 : 0, deducting only a
 “ trifle for the wear of the pan
 “ and oven.”

The profits arising from this preparation of pot-ash, are sufficiently evinced by the foregoing estimate ; and they may, perhaps, admit of increase by future improvements. In the spring and summer seasons, I should suppose, the evaporation might be carried on without the aid of fire ; by conveying the dunghill water from

the reservoir, through proper sluices, into shallow troughs or ponds, of such extent as to afford a sufficient surface for the action of the sun and wind *. These might be covered in rainy weather with awnings of canvass, painted on the outside black, and white on the inside ; the former with a view to absorb, the latter to reflect the rays of light.

This pot-ash is of a greyish white appearance, deliquesces a little in moist air, but if kept in a dry room near

- “ N°. 1. The dunghill.
- “ 2. A fough, or drain, round the bottom of the dunghill.
- “ 3. A hole, or pit, to receive the muck water from N°. 1.
- “ 4. A well, to receive the muck water from the pit, wherein a pump
 “ is fixed to convey it to the pan, N°. 5, in which it is boiled to the consistence
 “ of treacle, and afterwards burned in an oven. The pan, N°. 5, is formed
 “ at the bottom of iron plates ; and turned up a little round the edges, to
 “ which deal planks are screwed, so as to make it about twenty inches in
 “ depth.”

* The following abridged view of a meteorological register, which I kept with great exactness during the years 1774 and 1775, may throw some light on the practicability of this plan in the climate of Lancashire, which, I believe, is nearly the same as that of most of the other western counties of England.

near the fire, acquires a powdery surface. It is hard, and of a spongy texture when broken, with many small crystals in its substance. The colour of its internal parts is dusky, and variegated. To the taste, it is acrid, saline, and sulphureous. It emits no smell of volatile alkali either in a solid form, dissolved, or when added to lime-water; neither does it communicate the sapphire colour to a solution of blue vitriol. Silver is quickly tinged black by it, a proof that it contains much phlogiston. Ten grains of this pot-ash required eleven drops of the weak spirit of vitriol to saturate them: the like quantity of salt of tartar required, of the same acid, twenty-four drops. A strong effervescence occurred in both mixtures: from the former, a sulphureous vapour was exhaled. A tea-spoonful of the syrup of violets, diluted with an ounce of water, was changed into a bright green colour by five grains of the salt of tartar; but ten grains of this new pot-ash were necessary to produce the same hue in a similar mixture. Half an ounce of the

pot-ash dissolved entirely in half a pint of hot water; but when the liquor was cold, a large purple sediment subsided to the bottom: and it was found, that this sediment amounted to about two-thirds of the whole quantity of ashes used.

I have not leisure at present to prosecute these experiments farther; and shall therefore content myself with making a few general observations on the facts which have been advanced.

1. This pot-ash is a true fixed vegetable alkali, and a product of putrefaction which has not, that I recollect, been noticed by the chemists. A very celebrated writer has even in express terms asserted, that “all vegetables, not excepting those which in their natural state furnish ashes containing much fixed alkali, when burnt, after their acid has been altered by a compleat putrefaction, leave ashes entirely free from alkali*.”

2. The quantity of alkali contained in this pot-ash may, with some probability, be estimated at

1774.				1775.				* 14 days omitted; no account being taken.		
Thermometer.				Thermometer.						
2 o'clock P. M.				2 o'clock P. M.						
Highest.		Lowest.		Days.		Days.				
Jan.	56	28		25	65	54	30	61	29	
Apr.	72	45		55	36	78	51	42	49	
July, Aug.	75	53		66	26	74	48	62	30	
Oct. Nov. Dec.	60	50		43	49	64	32	50	28*	
52, 25				189 176				55, 7		215 136
Mean heat.								Mean heat.		

The thermometer was made by Dollond, and graduated according to the scale of Fahrenheit. It was placed in the open air, and in a northern exposure. The column of rainy days expresses the *least* as well as the *greatest* quantity of rain; the column of dry includes only those days in which not a single shower was noticed. The day comprehends twenty-four hours. About thirty-three inches of rain, at a medium, fall yearly in Manchester.

* Macquer's Dictionary of Chemistry, article ALKALI.

about

about one-third of its weight; whereas the white Muscovy ashes are said to yield only one-eighth part*. Of its impurities, sulphur is the most injurious to its bleaching powers, and should, in the preparation of it, be carefully separated. A longer-continued, and more gentle calcination, in a furnace supplied with a sufficient current of air, might, perhaps, answer this end. But the most effectual method would be to lixiviate the salts with pure water, after a moderate fusion, and then to evaporate them slowly to dryness. It must however be remarked, that in thus freeing the pot-ash from phlogistic matter, another impurity is generated. For both the action of fire, and the solution in water, convert into earth, a portion of the alkaline salt.

3. No quick-lime appears to be contained in this pot-ash: for a solution of it, poured from its sediment, remained clear, though long exposed to the air. Nor did it acquire any milkiness by being blown into from the lungs. But perhaps the addition of this caustic substance, in a due proportion, would increase its activity and value, when employed in many of the arts. For the Russian pot-ash is more pungent to the taste, saturates a larger proportion of acid, and dissolves oils more powerfully than the purer alkaline salts. And Dr. Home has proved†, that these qualities depend on a large admixture of quick-lime.

4. It would be worthy of trial, to ascertain whether the large

purple sediment, which subsides when this pot-ash is lixiviated, might not be applied to the manufacture of Prussian blue; or used in the manner recommended by Mr. Macquer, for dying wool and silk. See the Memoirs of the French Academy for the year 1749 ‡.

5. The farmer, though he live at a distance from the manufactures in which pot-ash is employed, may find his account in preparing it from dunghill water. For it will furnish him with a top-dressing for his garden and land, of great fertilizing powers. But if fewel be dear where he resides, and necessities wanting for the construction of a furnace, the simple evaporation of the water may suffice. And the putrid lye, thus reduced to a solid form, will prove to be a rich manure. At Hart-hill, my summer abode, about three miles from Manchester, I have lately practised a method of making a compost of dunghill water. The weeds and rakings of the garden, the dressings of the fields, the leaves blown from the trees, and other refuse matters, are put together near the reservoir; out of which the water is occasionally pumped, and scattered over the heap. So strong a ferment almost instantly excites putrefaction; and these vegetable substances are soon converted into a fertile mould, which, retaining the salts and oils of the dunghill water, suffers the superfluous moisture to exhale into the air, or to percolate through it. And I have found by experience, that the

* Home on Bleaching, page 157.

† Essay on Bleaching.

‡ See also Neumann's Chemistry, by Lewis.

compost, thus prepared, is laid on the meadows at less expence, and that it is more efficacious and durable in its operation, than the sprinklings which, at stated times, they formerly received. For my land, though good, and in fine condition, is light and sandy; and the dunghill water quickly passed below the roots of the vegetables, which grow upon its surface.

POSTSCRIPT.

It has been suggested to me, that the foregoing discovery has no claim to the patronage of the Agriculture Society, because in this manufacturing county it may eventually tend to check the cultivation of land, by robbing it of one species of manure. But I conceive the operation of it will be entirely the reverse: for it will promote the collection of every putrescent article, and thus augment the farmer's dunghill, at the same time that it excites a more universal attention to the preservation of muck water; the reservoirs for which are yet few, and have been made chiefly by those who follow husbandry for amusement, and not as an occupation. The public therefore will be gainers both by the saving, and by the acquisition; and a twofold branch of rural œconomy will be established, at once lucrative to the husbandman, and important to the artist and manufacturer.

But admitting all the supposed force of the allegation, it must surely be acknowledged, that the main design of our institution is to increase the productiveness of agriculture, by stimulating the farmer to every beneficial undertaking, consistent with his profession. Now in this case, the *beneficial*

is best measured by the *Hudibrastic* standard: for,

“What's the value of a thing?”

“But so much money as 'twill bring?”

I trust, therefore, that the society will not, by declining to patronize the present discovery, justify the sarcasm of an ingenious poet of this place, who has humorously charged some of us with teaching,

“By crops increas'd, and profits less,

“The way t' enrich the nation.”

Caution in building Magazines for Gunpowder.

THE dreadful accidents which happen from the explosion of magazines or mills for the manufacturing of gunpowder, make every hint that may tend to the prevention of such calamities of the utmost importance to the public. On that account, we shall submit to our readers without further apology the following facts, which have already appeared in some of the public papers.

“A gentleman, in a letter from Withington, in Gloucestershire, says, an accident, which happened to me a few days since, may suggest, perhaps, an useful caution to some of your readers. On the table I was writing at, stood a small glass decanter, and near that lay my handkerchief; the sun (through a sash-window, which was down, and at a considerable distance) shone full upon the decanter, which, collecting the rays into a point or focus, set fire to the handkerchief, and, if I had not been in the room, might have had very serious consequences.”

Thus

Thus far the writer, and, to confirm the fact, I shall mention a melancholy event which happened some years ago in Surrey.

About a mile from the place were several mills for making gunpowder; one morning the whole neighbourhood was alarmed by a violent explosion, which shook the houses for several miles round, and was followed by a column of smoke and fire, which towered high in the air, and was visible at a vast distance: When the concussion was over, I visited the spot, and beheld the mangled bodies of four poor men, thrown at the distance of more than 100 yards from each other, whose scattered limbs were collected together, and buried in one common grave in a church-yard belonging to the parish. In taking a view of the other mills, which were left standing, I observed that some of the windows were glazed with very coarse glass, full of convex blisters; and, as the day of this dreadful calamity was remarkably hot, I thought it not unlikely that a focus might be formed through one of these glass blisters, which would easily set fire to some of the gunpowder, which these poor men were granulating in sieves when this unhappy catastrophe befel them. This conjecture I remember well to have made at the time, and, to shew that it was very possible, as soon as I got home I twisted up some gunpowder in brown paper, and set fire to it through a decanter of water, by the focus which the sun formed upon the paper till it took fire, and went off with an explosion. This event, and the hint from the gentleman in Gloucester-

shire; convince me that the windows of all buildings containing such combustible materials, should be only towards the north, where the sun can never produce the like effect.

To the above we will add a circumstance which happened about twenty-five years ago in Norfolk. A gentleman, who had been entertaining some friends after dinner, invited them to take a walk, leaving a decanter half full of water on the table. The servant, who went in to clear away, to his great surprize found the window-shutters on fire, occasioned by the rays of the sun, which shone full upon the decanter, and which, having thus set the shutters in a blaze, might soon have destroyed the whole house, had it not been timely discovered. It is also a well-known practice at Oxford, where firing is very dear, for the smokers to light their pipes, during the summer months, by the help of a decanter of water.

An Account of a Method for the safe Removal of Ships that have been driven on Shore, and damaged in their Bottoms, to places (however distant) for repairing them. By Mr. William Barnard, Shipbuilder, Grove Street, Deptford; communicated by Nevil Maskelyne, D. D. F. R. S. and Astronomer Royal.

[From the Philosophical Transactions.]

Read Dec. 23, 1779.

Deptford, April 14, 1779.

ON the shores of this island, distinguished for its formidable fleets and extensive commerce,

mercé, and so particularly situated, there must necessarily be many shipwrecks: every hint by which the distress of our fellow creatures may be alleviated, or any saving of property made to individuals in such situations, should be communicated for their good. As the members of the Royal Society have it in their power to make such hints most universally known, I have been induced, from their readiness to receive every useful information, to lay before them a particular account of the success attending a method for the safe removal of ships that have been driven on shore, and damaged in their bottoms, to places (however distant) for repairing them; I hope, therefore, they will excuse the liberty I have taken in presenting this to them. Should the society honour me by recording it, it will make me the most ample satisfaction for my attention to it, and afford me the greatest pleasure.

On January the 1st, 1779, in a most dreadful storm, the York East Indiamen, of eight hundred tons, homeward bound, with a pepper cargo, parted her cables in Margate Roads, and was driven on shore, within one hundred feet of the head, and thirty feet of the side, of Margate Pier, then drawing twenty-two feet six inches water, the flow of a good spring tide being only fourteen feet at that place.

On the 3d of the same month I went down, as a ship-builder, to assist as much as lay in my power my worthy friend Sir Richard Hotham, to whom the ship belonged. I found her perfectly up-

right, and her stern (or side appearance) the same as when first built, but sunk to the twelve feet water mark fore and aft in a bed of chalk mixed with a stiff blue clay, exactly the shape of her body below that draft of water; and from the rudder being torn from her as she struck coming on shore, and the violent agitation of the sea after her being there, her stern was so greatly injured as to admit free access thereto, which filled her for four days equal to the flow of the tide. Having fully informed myself of her situation and the flow of spring tides, and being clearly of opinion she might be again got off, I recommended, as the first necessary step, the immediate discharge of the cargo; and, in the progress of that business, I found the tide always flowed to the same height on the ship; and when the cargo was half discharged, and I knew the remaining part should not make her draw more than eighteen feet water, and while I was observing the water at twenty-two feet six inches by the ship's marks, she instantly lifted to seventeen feet eight inches, the water and air being before excluded by her pressure on the clay, and the atmosphere acting upon her upper part equal to six hundred tons, which is the weight of water displaced at the difference of those two draughts of water.

The moment the ship lifted, I discovered she had received more damage than was at first apprehended, her leaks being such as filled her from four to eighteen feet water in one hour and a half. As nothing effectual was to be expected

pected from pumping, several scuttles or holes in the ship's side were made, and valves fixed thereto, to draw off the water to the lowest ebb of the tide, to facilitate the discharge of the remaining part of the cargo; and, after many attempts, I succeeded in an external application of sheep skins sewed on a sail, and thrust under the bottom, to stop the body of water from rushing so furiously into the ship. This business effected, moderate pumping enabled us to keep the ship to about six feet water at low water, and by a vigorous effort we could bring the ship so light as (when the cargo should be all discharged) to be easily removed into deeper water. But as the external application might be disturbed by so doing, or totally removed by the agitation of the ship, it was absolutely necessary to provide some permanent security for the lives of those who were to navigate her to the river Thames. I then recommended, as the cheapest, quickest, and most effectual plan, to lay a deck in the hold, as low as the water could be pumped to, framed so solidly and securely, and caulked so tight as to swim the ship independent of her own leaky bottom.

Beams of fir timber, twelve inches square, were placed in the hold under every lower deck beam in the ship, as low as the water would permit; these were in two pieces, for the convenience of getting them down, and also for the better fixing them of an exact length, and well bolted together when in their places. Over these were laid long Dantzic deals of two inches and an half thick, well

nailed and caulked. Against the ship's side, all fore and aft, was well nailed a piece of fir, twelve inches broad and six inches thick on the lower, and three inches on the upper edge, to prevent the deck from rising at the side. Over the deck, at every beam, was laid a cross piece of fir timber, six inches deep and twelve inches broad, reaching from the pillar of the hold to the ship's side, on which the shores were to be placed to resist the pressure of the water beneath. On each of these, and against the lower deck beam, at equal distance from the side and middle of the ship, was placed an upright shore, six inches by twelve inches, the lower end let two inches into the cross piece. From the foot of this shore to the ship's side, under the end of every lower deck beam, was placed a diagonal shore, six inches by twelve, to ease the ship's deck of part of the strain by throwing it on the side. An upright shore, of three inches by twelve, was placed from the end of every cross piece to the lower deck beams at the side; and one of three inches by twelve on the midship end of every cross piece to the lower deck beam, and nailed to the pillars in the hold. Two firm tight bulkheads or partitions were made as near the extremes of the ship as possible. The cieling or inside plank of the ship was very securely caulked up to the lower deck, and the whole formed a compleat ship with a flat bottom within side to swim the outside leaky one; and that bottom being depressed six feet below the external water, resisted the ship's weight above it, equal

to five hundred and eighty-one tons, and safely conveyed her to the dry dock at Deptford.

Since I wrote the above account, I have been desired to use the same method on a Swedish ship, stranded near Margate on the same day as the York East India-man, and swim her to London. As this ship is about two hundred and fifty tons, and the execution of the business something different from what was practised with regard to the large ship, I hope it will not be thought improper to describe it.

As this ship's bottom was so much injured, having lost eight feet of her stern-post and all her keel, several floor-timbers being broke, and some of the planks off her bottom, (so as to leave a hole big enough for a man to come through) several lower deck beams being likewise broke, and all the pillars in the hold broken and washed away; I thought it necessary to connect, in some degree, the shattered bottom with the ship's decks, not only to support the temporary deck by which she was to swim up, but to prevent the bottom being crushed by the weight of the ship when she was put upon blocks in the dry dock: to effect which, after I had put across twelve beams of fir, six inches by twelve, edgeways, one under every lower deck beam of the ship, and well fastened them to the ship's side, I placed two upright pieces to each beam of six inches by twelve, securely bolted to the sides of the keelson, and scored six inches under the ship's lower deck beams, and three inches above the beams of the

temporary deck, and well fastened to each: then the deck was laid with long two-inch Dantzic deals, and well nailed and caulked; the ship's inside plank was well caulked up to the lower deck. A piece of fir, of twelve inches broad and two inches thick on the upper, and four inches on the lower edge, was well nailed to the ship's side all fore and aft, and well caulked on both edges to prevent the side of the deck from leaking, or being forced up by the pressure of the water against the deck, a two-inch deal or cross piece was laid over every beam from the ship's side to the uprights at the middle line; then, at equal distance from the side and middle line, pieces of six inches square, as long as could be got down, were put all fore and aft on both sides, scored two inches over every cross piece, and well bolted through the cross piece and deck, and into the fir beams. From this fore and aft piece or ribband to the ship's side, and from it to the uprights in the middle, were placed two rows of diagonal shores, six inches square, the heels of which were securely wedged against the fore and aft piece or ribband, which afforded sufficient support to the temporary deck without any other shores. Two bulkheads or partitions were built, as far as the fore-mast forward, and mizen-mast aft, well planked, shored, and caulked, to resist the water. As decks laid in this manner, and in so much hurry as the time of low water requires, will of consequence leak in some degree, and as that leakage, washing from side to side, will cause the ship to lay along, I fixed a

two-inch deal, twelve inches broad, edgeways, all fore and aft at the middle line, and well caulked it, to stop half the water on the weather or upper side, when the ship would incline either way, which not only made her stiffer under sail, but facilitated the pumping out the water made by leaks in the deck.

This deck was sixty-three feet long and twenty-three feet broad, and was laid at five feet five inches above the bottom of the keel, or four feet above the top of the floor timbers, and swam the ship at twelve feet five inches water, resisting two hundred and sixteen tons, and containing under it one hundred and twenty-four tons of water, which pressing against the under side of the temporary deck acted as ballast, and brought her safely into the dry dock at Deptford, from the most dangerous situation possible, being partly within and partly without Margate Pier, where she had been left by some Ramsgate men, who had undertaken to remove her from the place where she was stranded to a safer one within Margate Harbour.

*A new Method of treating the
Fistula Lachrymalis. By Mr.
William Blizzard, Surgeon,
F. A. S. communicated by Mr.
Joseph Warner, Surgeon, F.R.S.
From the same.*

Read Feb. 24, 1780.

IN every period of the disease, termed *fistula lachrymalis*, there is understood to exist a degree of obstruction in the nasal

duct; so that more or less of the tears, mixed with the oily secretion of the sebaceous glands of the eye-lids, and mucus of the internal surface of the lachrymal sac, being prevented from passing into the nose, are expelled through the lachrymal puncta upon the surface of the eye, and down the cheek.

Writers on surgery divide this disease into several stages; the first and most simple being that of obstruction, with little or no inflammation; and so on, according to the degree or effect of inflammation, to the last stage, a sloughy, ulcerated condition of the sac and its integuments, with, now and then, a *caries* of the bony parts.

Though the disease be frequently the effect of a *virus* in the habit, yet surgeons find, that sometimes the cause is very simple, and easily to be conceived from the analogy of parts.

The membranous portions of the nasal duct and lachrymal sac are a continuation of the pituitous membrane of the nose. This membrane is exceedingly vascular, secretes a large quantity of mucus upon its internal surface, and is endued with a great degree of sensibility.

Experience shews the great defluxions that are oftentimes made upon the pituitous membrane; the increased secretion of mucus that happens upon the application of various stimulants; and the firm consistence it often acquires from stagnation, absorption, and evaporation of its thinner parts: moreover, that the membrane itself frequently becomes inflamed and thickened.

The

The duct and sac may be affected through obstructed perspiration, &c. and thickened from the turgid state of their vessels: the secretion of mucus may also be considerably augmented. From the thickened state of the membrane of the duct, the fluids in the sac pass with difficulty: by retention, warmth, and absorption, they are rendered viscid; and the difficulty, that at first arose from the thickened state of the membrane, now arises from another cause, namely, the inspissated state of the fluids.

These are, probably, the most simple causes of obstruction in the nasal duct; but, from whatever cause the obstruction had its origin, in its early state, when unattended with a morbid change of the contiguous parts, it is considered as the first and most simple stage of the *fistula lachrymalis*. It is in this stage that the means of obviating the necessity of a troublesome and uncertain operation should be employed, with any rational expectation of success.

The principal of these means are:

1. Compression; declared by experienced practitioners to be injudicious.

2. The passing an instrument into the nostril, and up the duct; an operation very painful to the patient, and exceedingly troublesome to the operator.

3. The introducing a probe through one of the puncta into the duct, after M. Anel's manner; by experience proved to be inadequate to the design.

4. The impelling a fluid, by a syringe, through one of the puncta, as directed by M. Anel; allowed

by judicious and experienced surgeons to be sometimes useful.

On reflecting upon the last method, I was induced to think, that if a fluid, of a great degree of specific gravity, as quicksilver, could be passed through one of the puncta, so as to fill the sac and duct, and press upon the obstructed part, it might be reasonably expected to remove the obstruction in the first and simple stage of the disease; at least, to have a much better chance of producing this effect than a watery fluid, urged through the punctum in an unfavourable direction: besides, it would be no bar to the use of proper general means.

Flattered with the seeming reasonableness of the suggestion, and convinced of the safety of the experiment, I resolved on making a trial the first opportunity; which soon occurred to me.

Mr. M — B —, a sadler, in Mark-Lane, had been troubled with a flux of tears and mucus down the cheek from the puncta of the right eye-lids, about seven months. There was a degree of swelling or distension of the sac, attended with pain. Upon pressing the sac, much ropy fluid, of a whitish colour, was forced through the puncta. The discharge was always in greatest abundance in the evening; at which time he had a dimness of sight in that eye.

The usual means had been employed, without success, by his surgeon, who approved of the suggested experiment, and the patient agreed to have it tried.

Messrs. Nairne and Blunt provided an instrument for the purpose. It consists of a fine steel pipe, a little curved, cemented in

a glass tube about six inches long. At the top of the tube is a wooden funnel; and at the bottom of this is a valve, which may be elevated by a silken string that is conveyed through a hole in the brim of the funnel, and hangs down by the side of the tube*.

The steel pipe was passed into the inferior punctum, without pain or difficulty. The quicksilver was then poured into the funnel, and let down the tube by pulling the string of the valve. When the quicksilver regurgitated out by the superior punctum, the instrument was withdrawn. The quicksilver lay in the sac and duct, without exciting pain, about thirty hours, when it passed into the nose, and the patient caught some of it in his hand.

I thought it best at this time not to compress the sac; apprehending it would discharge the quicksilver through the puncta, and so frustrate the intention.

On the third day the operation was repeated; when, on gently compressing the sac, some of the quicksilver passed into the nose, and with it a piece of congealed whitish mucus. A small quantity of the quicksilver, upon making the pressure, returned through the puncta.

At the third and fourth times of repeating the operation, without any compression, at intervals of a few days, the quicksilver passed readily into the nose.

I once introduced the point of a steel pipe, used for injecting the lymphatic vessels. It is cemented

to a tube of glass eighteen inches long. This pipe is not so fine as that of the other instrument, yet it was conveyed into the punctum without difficulty, and with little or no pain. To gain a greater degree of *momentum* I raised the column of quicksilver to about twelve inches, when it flowed into the nose with a considerable degree of velocity.

From the time that the quicksilver passed into the nose, less fluid trickled down the cheek than before. After the second or third operation, the swelling or distention of the sac intirely subsided. The patient at this time has no discharge of mucus, and a tear but very seldom: the parts have a perfectly healthy appearance.

To ascertain the effects of medicines in diseases of the constitution, many experiments, under various circumstances, are necessary; but in matters determinable by a mechanical operation, the effect, as far as our senses can direct us, is in general very plain and explicable.

In the case related this is clear, namely, that previously to the injecting of quicksilver, the tears, sebaceous matter, and mucus, did not pass through the nasal duct, or, but in a very small proportion to the quantity secreted; that at the first experiment, quicksilver did not pass; but that quicksilver, tears, &c. have since readily passed.

I cannot, however, flatter myself that this method will avail,

* I have described the instrument as it was used; but I have since thought, that it would not only be more simple but do as well without a valvular apparatus, the quicksilver being poured in by an assistant.

except in the first or simple stage of the disorder; but many cases have a favourable state for the trial in their early period, and that opportunity may be seized with a probability of success.

The operation is simple, easily executed, productive of but little pain, and attended with no kind of danger.

Account of a Woman who had the Small Pox during Pregnancy, and who seemed to have communicated the same Disease to the Fœtus. By John Hunter, Esq. F. R. S. From the same.

Mr. Grant's Account.

ON the 5th of December, 1776, Mrs. Ford had been seized with shivering and the other common symptoms of fever, to which were added great difficulty of breathing, and a very hard cough. Mr. Grant saw her on the 7th; and he took from her eight ounces of blood, and gave her a composition of the saline mixture with spermaceti and magnesia every six hours.

This had operated by the 8th two or three times very gently, when most of the complaints were relieved; but the cough still shaking her violently, bleeding seemed necessary to be repeated, more particularly as she looked upon herself to be in the sixth month of her pregnancy. The medicine was continued without the magnesia.

In the evening (*viz.* the 8th) the small pox appeared, which proved of a mild kind, and moderate in quantity. Its progress

was rather slower than might have been expected; but the woman passed through the disease in great spirits, sitting up the greatest part of the day during the whole time, and taking only a paregoric at night, and, as occasion required, a little magnesia: thus the symptoms were mitigated, and the cough at last became very little troublesome.

On the 25th she complained of a pain in her side. Eight ounces of blood were taken away. The next day she was quite free from pain, and thought herself as well on the 27th as her particular situation would admit of; after which she was not visited by Mr. Grant till the 31st, when she was in labour.

Mr. Wastall's Letter on the same Subject.

Dec. 30, 1776, I was sent for to Mrs. Ford, a healthy woman, about twenty-two years of age, who was pregnant with her first child. She had come out of the country about three months before. Soon after her arrival in town she was seized with the small pox, and had been under the care of Messrs. Hawkins and Grant, who have favoured me with the particulars here annexed.

I called upon her in the afternoon; she complained of violent griping pains in her bowels, darting down to the *pubes*. On examining I found the *os tinsæ* a little dilated, with other symptoms of approaching labour. I sent her an anodyne spermaceti emulsion, and desired to be called if her pains increased. I was sent for. The labour advanced

very slowly; her pains were long and severe; she was delivered of a dead child, with some difficulty.

Observing an eruption all over the body of the child, and several of the *pustules* filled with matter, I examined them more particularly; and recollecting, that Dr. Leake, in his Introductory Lecture to the Practice of Midwifery, had observed, that it might be necessary to enquire, whether those adults who are said totally to escape the small pox have not been previously affected with it in the womb, I sent a note to Dr. Leake, and likewise to Dr. Hunter, in hopes of ascertaining a fact hitherto much doubted. Dr. Leake came the same evening, and saw the child. Dr. Hunter came afterwards, with Mr. Cruickshanks, and examined it; also Mr. John Hunter and Mr. Falconer; who all concurred with me, that the eruption on the child was the small pox. Dr. Hunter thought the eruption so like the small pox that he could hardly doubt; but said, that in all other cases of the same kind, that he had met with, the child *in utero* had escaped the contagion.

From Mr. Grant's Notes.

The eruption appeared on Mrs. Ford in the evening of the 8th of December, and she was delivered the 31st, that is, twenty-three days after the appearance of the eruptions.

Reflections by Mr. John Hunter.

The singularity of the above

case, with all its circumstances, has inclined me to consider it with some attention.

There can be no doubt but that the mother had the small pox, and that the eruption began to appear on the 8th of December: also, that it went through its regular stages, and that on the 31st, *viz.* twenty-three days after the first appearance of the eruption, the woman was delivered of the child, who is the subject of this paper.

Secondly, The distance of time when she had the small pox before delivery, joined with the stage of the disease in the child when born, which probably was about the sixth or seventh day of the eruption, *viz.* about fifteen or sixteen days after the beginning of the eruption on the mother, perfectly agrees with the possibility of the infection's being caught from the mother.

Thirdly, The external appearance of the *pustules* in the child was perfectly that of the small pox, as must have appeared from the relation given in Mr. Wastall's letter. Most of the *pustules* were distinct, but some were blended or united at their base. The face had the greatest number; and these were in general the most indistinct. They were somewhat flattened with a dent in the middle*.

So far were the leading circumstances and external appearances in favour of their being the variolous eruption; but although these leading circumstances and external appearances were incontrovertible, yet they were not an absolute

* I endeavoured to take some matter upon the point of two lancets; but not having an opportunity of making an experiment myself, I gave them to two gentlemen, who, I imagine, were afraid of inoculating with them.

proof of this being the genuine small pox; therefore I must be allowed to consider this subject a little further, and see how far all the circumstances correspond or are similar to the true small pox. In the small pox we have a previous fever, in place of which, in the present case, we have no information but that of the mother's having had the small pox within such a limited time as may favour the possibility of infection in the womb; yet we may presume, that the child must have had considerable fever preceding such an eruption, of whatsoever kind it was.

In the small pox the eruption goes through pretty regular stages in its progress and declension, which circumstances we know nothing of in the present case; but even this fever, the eruptions, and their progress, are not absolutely proofs that the disorder is the small pox when it is caught in the common and natural way: and in proof of this assertion it may be observed, that practitioners every now and then are mistaken.

It may be asked, what is the true characteristic of the small pox? That by which it differs from all other eruptions that we are acquainted with? The most certain character of the small pox, that I know, is the formation of a slough, or a part becoming dead by the variolous inflammation; a circumstance which hitherto, I believe, has not been taken notice of.

This was very evident in the arms of those who were inoculated in the old way, where the wounds

were considerable, and were dressed every day; which mode of treatment kept them from scabbing, by which means this process was easily observed; but in the present method of inoculation it is hardly observable: the sore being allowed to scab, the slough and scab unite and drop off together. The same indistinctness attends the eruptions on the skin; and in those patients who die of, or die while in, the disease, where we have an opportunity of examining them while the part is distinct, this slough is very evident.

This slough is the cause of the pitting after all is cicatrized; for it is a real loss of substance of the surface of the *cutis*: and in proportion to this slough is the remaining depression.

The chicken pox comes the nearest in external appearance to the small pox; but it does not commonly produce a slough.

As there is generally no loss of substance in this case, there can be no pitting. But it sometimes happens, although but rarely, that there is a pitting in consequence of a chicken pox; then ulceration has taken place on the surface of the *cutis*, a common thing in sores.

In the present case, besides the leading circumstances mentioned in the case of the mother, corresponding with the appearances on the child, and the external appearances themselves, we have in the fullest sense the third and real or principal character of the small pox, *viz.* the slough in every *pustule*; from all which, I think, we may conclude, that the child had caught the small pox in the

womb; or at least a disease, the effects of which were similar to no other known disease.

In opening the bodies of those who had either died of, or died while under, the small pox, I always examined carefully to see whether any internal cavity, such as the *œsophagus*, *trachea*, stomach, intestines, *pleura*, *peritoneum*, &c. had eruptions upon them or not, and never finding any in any of those cavities, I began to suspect, that either the skin itself was the only part of the body susceptible of such a *stimulus*; or that the skin was subject to some influence to which the other parts of the body were not subject, and which made it alone susceptible of the *variolous stimulus*. If from the first cause, I then concluded it must be an original principle in the animal œconomy. If from the second, I then suspected, that external exposure was the cause; and I was the more led into this idea, from finding that these eruptions often attack the mouth and throat, two exposed parts; add to which, that we generally find the eruptions most on the exposed parts of the body, as the face, &c.

With these ideas in my mind, I thought I saw the most favourable opportunity of clearing up this point. I therefore very attentively examined most of the internal cavities of this child; such as the *peritoneum*, *pleura*, *trachea*, inside of the *œsophagus*, stomach, intestines, &c. but observed nothing uncommon. I have already observed, that in this child the face and extremities were the fullest, similar to what happens in common; from all which I may be

allowed to draw this conclusion, that the skin is the principal part which is susceptible of the *variolous stimulus*, and is not affected by any external influence whatever.

The communication of the small pox to the child in the womb may be supposed to happen in two ways; one by infection from the mother, as is supposed in the above case; the other by the mother's having absorbed the small pox matter from some other person, and the matter being carried to the child from the connection between the two, which we may suppose done with or without first affecting the mother.

Testimonies and opinions are various with respect to these two facts. Boerhaave seems to have been led by his experience to think that such infection was not communicable: for we find that he attended a lady, who having, in the sixth month of her pregnancy, had the confluent small pox, brought forth at the regular period a child, who shewed not the least vestige of his mother's disease.

His commentator, however, Van Swieten, supports a different opinion (see his comment, vol. v.). He quotes a case from the Philosophical Transactions, vol. xxviii. N^o 337. p. 165. of a woman, who, having just gone through a mild sort of small pox, was, by means of a strong dose of purging physic, thrown into a miscarriage, and brought forth a dead female child, whose whole body was covered with *variolous pustules* full of ripe matter; but this history is founded only on the relation of a midwife to a clergyman, and therefore not absolutely

absolutely to be depended upon as accurately stated: however, it is more than probable, that there was a case as described; and that there were really eruptions on the skin of the child similar to the small pox.

Van Swieten likewise mentions what Mauriceau relates of himself. This author testifies, that he had often heard his father and mother say, that the latter, when big with him, and very near her time of delivery, had a painful attendance on one of her children, who died of the small pox on the seventh day of the eruption; and that on the day following the death of this child, Mauriceau came into the world, bringing with him five or six true *pustules* of the small pox.

It does not appear, however, from this recital, whether or not Mauriceau passed through life free from any posterior infection; but admitting that this eruption of Mauriceau's was truly the small pox, yet I should very much doubt his having caught it from the child who died of it: as it should seem that the *pustules* of Mauriceau were of the same date with those of the child who died. Van Swieten appeals to a more recent case, which had been reported to him by persons of great credit, and is recorded in the Phil. Transf. vol. xlv. p. 235.

"A woman, big with child, having herself long ago had the small pox, very assiduously nursed a maid servant during the whole process of this disease. At the proper time she brought forth a healthy female child, in whose skin Dr. Wat-

son asserted, that he discovered evident marks of the small pox, which she must have gone through in the womb; and the same physician pronounced, that this child would be free from future infection. After four years her brother was inoculated; and Dr. Watson obtained permission of the parents to try the same experiment on the girl. The operation was performed on both children in the same manner; and the *pustules* used in both cases was taken from the same patient. The event, however, was different; for the boy had the regular eruption, and got well; but the girl's arm did not inflame nor suppurate. On the tenth day from the insertion of the matter, she turned pale suddenly, was languid for two days, and afterwards was very well. In the neighbourhood of the incision there appeared a *pustule* like those *pustules* that we sometimes observe in persons who, having had the disease, attend patients ill of the small pox."

In the epistles of T. Bartholinus, cent. ii. p. 682. there is the following history. "A poor woman, aged thirty-eight years, pregnant, and now near the time of delivery, was seized with the symptoms of the small pox, and had a very numerous eruption. In this state she was delivered of a child, as full of *variolous pustules* as herself. The child died soon after birth; the mother three days afterwards." Van Swieten infers, that the mother and the child were in this case

case infected at the same time; therefore, the child not infected by the mother.

Dr. Mead asserts, that when a woman in the small pox suffers an abortion, the *fœtus* is generally full of the contagion; but that this does not happen always. This variety, he says, depends on the state of the mother's *pustules* when the child is born; that is, whether they are or are not in a state of purulence. Whence he has observed it sometimes to happen, that on the second day from the birth, or the third, or any day before the eighth, the disease caught from the mother shews itself in eruptions on the child.

Dr. Mead here relates the history of a lady of quality, of which this is the substance. A lady, in the seventh month of her pregnancy, had the confluent small pox, and on the eleventh day of the disease brought forth a son, having no signs of the disease on his body; and she died on the fourteenth day. The infant having lived four days, was seized with convulsions, and, the small pox appearing, died. The doctor infers from hence, that the suppuration being in some measure completed on the eleventh day, the mother's disease was communicated then to the *fœtus*, and made its appearance on the child after eight days.

If there be no abortion, Dr. Mead pronounces, that the child will ever be free from the disease, unless the birth should happen before the maturation of the *pustules*. He brings a case to prove, that the *fœtus* in the womb may be infected by the contagion of which the mother does not partake. "A

" woman, who had long before
" suffered the small pox, nursed
" her husband, under that disease, towards the end of her
" pregnancy; and was brought
" to bed at the due time. The
" child was dead, and covered
" all over with *variolous pustules*."

With respect to the case quoted from Mauriceau, it has been proved by Sir George Baker (Med. Transact. vol. ii. p. 275.) that Dr. Mead drew a conclusion from it directly contrary to the author's meaning. The negative opinion appears evidently to be supported by that history.

Sir George Baker mentions in the same paper the case of two pregnant women who were inoculated at Hertford. They both had the small pox favourably, and afterwards brought forth their children perfectly healthy at the usual time. Both these children, at the age of three years, were inoculated with effect.

Sir George Baker likewise mentions a case which fell under the observation of Dr. Clarke of Epsom. " A woman towards the
" end of her pregnancy had the
" small pox, from which she narrowly escaped. Five weeks
" after the crisis she was delivered
" of an healthy female child, who
" having numerous marks on her
" skin, was judged by all who
" saw her to have undergone the
" same distemper before her birth.
" However, at the end of twelve
" months she had the small pox
" in a very severe manner. Both
" the mother and child were
" lately living at Epsom."

Since then we see that it is very probable, that the small pox may be caught from the mother
when

when she is infected, it may be asked, why does not this happen oftener? In answer to this we may suppose, that this is not so ready a way as when the child is exposed to catch it after the birth, as we find too that a difference can be produced after birth: *viz.* inoculation is a much readier way of catching it than what is called the natural way. It may likewise be said, that many women who are with child, and have the small pox during pregnancy, do not recover; therefore both mother and child die before the disease can have time to produce eruptions upon the child. Finally, in many of those cases, where the mother recovers, there is sometimes produced a miscarriage, which also hinders the infection from taking place in the child. However, many women go through the whole disease, and the child shews no marks of the small pox.

Thus have I stated facts relative to the present subject, with some of the best authorities on both sides of the question; and shall now leave the reader to form his own judgment.

Dr. Guthrie's Account of the Russian Manner of treating Persons affected by the Fumes of burning Charcoal, and other Effluvia of the same Nature. From the same.

St. Petersburg, Oct. 12, 1778.

Dear Sir,

I SHALL endeavour to recollect, according to your desire, the particulars of that part of my former letter which related to the

mode of recovering people in Russia, who are apparently deprived of life by the principle emitted from burning charcoal, or by the incrustation formed upon the insides of the boors huts when it thaws.

People of condition in this country have double windows to their houses in winter; but the commoner sort have only single ones, which is the reason that, during a severe frost, there is an incrustation formed upon the insides of the glass windows. This seems to be composed of condensed breath, perspiration, &c. as a number of people live and sleep in the same small room, especially in great cities. This excrementitious crust is farther impregnated with the phlogiston of candles, and of the oven with which the chamber is heated.

When a thaw succeeds a hard frost of long duration, and this plate of ice is converted into water, there is a principle set loose, which produces all the terrible effects upon the human body which the principle emitted from charcoal is so well known to do in this country, where people every day suffer from it. However, the Russians constantly lay the blame upon the oven, when they are affected by the thawing of the crust, as the effects are perfectly similar, and they cannot bring themselves to believe, that the dissolving of so small a portion of ice can be attended with any bad consequence, when they daily melt larger masses without danger: yet the oven does not at all account for the complaints brought on at this period; for, upon examination, they generally find every thing

thing right there, and still the *ugar*, or hurtful vapour, remaining in the room.

As the effects of both are similar, as I have said above, and likewise the mode of recovery, I shall only give you an account of the operation of the principle emitted by burning charcoal, and of the method of bringing those people to life who have been *suffocated* by it (as I think it is erroneously termed); this will supersede the necessity of giving the history of both, or rather it will be giving both at the same time.

Russian houses are heated by the means of ovens; and the manner of heating them is as follows. A number of billets of wood are placed in the peech or stove, and allowed to burn till they fall in a mass of bright red cinders; then the vent above is shut up, and likewise the door of the peech which opens into the room, in order to concentrate the heat; this makes the tiles of which the peech is composed as hot as you desire, and sufficiently warms the apartment; but sometimes a servant is so negligent as to shut up the peech or oven before the wood is sufficiently burnt, for the red cinders should be turned over from time to time to see that no bit of wood remains of a blackish colour, but that the whole mass is of a uniform glare (as if almost transparent) before the openings are shut, else the *ugar* or vapour is sure to succeed to mismanagement of this sort, and its effects are as follows.

If a person lays himself down to sleep in the room exposed to the influence of this vapour, he falls into so sound a sleep that it is difficult to awake him, but he

feels (or is sensible of) nothing. There is no spasm excited in the *trachea arteria* or lungs to rouse him, nor does the breathing, by all accounts, seem to be particularly affected: in short, there is no one symptom of suffocation; but towards the end of the catastrophe, a sort of groaning is heard by people in the next room, which brings them sometimes to the relief of the sufferer. If a person only sits in the room, without intention to sleep, he is, after some time, seized with a drowsiness and inclination to vomit. However, this last symptom seldom affects a Russian, it is chiefly foreigners who are awaked to their dangers by a *nausea*; but the natives, in common with strangers, perceive a dull pain in their heads, and if they do not remove directly, which they are often too sleepy to do, are soon deprived of their senses and power of motion, insomuch, that if no person fortunately discovers them within an hour after this worst stage, they are irrecoverably lost; for the Russians say, that they do not succeed in restoring to life those who have lain more than an hour in a state of insensibility.

The recovery is always attempted, and often effected, in this manner. They carry the patient immediately out of doors, and lay him upon the snow, with nothing on him but a shirt and linen drawers. His stomach and temples are then well rubbed with snow, and cold water, or milk is poured down his throat. This friction is continued with fresh snow until the livid hue, which the body had when brought out, is changed to its natural colour, and life renewed; then they cure the violent head-

head-ach which remains by binding on the forehead a cataplasm of black rye bread, and vinegar.

In this manner the unfortunate man is perfectly restored, without blowing up the lungs, as is necessary in the case of drowned persons; on the contrary, they begin to play of themselves so soon as the surcharge of phlogiston makes its escape from the body.

It is well worthy of observation, how diametrically opposite the modes are of restoring to life, those who are deprived of it by water, and those who have lost it by the fumes of charcoal: the one consisting in the internal and external application of heat, and the other in that of cold. It may be alleged, that the stimulus of the cold produces heat, and the fact seems to be confirmed by the Russian method of restoring circulation in a frozen limb by means of friction with snow. But what is singular in the case of people apparently deprived of life in the manner treated of is, that the body is much warmer when brought out of the room than at the instant life is restored, and that they awake cold and shivering. The colour of the body is also changed from a livid red to its natural complexion, which, together with some other circumstances, would almost lead one to suspect, that they are restored to life by the snow and cold water some how or other freeing them from the load of phlogiston with which the system seems to be replete; for although the first application of cold water to the human body produces heat, yet, if often repeated in a very cold atmosphere, it then cools instead of continuing to heat, just as the cold

bath does when a person remains too long in it.

In short, I think it is altogether a curious subject, whether you take into consideration the mode of action of the principle emitted by burning charcoal, and our phlogisticated crust; or the operation of the snow and cold water. However, I shall by no means take upon me to decide, whether the dangerous symptoms related above are produced by the air in the room being so saturated with phlogiston as to be unable to take up the proper quantity from the lungs, which occasions a surcharge in the system, according to your theory, or whether so subtle a fluid may somehow find its way into the circulation, and thereby arrest the vital powers; nor shall I determine whether the livid hue of the body when brought out is changed into a paler colour by the atmosphere somehow or other absorbing and freeing the blood from the colouring principle, as you have shewn to be the case with blood out of the body: these are curious inquiries that I shall leave to your investigation. I have only endeavoured to collect facts from a number of natives who have met with this accident themselves, or have assisted in restoring others to life. It is so common a case here that it is perfectly familiar to them, and they never call in medical assistance.

I am, &c.

From Dr. Duncan's Medical Commentaries, 1780.

THE following directions for preventing fatal effects from drinking

drinking large quantities of spirits, have been printed and distributed at Liverpool. They were drawn up by Dr. Houlston of that place, in consequence of some melancholy accidents happening from this cause, where proper assistance, was not sought for. As such accidents are but too common, it is of importance that the most successful practice in those cases should be generally known.

Many persons are destroyed suddenly by drinking *large quantities* of Spirit. Their first effects are *stimulant*; they quicken the circulation, and occasion much blood to be thrown upon the head. They afterwards prove *sedative*; they bring on stupor; loss of reason, total; of motion and sensation, almost total. Their effects may be partly owing to their entering, in some degree, into the circulation, but depend chiefly, when violent, on their action on the nerves of the stomach. In consequence, the brain is affected, and the nervous influence suspended if not destroyed. All the parts of the body therefore partake of this insensibility. As the skin in some cases may be burnt even without feeling, so the stomach and intestines may be stimulated considerably without any effect. The motion of the heart and lungs is much enfeebled and interrupted, but continues irregularly till death ensues.

To rescue the person from so dangerous a state is extremely difficult. To counteract these effects by medicine is less likely, both as the power of swallowing is lost, and as, probably, little or no absorption then takes place. But we ought to endeavour, 1st, to eva-

cuat the poison; or else, 2dly, to dilute it, and thereby weaken its action. With a view to the first, *brisk vomits* may be given; but, from the want of irritability of the stomach, *these* often will not act, unless given early, when they are of great service in cases of intoxication. A dock-porter, who died in the Liverpool Infirmary from this cause, Feb. 28, 1780, got down over night, nearly 12 grains of emetic tartar dissolved, yet it produced little or no effect, though he lived till the next day. *Purges* are also proper, but liable, though in a less degree, to the same objections. Sharp *glysters* may be administered and will produce some evacuation, but their operation does not extend far enough. *Large glysters*, of water only, or of water in which purging salts are dissolved, thrown up with some force by a syringe, might be of more service.

Oil has been advised to be given, to help to evacuate the spirit, or to weaken its action.—But when the inactivity of the stomach is become so great and the danger so pressing, there seems more reason to expect success, from *largely diluting* that poison, which we in vain attempt to evacuate. When intoxication has been produced by drinking strong liquors, large quantities of water, or weak liquids, drank are found to lessen it very considerably. And though the power of swallowing be lost, yet by means of a pipe (as a catheter) passed beyond the glottis, or even down into the stomach, *water* might be poured in, in such quantity as was judged sufficient to dilute and carry off the liquor in the stomach. To the water might be added,

added, with advantage probably, *vinegar*, or any kind of *acid*: or *purgatives* might be dissolved in it, to facilitate the poison's passing off by the intestines. A pipe of this kind too would afford the best method of introducing substances into the stomach to promote vomiting.

Putting the body into a *warm bath*, or the legs and feet in warm water, will be of use, by lessening the quantity of blood accumulated in the head and in the larger vessels: and some of the water may perhaps be absorbed. With a view to relieve the oppression, *bleeding*, and *opening the temporal artery* are adviseable. If the pulse is found to become freer and fuller on losing some blood, more may be taken away. *Blisters* may also be applied with advantage.

The coldness of the extremities, and the evident difficulty with which the circulation is kept up, point out the propriety of assisting it by *warmth* and *friction* applied to the skin (as in recovering drowned persons.) *Motion*, to prevent sleep, may probably be serviceable in such cases. Great care should be taken to loosen the neck-band, garters, and every kind of bandage, and that the body should lie in a natural, easy, posture; on the side is perhaps better than on the belly, though that has been recommended, that the stomach might the easier discharge its contents. The breathing should not be obstructed nor the neck lie low, or in a bent position.

in them, by the Author of "Hints to Gentlemen of Landed Property."

AMONG the number of resources which this country is supposed to have in store, none is perhaps pregnant with more benefit to the state, and to individuals, than our commons, or waste land. Every man who has turned his thoughts this way, perceives the loss sustained in the neglect of so striking an object; but the brightest jewel cannot give lustre, till it be polished; nor can these rude tracts of land yield their due profit to society, till they are cultivated. Some persons, from mere indolence and inattention, some through timidity, and others, perhaps, from a commendable persuasion that the inclosing of them would tend to the prejudice of the poorest class of mankind, continue to overlook the advantage they might acquire from them; and thus society loses the advantages it ought to derive from this fruitful source. With respect to the latter objection, it is indeed more than specious; there is, it must be allowed, something invidious in the very idea of wresting from the poor, the only inheritance they have; in which too they have that best of title—Long Possession. Therefore, from equal motives of humanity, and sound policy, their property and interest in commons ought to remain inviolate; and the more so, as they hold it by a tenure that does not admit of alienation.—Let commons then remain in their present state, as to owners and possessors, but let the sense of this country be shewn, in adopting some method for their improvement

Hints for the General Improvement of Commons, recommended to the Consideration of every Person concerned

ment, which will be of infinite advantage to the nation at large.—To promote so laudable a project then, it were to be wished that a bill in parliament might be procured, not for the inclosing, but, *for the improvement and better regulation of all the commons in England*; which is the more earnestly recommended to the attention of the landed interest, lest the necessity of the times should hereafter happen to justify government, in striving to grasp at an influence, over this object, in a manner which may be less palatable, and yet not more beneficial to the public.—This bill should be so framed, as to enforce something like the following practice:—The overseers of the poor, or rather some able surveyor or surveyors, to be employed for that purpose, should first exactly ascertain, in every parish, where there is any considerable tract of common, what stock that common will fairly support.—This done, if the proportion of common be large in proportion to the number of inhabitants, let every house, from the largest mansion to the meanest cottage that is inhabited, have an equal right of keeping one cow, or six sheep, or any other proper stock in the like proportion.—After this allotment, let every estate have a right to stock the surplusage in proportion to what it pays to the poor rates. Let every cottager, and every proprietor of an estate, have a right to stock his proportion, or to let it to any other person at his option; but let no person presume to overstock, under such penalty as the wisdom of the legislature shall think proper to inflict. Let the overseers of the poor have

a power to oblige every person interested in the common, to labour himself, or to send a labourer in his stead, four days in the year; or else pay six shillings in money for every cow, or proportional stock he has a right to keep; provided he be not called upon in time of corn or hay harvest, or seed seasons. Let the money given in lieu of labour, and the personal labour of others, be employed, under proper direction, in extirpating brakes, bushes, furze, fern, and other rubbish, in draining wet parts, levelling and filling up broken ground and rutts, in making baulks to confine the roads to narrower compass, in erecting flood-gates, and stops, and making trenches, for the purpose of watering and flooding such parts as admit of that most valuable of all improvements; in short, in doing every thing to the common, which a good husbandman would do to his farm, or a gentleman to his park.

Where the commons are so small as not to admit of a cow, or the like proportion of stock, to every house, then let the overseers of the poor have a power to let them to any proper tenant; and, after deducting out of the rent what may be necessary towards their yearly improvement, distribute the remainder, among such industrious parishioners as have nothing to trust to but their labour, and who are *not relieved* by the poor rates.

Much improvement may undoubtedly be made upon this plan.—But it is to be presumed that no person, unless he be blinded by prejudice, can make any objection to a scheme, which appears to be productive of so much advantage;
for

for the good effect of such an act must be obvious to every common understanding. A great many commons, under this regulation, will be as beneficial to society as though they were inclosed:—they will, in the first place, support nearly double the stock they now do, to say nothing about mending the breed, which, by the way, will be no inconsiderable object; the rot in sheep, and many other disorders in cattle, will be greatly diminished, as they have frequently their rise from unsound commons:—the face of the country will be very much improved; for many commons, now offensive to the eye, and comfortless to the foot, will be as pleasant, as smooth, and firm as a fine lawn or park. —The cottagers can advance no just plea against this project; for where commons are large they will have their full proportion,

and where they are small, they will have the whole. Owners of estates cannot object to it, because they will, in the former case, have their just proportion secured to them; and in the latter, the little they give up will be so strong an incentive to industry, that it will operate ultimately, though not immediately, in their favor.

These particulars are suggested from mere motives of public spirit, and are addressed to every man of landed property, from a full persuasion, that such a scheme will greatly tend to private emolument, and be of more national advantage than mankind are in general aware of. If it be thought too crude or futile, it is to be hoped, that it will at least lead some abler person, to offer a plan better digested, and of more importance in its operation.

ANTIQUITIES.

Of the ancient English Stage. From Supplemental Observations to Steevens's Edition of Shakspeare, by Mr. Malone.

THE drama, before the time of Shakspeare, was so little cultivated, or so ill understood, that it is unnecessary to carry our researches higher than that period. Dryden has truly observed, that he “found not, but created first the stage;” of which no one can doubt, who considers, that of all the plays issued from the press antecedent to the year 1592, when there is good reason to believe he commenced a dramatick writer, the titles are scarcely known, except to antiquarians; nor is there one of them that will bear a second perusal. Yet these, contemptible and few as they are, we may suppose to have been the most popular productions of the time, and the best that had been exhibited before the appearance of Shakspeare.

The most ancient English play-houses of which I have met any accounts, are *the Curtain* in Shore-ditch, and *the Theatre*.

In the time of our author, there were no less than ten theatres open: four private houses, viz. that in *Black-friars*, the *Cockpit* or *Phoenix* in Drury Lane, a theatre

in *White-friars*, and one in *Salisbury Court*; and six that were called public theatres; viz. the *Globe*, the *Swan*, the *Rose*, and the *Hope*, on the Bank-side; the *Red Bull* at the upper end of St. John's street, and the *Fortune* in White-cross street. The two last were chiefly frequented by citizens.

Most, if not all of Shakspeare's plays were performed either at *the Globe*, or at the theatre in *Black-friars*. I shall therefore confine my enquiries chiefly to these two. It appears that they both belonged to the same company of comedians, viz. his majesty's servants, which title they assumed, after a licence had been granted to them by King James in 1603; having before that time been called the servants of the lord chamberlain.

The theatre in *Black-friars* was, as has been mentioned, a private house; but what were the peculiar and distinguishing marks of a private play-house, it is not easy to ascertain. We know only that it was very small; and that plays were there usually represented by candle-light.

The Globe, which was situated on the southern side of the river Thames, was an hexagonal building, partly open to the weather, partly covered with reeds. It was a public

a public theatre, and of considerable size; and there they always acted by day-light. On the roof of *the Globe*, and the other public theatres, a pole was erected, to which a flag was affixed: These flags were probably displayed only during the hours of exhibition; and it should seem from a passage in one of the old comedies, that they were taken down during Lent, in which season no plays were presented.

The Globe, though hexagonal at the outside, was probably a rotunda within, and perhaps had its name from its circular form. It might, however, have been denominated only from its sign; which was a figure of Hercules supporting the globe. This theatre was burnt down in 1613; but it was rebuilt in the following year, and decorated with more ornament than had been originally bestowed upon it.

The exhibitions at *the Globe* seem to have been calculated chiefly for the lower class of people; those at *Black-friars*, for a more select and judicious audience: This appears from the following prologue to Shirley's *Doubtful Heir*, which is inserted among his poems, printed in 1646, with this title:

Prologue at *the Globe*, to his comedy called *the Doubtful Heir*, which should have been presented at *the Black-friars*.

"Gentlemen, I am only sent to say,
Our author did not calculate his play
For this meridian. The *Bank-side*, he
knows,
Is far more skilful at the ebbs and flows

* The common people stood in *the Globe* theatre, in that part of the house which we now call the pit; which being lower than the stage, Shirley calls them *under standers*. In the private play-houses, it appears from the subsequent lines, there were seats in the pit.

Of water than of wit; he did not mean
For the elevation of your poles, this scene.
No shews—no dance—and what you most
delight in,
Grave understanders *, here's no target-
fighting
Upon the stage; all work for cutlers
barr'd;
No bawdry, nor no ballads;—this goes
hard:
But language clean, and what affects you
not,
Without impossibilities the plot;
No clown, no squibs, no devil in't.—Oh
now,
You squirrels that want nuts, what will
you do?
Pray do not crack the benches, and we
may
Hereafter fit your palates with a play.
But you that can contract yourselves, and
sit,
As you were now in the *Black-friars* pit;
And will not deaf us with lewd noise and
tongues,
Because we have no heart to break our
lungs,
Will pardon our *wiss* stage, and not dis-
grace
This play, meant for your persons, not
the place."

The superior discernment of the *Black-friars* audience may be likewise collected from a passage in the preface prefixed by Heminge and Condell to the first folio edition of our author's works: "and though you be a *magistrate of wit*, and sit on the stage at *Black-friars* or the Cockpit, to arraigne plays dailie, know these plays have had their tryal already, and stood out all appeales."

A writer, already quoted, informs us that one of these theatres was a winter, and the other a summer house. As *the Globe* was partly exposed to the weather, and

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they acted there usually by daylight, it was probably the summer theatre. The exhibitions here seem to have been more frequent than at *Black-friers*, at least till the year 1604 or 1605, when the *Bank-side* appears to have become less fashionable, and less frequented than it formerly had been.

Many of our ancient dramatic pieces were performed in the yards of carriers' inn, in which, in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, the comedians, who then first united themselves in companies, erected an occasional stage*. The form of these temporary play-houses seems to be preserved in our modern theatre. The galleries are, in both, ranged over each other on three sides of the building. The small rooms under the lowest of these galleries, answer to our present boxes; and it is observable that these even in theatres which were built in a subsequent period expressly for dramatic exhibitions, still retained their old name, and are frequently called *rooms* by our ancient writers. The yard bears a sufficient resemblance to the pit, as at present in use. We may sup-

pose the stage to have been raised in this area, on the fourth side, with its back to the gateway of the inn, at which the money for admission was taken. Thus, in fine weather, a play-house not incommodious might have been formed.

Hence, in the middle of *the Globe*, and I suppose of the other public theatres, in the time of Shakspeare, there was an open yard or area, where the common people stood to see the exhibition; from which circumstance they are called by our author *groundlings*, and by Ben Jonson, "the *under-standing* gentlemen of the ground."

In the ancient play-houses there appears to have been a private box; of which it is not easy to ascertain the situation. It seems to have been placed at the side of the stage, towards the rear, and to have been at a lower price; in this some people sat, either from economy or singularity. The galleries or *scaffolds*, as they are sometimes called, and that part of the house, which in private theatres was named the pit†, seem to have been at the same price; and probably

* Fleckno, in his *Short Discourse of the English Stage*, published in 1664, says, some remains of these ancient theatres were at that day to be seen in the inn-yards of the *Cross-keys* in Grace-church Street, and the *Bull* in Bishopsgate Street.

In the seventeen play-houses erected between the years 1570 and 1629, the continuator of Stowe's *Chronicle* reckons "five *innes* or common *ostleries* turned into play-houses."

† The pit, Dr. Percy supposes to have received its name from one of the play-houses having been formerly a *cock-pit*. This account of the term, however, seems to be somewhat questionable. The place where the seats are ranged in St. Mary's at Cambridge, is still called the *pit*; and no one can suspect that venerable fabric of having ever been a *cock-pit*, or that the phrase was borrowed from a play-house to be applied to a church. A *pit* is a place low in its relative situation, and such is the middle part of a theatre.

bably in houses of reputation, such as *the Globe*, and that in *Blackfriars*, the price of admission into those parts of the theatre was sixpence, while in some meaner play-houses it was only a penny, in others two-pence. The price of admission into the best *rooms* or boxes, was, I believe, in our author's time, a shilling; though afterwards it appears to have risen to two shillings and half a crown.

From several passages in our old plays we learn, that spectators were admitted on the stage, and that the critics and wits of the time usually sat there. Some were placed on the ground*; others sat on stools, of which the price was either sixpence or a shilling, according, I suppose, to the commodiousness of the situation. And they were attended by pages, who furnished them with pipes and tobacco, which was smoked here as well as in other parts of the house. Yet it should seem that persons were suffered to sit on the stage only in the private play-houses, (such as *Blackfriars*, &c.) where the audience was more select, and of a higher class; and that in *the Globe* and the other public thea-

tres, no such licence was permitted.

The stage was strewn with rushes, which, we learn from Hentzner and Caius de Ephemera, was in the time of Shakspeare, the usual covering of floors in England. The curtain which hangs in the front of the present stage, drawn up by lines and pulleys, though not a modern invention, (for it was used by Inigo Jones in the masques at court) was yet an apparatus to which the simple mechanism of our ancient theatres had not arrived; for in them the curtains opened in the middle, and were drawn backwards and forwards on an iron rod. In some play-houses they were woollen, in others, made of silk. Towards the rear of the stage there appears to have been a balcony, the platform of which was probably eight or ten feet from the ground. I suppose it to have been supported by pillars. From hence in many of our old plays, part of the dialogue was spoken; and in the front of this balcony, curtains likewise were hung.

A doubt has been entertained, whether in our ancient theatres

Shakspeare himself uses *cock-pit* to express a small confined situation, without any particular reference:

“ Can this *cock-pit* hold

“ The vasty fields of France—or may we cram,

“ Within this wooden O, the very casques

“ That did affright the air at Agincourt.”

* “ Being on your feet, make not away like a coward, but salute all your gentle acquaintance *that are spread either on the rushes, or on stools* about you; and draw what troops you can from the stage after you——” Decker's *Gul's Horn-book*. 1609. This accounts for Hamlet's sitting on the ground at Ophelia's feet, during the representation of the play before the king and court of Denmark. Our author has only placed the young prince in the same situation in which he perhaps often saw Essex or Southampton at the feet of some celebrated beauty. What some chose from œconomy, gallantry might have recommended to others.

there were side and other scenes. The question is involved in so much obscurity, that it is very difficult to form any decided opinion upon it. It is certain, that in the year 1605, Inigo Jones exhibited an entertainment at Oxford, in which moveable scenes were used*; but he appears to have introduced several pieces of machinery in the masques at court, with which undoubtedly the public theatres were unacquainted. A passage which has been produced from one of the old comedies, proves, it must be owned, that even these were furnished with some pieces of machinery, which were used when it was requisite to exhibit the descent of some god or saint; but from all the cotemporary accounts, I am inclined to believe, that the mechanism of our ancient stage seldom went beyond a painted chair, or a trap-door, and that few, if any of them, had any moveable scenes. When king Henry VIII. is to be discovered by the dukes of Suffolk and Norfolk, reading in his study, the scenical direction in the first folio, 1623, (which was printed apparently from play-house copies) is, “*The king draws the curtaine, [i. e. draws it open] and sits reading passively; for, besides the prin-*

cipal curtains that hung in the front of the stage, they used others as substitutes for scenes. If a bed-chamber is to be exhibited, no change of scene is mentioned; but the property-man is simply ordered *to thrust forth a bed*. When the fable requires the Roman capitol to be exhibited, we find two officers enter, “*to lay cushions, as it were in the capitol.*” So, in *King Richard II.* act iv. sc. i. “*Bolingbroke, &c. enter as to the parliament.*” Again, in *Sir John Oldcastle*, 1600: “*Enter Cambridge, Scroop, and Gray, as in a chamber.*” In *Romeo and Juliet*, I doubt much whether any exhibition of Juliet’s monument was given on the stage. I imagine Romeo only opened with his mattock one of the stage trap-doors, (which might have represented a tomb-stone) by which he descended to a vault beneath the stage, where Juliet was deposited; and this idea is countenanced by a passage in the play, and by the poem on which the drama was founded.

How little the imaginations of the audience were assisted by scenical deception, and how much necessity our author had to call on them to “*piece out imperfections with their thoughts,*” may be also collected from Sir Philip Sidney,

* See Peck’s *Memoirs of Milton*, p. 282: “The above mentioned art of varying the face of the whole stage was a new thing, and never seen in England till August 1605, at what time, king James I. being to be entertained at Oxford, the heads of that University hired the aforesaid Inigo Jones (a great traveller) who undertook to farther them much, and to furnish them with rare devices for the king’s entertainment. Accordingly he erected a stage close to the upper end of the hall, (as it seemed at the first sight) at Christ-church; but it was indeed but a false wall, fair painted and adorned with stately pillars, which pillars would turn about. By reason whereof, with other *painted clothes*, on Wednesday Aug. 28. he varied their stage three times in the acting of one tragedy.”

Who, describing the state of the drama and the stage, in his time, says, "Now you shall see three ladies walk to gather flowers, and then we must believe the stage to be a garden. By and by we heare news of a shipwraeke in the same place; then we are to blame if we accept it not for a rock. Upon the back of that, comes out a hideous monster with fire and smoke; then the miserable beholders are bound to take it for a cave; while in the mean time two armies fly in, represented with four swords and bucklers, and then what hard heart will not receive it for a pitched field."

All these circumstances induce me to believe that our ancient theatres, in general, were only furnished with curtains, and a single scene composed of tapestry, which appears to have been sometimes ornamented with pictures: and some passages in our old dramas incline one to think, that when tragedies were performed, the stage was hung with black.

In the early part, at least, of our author's acquaintance with the theatre, the want of scenery seems to have been supplied by the simple expedient of writing the names of the different places where the scene was laid in the progress of the play, which were disposed in such a manner as to be visible to the audience.

Though the apparatus for theatrical exhibitions was thus scanty, and the machinery of the simplest kind, the invention of trap-doors appears not to be modern; for in an old morality, entitled, *All for Money*, we find a marginal direction, which implies that they were early in use.

It appears from Heywood's *Apolo-gy for Actors*, that the covering, or internal roof of the stage, was anciently termed *the heavens*. It was probably painted of a sky-blue colour; or perhaps pieces of drapery tinged with blue were suspended across the stage, to represent the heavens.

From a plate prefixed to Kirkman's *Drolls*, printed in 1672, in which there is a view of a theatrical booth, it should seem that the stage was formerly lighted by two large branches, of a form similar to those now hung in churches. They being, I suppose, found inconvenient, as they obstructed the sight of the spectators, gave place in a subsequent period to small circular wooden frames, furnished with candles, eight of which were hung on the stage, four at either side: and these within a few years were wholly removed by Mr. Garrick, who, on his return from France, first introduced the present commodious method of illuminating the stage by lights not visible to the audience.

If all the players whose names are enumerated in the first folio edition of our author's works, belonged to the same theatre, they composed a numerous company; but it is doubtful whether they all performed at the same period, or in the same house. Many of the companies certainly were so thin, that one person played two or three parts; and a battle on which the fate of an empire was supposed to depend, was decided by half a dozen combatants. It appears to have been a common practice in their mock engagements, to discharge small pieces of ordnance on the stage.

Before the exhibition began, three flourishes or pieces of music were played, or, in the ancient language, there were three soundings. Music was likewise played between the acts. The instruments chiefly used were trumpets, cornets, and hautboys. The band, which did not consist of more than five or six performers, sat (as I have been told by a very ancient stage veteran, who had his information from Bowman, the contemporary of Betterton) in an upper balcony, over what is now called the stage-box.

The person who spoke the prologue, was ushered in by trumpets, and usually wore a long black velvet cloak, which, I suppose, was considered as best suited to a supplicatory address. Of this custom, whatever might have been its origin, some traces remained till very lately; a black coat having been, if I mistake not, within these few years, the constant stage-habiliment of our modern prologue-speakers. The dress of the ancient prologue-speaker is still retained in the play that is exhibited in *Hamlet*, before the king and court of Denmark.

An epilogue does not appear to have been a regular appendage to a play in Shakspeare's time; for many of his dramas had none; at least, they have not been preserved. In *All's Well that Ends Well*, the *Midsummer Night's Dream*, *As you like it*, *Troilus and Cressida*, and *The Tempest*, the epilogue is spoken by one of the persons of the drama, and adapted to the character of the speaker; a circumstance that I have not observed in the epilogues of any other author of that age.

The epilogue was not always spoken by one of the performers in the piece, for that subjoined to *The Second Part of King Henry IV.* appears to have been delivered by a dancer.

The performers of male characters generally wore periwigs, which in the age of Shakspeare were not in common use. It appears from a passage in Puttenham's *Art of English Poesy*, 1589, that vizards were on some occasions used by the actors of those days; and it may be inferred from a scene in one of our author's comedies, that they were sometimes worn in his time, by those who performed female characters. But this, I imagine, was very rare. Some of the female part of the audience likewise appeared in masks.

The stage-dresses, it is reasonable to suppose, were much more costly at some theatres than others. Yet the wardrobe of even the king's servants at *the Globe* and *Black-friars*, was, we find, but scantily furnished; and our author's dramas derived very little aid from the splendor of exhibition.

It is well known, that in the time of Shakspeare, and for many years afterwards, female characters were represented by boys or young men. Sir William D'Avenant, in imitation of the foreign theatres, first introduced females in the scene, and Mrs. Betterton is said to have been the first woman that appeared on the English stage. Andrew Penny-cuicke played the part of *Matilda*, in a tragedy of Davenport's, in 1655; and Mr. Kynaston acted several female parts after the Restoration. Downes, a cotemporary

ary of his, assures us, "that being then very young, he made a complete stage beauty, performing his parts so well, (particularly *Arthiope* and *Aglaura*) that it has since been disputable among the judicious, whether any woman that succeeded him, touched the audience so sensibly as he."

Both the prompter, or book-holder, as he was sometimes called, and the property-man, appear to have been regular appendages of our ancient theatres.

No writer that I have met with, intimates that, in the time of Shakspeare, it was *customary* to exhibit more than a single dramatic piece on one day.

The Yorkshire Tragedy, or All's one, indeed, appears to have been one of four pieces that were represented on the same day; and Fletcher has also a piece called *Four Plays in One*; but probably, these were either exhibited on some particular occasion, or were ineffectual efforts to introduce a new species of amusement; for we do not find any other instances of the same kind. Had any shorter pieces been exhibited after the principal performance, some of them probably would have been printed: but there are none extant of an earlier date than the time of the Restoration. The practice therefore of exhibiting two dramas successively in the same evening, we may be assured, was not established before that period. But though the audiences in the time of our author, were not gratified by the representation of more than one drama in the same day, the entertainment was diversified, and the populace diverted, by vaulting, tumbling, flight of hand, and morris-dancing: a mixture not much

more heterogeneous than that with which we are daily presented, a tragedy and a farce.

The amusements of our ancestors, before the commencement of the play, were of various kinds. While some part of the audience entertained themselves with reading, or playing at cards, others were employed in less refined occupations; in drinking ale, or smoking tobacco: with these they were furnished by male attendants, of whose clamour, a satirical writer of the time of James I. loudly complains.

It was a common practice to carry table-books to the theatre, and either from curiosity, or enmity to the author, or some other motive, to write down passages of the play that was represented: and there is reason to believe that the imperfect and mutilated copies of some of Shakspeare's dramas, which are yet extant, were taken down in short-hand during the exhibition.

At the end of the piece, the actors, in noblemens' houses and in taverns, where plays were frequently performed, prayed for the health and prosperity of their patrons; and in the public theatres, for the king and queen. This prayer sometimes made part of the epilogue. Hence, probably, as Mr. Steevens has observed, the addition of *Vivant rex et regina*, to the modern play-bills.

Plays in the time of our author, began at one o'clock in the afternoon; and the exhibition was usually finished in two hours. Even in 1667, they commenced at three o'clock.

When Goffon wrote his *School of Abuse* in 1579, it seems that dramatic entertainments were usually

ally exhibited on Sundays. Afterwards they were performed on that and other days indiscriminately. From the silence of Prynne on this subject, it has been supposed that the practice of exhibiting plays on the Lord's day was discontinued when he published his *Histrionastix*, in 1633; but I doubt whether this conjecture be well founded, for it appears from a cotemporary writer, that it had not been abolished in the third year of king Charles I.

It has been a question whether it was formerly a common practice to ride on horseback to the play-

house; a circumstance that would scarcely deserve consideration, if it were not in some sort connected with our author's history, a plausible story having been built on this foundation, relative to his first introduction to the stage.

The modes of conveyance to the theatre, anciently, as at present, seem to have been various; some going in coaches, others on horseback, and many by water. To *the Globe* play-house the company probably were conveyed by water; to that in *Black-friars*, the gentry went either in coaches*, or on horse-back; and the com-

* See a letter from Mr. Garrard to Lord Strafford, dated Jan. 9, 1633-4; *Strafford's Letters*, vol. I. p. 175: "Here hath been an order of the lords of the council hung up in a table near *Paul's* and the *Black-friars*, to command all that resort to the play-house there, to send away their *coaches*, and to disperse abroad in *Paul's-church-yard*, *Carter-lane*, the *Conduit* in *Fleet-street*, and other places, and not to return to fetch their company, but they must trot a-foot to find their *coaches*:—'twas kept very strictly for two or three weeks, but now I think it is disordered again."—It should however be remembered that this was written above forty years after Shakspeare's first acquaintance with the theatre. Coaches, in the time of queen Elizabeth, were possessed but by very few. They were not in ordinary use till after the year 1605. See *Stowe's Annals*, p. 867. Even when the above mentioned order was made, there were no *hackney* coaches. These, as appears from another letter in the same collection, were established a few months afterwards.—"I cannot (says Mr. Garrard) omit to mention any new thing that comes up amongst us, though never so trivial. Here is one captain Baily, he hath been a sea-captain, but now lives on the land, about this city, where he tries experiments. He hath erected according to his ability, some *four hackney coaches*, put his men in livery, and appointed them to stand at the *May-pole* in the *Strand*, giving them instructions at what rates to carry men into several parts of the town, where all day they may be had. Other *hackney-men* seeing this way, they flocked to the same place, and perform their journies at the same rate. So that sometimes there is twenty of them together, which disperse up and down, that they and others are to be had every where, as water-men are to be had by the water-side. Every body is much pleased with it. For whereas, before, coaches could not be had but at great rates, now a man may have one much cheaper." This letter is dated April 1, 1634.—*Strafford's Letters*, vol. I. p. 227.

A few months afterwards, *hackney-chairs* were introduced: "Here is also another project for carrying people up and down in *close chairs*, for the sole doing whereof, Sir Sander Duncombe, a traveller, now a pensioner, hath obtained a patent from the king, and hath forty or fifty making ready for use." *Ibid.* p. 336.

mon people on foot. In an epigram by Sir John Davis, the practice of riding to the theatre is ridiculed as a piece of affectation or vanity; and therefore we may presume it was not very general.

Though from the want of newspapers and other periodical publications, intelligence was not so speedily circulated in former times as at present, our ancient theatres do not appear to have laboured under any disadvantage in this respect; for the players printed and exposed accounts of the pieces that they intended to exhibit, which, however, did not contain a complete list of the characters, or the names of the actors by whom they were represented*.

The long and whimsical titles that are prefixed to the quarto copies of our author's plays, I suppose to have been transcribed from the play-bills of the time. They were equally calculated to attract the notice of the idle gazer in the walks at St. Paul's, or to draw a crowd about some vociferous Autolycus, who perhaps was hired by the players thus to raise the expectations of the multitude. It is indeed highly improbable that the modest Shakspeare, who has more than once apologized for his *untutored lines*, should in his manuscripts have

entitled any of his dramas *most excellent and pleasant* performances. A contemporary writer has preserved something like a play-bill of those days, which seems to corroborate this observation; for if it were divested of rhyme, it would bear no very distant resemblance to the title pages that stand before some of our author's dramas:

“ ————Prithee, what's the play?
(The first I visited this twelvemonth day)
They say — “A new invented boy of *Purle*,
That jeopardd his necke to steale a girl
Of twelve; and lying fast impounded for't,
Has hither sent his bearde to act his part;
Against all those in open malice bent,
That would not freely to the theft consent:
Faines all to's with, and in the epilogue
Goes out applauded for a famous —rogue.”
“ — Now hang me if I did not look at first
For some such stuff, by the fond people's
thrust.”

It is uncertain at what time the usage of giving authors a benefit on the third day of the exhibition of their piece commenced. Mr. Oldys, in one of his manuscripts, intimates that dramatic poets had anciently their benefit on the first day that a new play was represented; a regulation which would have been very favourable to some of the ephemeral productions of modern times. But for this there is not, I believe, any sufficient authority. From D'Avenant, in-

* This practice did not commence till the beginning of the present century. I have seen a play-bill printed in the year 1697, which expressed only the titles of the two pieces that were to be exhibited, and the time when they were to be represented. Notices of plays to be performed on a future day, similar to those now daily published, are found in the original edition of the *Spectators* in 1711. In these early theatrical advertisements, our author is always stiled the *immortal* Shakspeare. Hence Pope:

“ Shakspeare, whom you and every *play-house bill*
“ Style the *divine*, the matchless, what you will —”

deed,

deed, we learn, that in the latter part of the reign of queen Elizabeth, the poet had his benefit on the second day. As it was a general practice, in the time of Shakspeare, to sell the copy of the play to the theatre, I imagine, in such cases, an author derived no other advantage from his piece, than what arose from the sale of it. Sometimes, however, he found it more beneficial to retain the copy-right in his own hands; and when he did so, I suppose he had a benefit. It is certain that the giving authors the profits of the third exhibition of their play, which seems to have been the usual mode during almost the whole of the last century, was an established custom in the year 1612; for Decker, in the prologue to one of his comedies, printed in that year, speaks of the poet's *third day*. The unfortunate Otway had no more than one benefit on the production of a new play; and this too, it seems, he was sometimes forced to mortgage, before the piece was acted.

Southerne was the first dramatic writer who obtained the emoluments arising from two representations; and to Farquhar, in the year 1700, the benefit of a third was granted. To the honour of Mr. Addison, it should be remembered, that he first discontinued the ancient, but humiliating, practice of distributing tickets, and soliciting company to attend at the theatre, on the poet's nights.

When an author sold his piece to the sharers or proprietors of a theatre, it remained for several years unpublished; but, when

that was not the case, he printed it for sale, to which many seem to have been induced, from an apprehension that an imperfect copy might be issued from the press without their consent. The customary price of the copy of a play, in the time of Shakspeare, appears to have been twenty nobles, or six pounds thirteen shillings and four-pence. The play when printed was sold for sixpence; and the usual present from a patron, in return for a dedication, was forty shillings.

On the first day of exhibiting a new play, the prices of admission appear to have been raised; and this seems to have been occasionally practised on the benefit-nights of authors, to the end of the last century.

Dramatic poets in those times, as at present, were admitted gratis into the theatre.

The custom of passing a final censure on plays at their first exhibition, is as ancient as the time of our author; for no less than three plays of his rival, Ben Jonson, appear to have been damned; and Fletcher's *Faithful Shepherds*, and *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, written by him and Beaumont, underwent the same fate.

It is not easy to ascertain what were the emoluments of a successful actor in the time of Shakspeare. They had not then annual benefits, as at present. The performers at each theatre seem to have shared the profits arising either from each day's exhibition, or from the whole season, among them. I think it is not unlikely, that the clear emoluments of the theatre, after deducting whatever
was

was appropriated to the proprietors of the house, were divided into one hundred parts, of which the actors had various shares, according to their rank and merit. From Ben Johnson's *Poetaster*, we learn, that one of either the performers or proprietors had seven shares and a half; but of what integral sum is not mentioned.

On the Origin of the English Language. By the Rev. Mr. Drake. Archæol. Vol. v.

MR. Whitaker, in his History of Manchester, having controverted the opinion of those who affirm the English language to be genuine and unmixed Teutonic, and having asserted it to be of Celtic origin, a learned and ingenious advocate for the former opinion, has endeavoured in the following memoir to support it by an appeal to the senses of his readers.

As all conjectural reasoning, says Mr. Drake, must be vague and undecisive upon this subject, the most solid and rational mode of determining the question will be to have recourse to matter of fact. For this purpose I shall take a part of a chapter in Ulphilas's Gothic version of the gospel, a work executed above fourteen hundred years ago, and confront it with the same chapter of our present translation, and I believe, Sir, you will be amazed at the striking affinity between the two languages, notwithstanding the different mediums through which they have descended, and the many ages that have elapsed since

they have been separated. I shall make use of the tenth chapter of St. John, though any other would equally answer the purpose.

The original Gothic of the first verse is this:

Amen amen q̄wītha izwīs sa nī atgangith in thairh daur in garden lambe, ak steigith alathro sa ist bliftus. Now that you may have a clearer view of the connection I am endeavouring to prove, I will render this verse verbatim into the present English. *Amen amen* verily verily *q̄wītha* I say *izwīs* to you *sa* he that *nī atgangith* in entereth not *thairh daur* through or by the door *ak* but *steigith* climbeth up *alathro* some other way *sa* he *ist* is *bliftus* a thief. I will now separate the words from the context, and, by an accurate examination of each particular one, I am convinced, that notwithstanding the variations of orthography and pronunciation which necessarily must be in the two tongues, it will appear very visibly that the one is the genuine production of the other. *Q̄wītha* I say. Those who recollect the old word *Quoth* will easily perceive that it is the imperfect tense of this verb *quithan* dicere. *Izwīs*, the Somerset dialect for you. What connection this *izwīs*, to you, had with our ancient language, may be seen from this sentence of a letter written to K. Henry the Vth by the Earl of Salisbury: "We were
" afore diverse places, what time
" it liketh *zow* to sette on them,
" they be not able, to hold agenst
" *zow* no while." In the same letter *your* is written *zour*, which is very little different from the Gothic *izwar* vester. *Atgangith in,*
this

this expression for entereth must be familiar to an English ear, especially to those who are conversant with the northern speech. The peasants in Yorkshire; particularly in the West Riding; apply the verb to *gang* in general for to go. It was the common language of our ancient poets, and Johnson has inserted it in his dictionary as synonymous with to go, from which many nouns are apparently derived; as a *gang* signifying a number herding together, that go, metaphorically speaking, the same way; *gangweek*, rogation week, and the *gangway* in a ship. *Thairu dour* for through the door is too obvious a resemblance to take notice of. *In garden lambe*. In the sheepfold. This is a compound word, the latter part of it, *lambe*, requires no explication; the former, *gardan*, may appear at first sight foreign to us, but it really is not so, but naturally inherent both in the Saxon and English languages. *Gard* in its primary signification denoted a house, as, *Ni fareith us garda in gard*, Go not from house to house; but was transferred from this original meaning to express an inclosure of any kind, *sepem vel munimentum claudens aliquid*; hence the Goths said, *aurtigard hortus*; whence the Saxons had their *ortgearde*, and we our orchard. And it is observable in this instance, that all the European tongues that have the least mixture of Gothism in them, have in general interpreted the Latin *hortus* with words originating from this *gard*: as French, *Jardin*; Italian, *Giardino*; Spanish, *Garden*; German, *Gardo*; Danish, *Gaard*; Dutch, *Garde*; English,

Garden: Another noun the Goths have formed in composition with *gard* is *weingard*, signifying an inclosure of vines, from which the Saxon and our vineyard is made: Perhaps it may not be impertinent in this place to advise the gentlemen who are engaged in the vineyard controversy, as some of their arguments seem drawn from the force and origin of the term vineyard and others relative to it, not to stop their enquiries at the Saxon, but to apply to the fountain's head, the Goths, for their information—*Antiquos accedere fontes*—They will there be supplied with not only *weingard*, but also *weintru* a vine, *weinubasge* grapes; *weinatains* a vinebranch, and others: We are told by the Hanoverian Knittel, who published a fragment of Gothic literature, lately found in that country, that Busbequius, who visited the lesser Tartary, the early residence of the Goths, found there an infinite number of words and phrases of Gothic birth, and among the rest this *weingard* pure and unadulterated. However, to put an end to this term, if the supporters of the Celtic system deny the resemblance here, we are at liberty to introduce the Saxon *secape falde*, equally Teutonic, the root indisputably of our sheepfold. But I forgot to mention, that I am apprehensive the learned Mr. Barrington, in his answer to Mr. Pegge about the English vineyards, has made a mistake as to matter of fact. "There is great reason," says that gentleman, "to think that the Saxons had no term for a grape or the fruit of the vine; for that passage in St. Matthew, do men gather grapes

" of

“ of thorns ?” runs thus in the Saxon version, *cuthes ut somnigas of thornum uwas*. It seems evident,” concludes he, “ that the translator had no Saxon word for the fruit of the vine, otherwise he would not have used the Latin term *uwas*.”

Now it unfortunately happens, that in the Saxon translation of the gospel that is now open before me, not the Latin but the Saxon noun is made use of in the above-mentioned place: *cabyſt thu gaderath man winberian of thornum*; where you will observe, that *winberian* is the Saxon word for grapes or the fruit of the vine*; and this term occurs repeatedly in the version of the Heptateuch. When Moses sent out the spies to examine the land of Canaan, we are told in our bible, that the time was the time of the first ripe grapes; and in the Saxon translation *hit was tha ſima that winberian ripodon*. This word *winberian* or grapes seems to be perfectly agreeable to the genius of the language, for berries in compound express the fruit of many of our trees and shrubs in our present speech, as mulberries, raspberries, strawberries, blackberries, gooseberries; and in Yorkshire, where more genuine Saxon is retained than in any other part of England, they in general say currantberries. *Steigeth* climbeth up, may also with some attention be traced in our language. Johnson has the verb to *ſty*, which he interprets to soar or ascend; hence

the substantive *ſtile* explained as a set of steps to pass from one inclosure to another; and in the north of England, the common appellation for a ladder, among the lower sort of people is, a *ſtee*; all derivative from the Gothick *ſteigan*.

Alothre. We can discern our *other* in this word.

Iſt bliſtus, is a thief. However unconnected with the English *bliftus* may appear, yet an accurate observer may find it lurking in a compound. Shoplifting, a practice pretty prevalent in this town, is undoubtedly deducible from it; and I remember that a very sensible gentleman, who had been some time in Scotland, informed me, that he heard a man arraigned in a court of justice in that kingdom for the crime of cowlifting, which he found upon the trial to mean the stealing of a cow.

I must beg leave to take notice, that the Gothick *bliftus* is the Greek *κλεπτης*, the aspirate being assumed instead of the *K*. This analogy is observable in our modern English, as *bollozu* is made from *κοιλος*, and *bede* for *κνδος*, and we have many other instances of the same nature. The resemblance indeed between the Gothick and the Greek is so striking and remarkable, that many learned men have judged them to be only different dialects of the same radical tongue. These are the sentiments of that great master of Northern literature Franciscus Junius;

* The passage however is accurately referred to, and to be found, in Dr. Hickes's Anglo-Saxon grammar, p. 92, where *uwas* is used for *grapes*, though the word may be rendered *winberian* in the printed version of the Anglo-Saxon gospel, which is not cited in the *Archaeologia*, vol. III. p. 89.

“Linguam Gothicam,” says he, “(ut quae solâ dialecto differat a Graeca vetere) ab eadem origine cum Graeca profluxisse judicabam.” And Dr. Hickes tells us, that “Gothica lingua in multis locis Greciffiat.” To which opinion, I confess, I am much inclined to accede, as it seems the only rational way to account for that variety of Greek idioms and terms that are so plentifully interspersed in our language.

But to proceed to the second verse:

Sa inggangands thairb daur, hairdeis est lambe.

^a *Sa* he that *ingangand* entereth in *thauru daur* through or by the door *ist* is *hairdeis* the shepherd *lambe* of the sheep.

The only word not noticed in the preceding verse is *hairdeis* which the Saxons call *sceapa hyrde*, and we shepherd. Perhaps it is unnecessary to inform you that *hairdeis* joined with some particular species of cattle, denotes the person that has the management of them in our present English, as shepherd, swineherd, goatsherd, neatherd.

The third verse runs thus:

Thamm daurawards unlukith, jab tho lamba sibna is haufgand, jab tho lamba baitith bi namin.

Thamm to him *daurawards* the porter *unlukith* openeth, *jab* and *tho lambe* the sheep *haufgand* hear is *sibna* his voice, *jab* and *baitith* he calleth *lambe* the sheep *bi namin* by name.

The first word that occurs here is *daurawards*, which being of the composite kind signifies *ostiarus* or doorkeeper. The Saxons call him *greaterwearde*, but we have adopted a French term *porter*. *Wards* is

formed from the Gothick verb *wardan* *gustodire*, which supplies us with many terms derivative from it; as to ward, a ward, warden of a college or cinque ports, a warder of the tower, wardship, and many others. *Unlukith* openeth, certainly puts us in mind of unlocketh, from which it is derived. As for *haufgand*, *audiunt*, I shall not venture to deduce *to hear* from it, shall therefore take the Saxon *hyrath* instead of it, which is equally teutonical. *Sibna* voice, from which the Saxons made *stefne*, is at present quite obsolete, but some centuries ago it prevailed very general, as our old ballads will bear witness, which seem to have had no other word for voice than *stevin*, and it was even used so low as Spencer. From *baitan*, *vocare* vel *appellare*, we perceive our old English word *hight*, named or called. *Bi namin* and *by name* correspond so exactly, that one is amazed that the space of fourteen hundred years should make so small an alteration in a language.

The fourth verse is this:

Faura im gangith jab tho lamba ina laifgand, unte kunnum stebna is. Gangith he goeth *faura im* before them *jab* and *tho lamba* the sheep *laifgand* follow *ina* him, *unte* for *kunnum* they know *is stebna* his voice. As to *laifgand* they follow, I must acknowledge, I can trace no vestige relative to it in our language. The Saxon, however, furnishes us with *fyliyeath* from whence our *follow*. *Kunnan*, *scire*, appears in various instances, as to *kenn*, to know, and many nouns dependent upon those verbs.

Verse 5th. *Framathgana ni laifgand,*

gand, *ak* *fuikard* *faura imma*, *unte* *ni kunnun framathgane stibna*. *Ni laistgand* they will not follow *framathgana* a stranger, *ak* but *fuikard* will flee *faura imma* from or before him, *unte* for *ni kunnun* they know not *stibna* the voice *framathgana* of strangers. The first clause of this verse, it must be confessed, is perfectly unintelligible to an English ear, but the Saxon is not so; *ne fylieath* they will not follow *uncuthum* the unknown or stranger. *Uncuth* is an English word, and in its primary acceptation signified unknown; the present use however has made it somewhat deviate from that sense. Milton has given it its original meaning, when Raphael gives Adam the reason why he was absent at the time of his creation.

For I that day was absent, as beset,
Bound on a voyage uncouth and obscure,
Far on excursion towards the gates of hell.

The radix, however, of this word is discernable in the Gothick, for in a chapter or two beyond this we meet with *kuntha* I have known, and by prefixing the negative particle *un* which prevailed much among the Goths, as *unbairans*, barren, *unbarnas*, childless, we form the compound *unkuntha*, Sax. *uncoutha*, Eng. *uncouth* and unknown.

But to go on with the next verse:

Than qvath aftra du im Jaisus, *Amen Amen qwitha isswis*, *thata ik am daur lambe*. *Than* there *Jaisus* Jesus *qvath* say'd *du im* to them *aftra* again or after, *amen amen* verily verily *quitha* I say *isswis* to you, *thata* that *ik am* I am *daur* the door *lambe* of the sheep.

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Here is nothing not taken notice of, so shall proceed to the next:

Allai fwa magnagai sa qvemur thiubos find, *ak ni haufdedun im tho lamba*. *Allai fwa managai fwa* all the many that *qvemun* came *find* are *thiubos* thieves, *ak* but *tho lamba* the sheep *ni haufdenun* did not hear *im* them.

Allai, our all.

Managai, the root of this word is *manag*, which by softning the *g* in the pronunciation, becomes the English *many*.

Qvemur, *venire* Sax. *cuman*. Eng. To come.

Thiubs hence the Saxon *theofa* and our *thief*. We must remember that this word is synonymous with *blifus*.

But to the next verse:

Thiubs the thief *ni qwimith* cometh not *nibai* but for *stilai* to steal *jah* and *snithai* to kill *jah* and *fravistgai* to destroy. *Ik qvaw* I am come *ei* that *aigina* they might have *libain* life.

Nibai is not English, the Saxons have *butan* from whence our *but*, except.

Stilai, the dullest sight may perceive the origin of to *steal*.

Snitha is the Saxon *snidan* or *snithan*, and the German *sniden* *scindere*; and we have yet a glimpse of it among us. Littleton in his dictionary mentions *snithe*, which he interprets *ventus pergelidus*, and which we may properly call a cutting wind: the accurate Ainsworth has copied it from him, but Johnson has taken no notice of it. The Saxon version makes use of *slea*, from which our *slay*.

Fravistgai, no remains of this observable in English. The Saxon

M

says

says *ferds* to destroy. Our Shakspeare uses it in the same sense.

Thus in Hamlet,

This is the very extasie of love,
Whose violent property ferds itself.

Lila, from which the Saxon *lif* and our life

Aigan, *bakere*, a Gothick noun from this verb *aibu*, is explained *peculiaris & propria possessio*; hence the English *own*.

The succeeding verse is very remarkably English:

Ik am I am *god hairdais* the good shepherd, *ja god hairdais* the good shepherd *lagith* layeth down *saiwala* his life or soul *faura lamba* for the sheep.

I shall only observe, that Ulphilas has more accurately turned the Greek *κρίνει τὴν ψυχὴν* by *lagith saiwala* than has been done by the English translators.

The twelfth verse:

Afwis an hireling *saiquith* seeth *wulf* the wolf *qzwimandan* coming, *jaband leitibih* leaveth *thaim lambam* the sheep, *jab* and *fluth* fleeth.

It is in vain that we hunt for any appearance of *afwis*, *mercenarius*, in our tongue. The Saxons adopt *lyrdinge* for the same signification, and we *hirling*. *Leitibih* is easily melted down to *leaveth*, so is *fluth* into *fleeth*. As to *wulf* it speaks for itself.

The thirteenth:

Sa afwis the hireling *fluth* fleeth *unte* because *ist* he is *afwis* an hireling, *jab* and *ni ist* for there is no care *inna* to him *lambe* of the sheep.

Ni ist kar inna lambe is very intelligible indeed.

The fourteenth verse:

Ik im I am *gala hairdais* the

good shepherd *jab* and *kann* know *meina* mine, *jab* and *meina* mine *kanna* know *mik* me.

The fifteenth:

Sawa as (so) *atta* the father *kann* knoweth *mik* me, *jab* and *ik kann* I know *attan* the father, *jab* and *lega* I lay down *meina saiwala* my life *faura ibo lamba* for the sheep.

Here is nothing to be particularly observed except the word *attan* the father. From what source the Goths drew it the sharpest investigators of languages have not been able as yet to discover; for that people have neither communicated it to the Saxons or to any of their various descendents; however we must take notice, that though *atta* is regularly made use of when a father solely is denoted, yet when parents are intended, Ulphilas's version always substitutes *fadrein*, the radix indisputably of the Saxon *feeder* and our *father*.

To this specimen let me add, that every circumstance that constitutes the true genius of a language, is visibly derived to the English from the Goths and Saxons. The articles, flexion of the genitive case, prepositions, and auxiliary verbs are all absolutely Teutonic. If the Goths say *ik am*, *thou was*, *thou mayst*, *thou mayst*, *thou shouldst*, *thou must*, *I shall*; the English is the same mode of speaking repeat after them, *I am*, *thou was*, *thou mayst*, *thou mayst*, *thou shouldst*, *thou must*, *I shall*.

I have now, Sir, finished what I had to say upon the comparison of the two languages the Gothick and the English, and, I think, a man must be little sagacious in distinguishing likenesses who does not

discover

discover that the one is the natural descendant of the other; their complexions, their manners, their features, are exactly similar, and I challenge the deepest enquirer into the Celtick to produce so decisive a proof of any affinity of that tongue with ours. The British, to speak plainly, has little or no resemblance to the English. Many of their terms may have gained admission among us, as from the vicinity and long intercourse we have had with that people may necessarily be imagined, but their idioms and genius are as radically and essentially different as any two languages can possibly be.

The following Article is taken from the Appendix to Martin's History of Thetford.

IT is copied from an original record in that borough, when John le Forrester was mayor in the tenth year of Edward III. A. 1336. It is so far curious, as it exhibits an authentic account of the value of many articles at that time; being a bill, inserted in the town-book, of the expences attending the sending two light horsemen from Thetford, to the army which was to march against the Scots that year.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
' To two men chosen to go into the army against Scotland	1	0	0
' For cloth, and to the taylor for making it into two <i>gowns</i>	0	6	11
' For two pair of gloves, and a stick or staff	—	0	0 2
' For two horses	1	15	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
' For shoeing these horses	0	0	4
' For two pair of boots for the light horsemen	0	2	8
' Paid to a lad for going with the mayor' (to Lenn) ' to ' take care of the horses *	0	0	3
' To a boy for a <i>letter</i> at Lenn.' (viz. carrying it thither)	0	0	3
' Expences for the horses of two light horsemen for four days before they departed.	0	1	0

* The distance between Thetford and Lynn is about 33 miles.

MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS.

History of Gardening. From Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting in England.

GARDENING was probably one of the first arts that succeeded to that of building houses, and naturally attended property and individual possession. Culinary, and afterwards medicinal herbs, were the objects of every head of a family: it became convenient to have them within reach, without seeking them at random in woods, in meadows, and on mountains, as often as they were wanted. When the earth ceased to furnish spontaneously all these primitive luxuries, and culture became requisite, separate inclosures for rearing herbs grew expedient. Fruits were in the same predicament, and those most in use or that demand attention, must have entered into and extended the domestic inclosure.

Matters, we may well believe, remained long in this situation; and though the generality of mankind form their ideas from the import of words in their own age, we have no reason to think that for many centuries the term *garden* implied more than a kitchen-garden or orchard. When a Frenchman reads of the garden of Eden, I do

not doubt but he concludes it was something approaching to that of Versailles, with clipt hedges, berceaux, and trellis-work. If his devotion humbles him so far as to allow that, considering who designed it, there might be a labyrinth full of Æsop's fables, yet he does not conceive that four of the largest rivers in the world were half so magnificent as an hundred fountains full of statues by Girardon. It is thus that the word *garden* has at all times passed for whatever was understood by that term in different countries. But that it meant no more than a kitchen-garden or orchard for several centuries, is evident from those few descriptions that are preserved of the most famous gardens of antiquity.

That of Alcinous, in the *Odyssey*, is the most renowned in the heroic times. Is there an admirer of Homer who can read his description without rapture; or who does not form to his imagination a scene of delights more picturesque than the landscapes of *Tinian* or *Juan Fernandez*? Yet what was that boasted *Paradise* with which

the gods ordain'd
To grace Alcinous and his happy land?
Pope.

Why,

Why, divested of harmonious Greek and bewitching poetry, it was a small orchard and vineyard, with some beds of herbs and two fountains that watered them, inclosed within a quickset hedge. The whole compass of this pompous garden inclosed—four acres.

Four acres was th' allotted space of ground,
Fenc'd with a green inclosure all around.

The trees were apples, figs, pomegranates, pears, olives, and vines.

Tall thriving trees confess'd the fruitful
mold;

The redning apple ripens into gold.

Here the blue fig with luscious juice o'er-
flows,

With deeper red the full pomegranate
glows.

The branch here bends beneath the weigh-
ty pear,

And verdant olives flourish round the
year.

* * * * *

Beds of all various herbs, for ever green,
In beauteous order terminate the scene.

Alcinous's garden was planted by the poet, enriched by him with the fairy gift of eternal summer, and no doubt an effort of imagination surpassing any thing he had ever seen. As he had bestowed on the same happy prince a palace with brazen walls and columns of silver, he certainly intended that the garden should be proportionably magnificent. We are sure therefore that as late as Homer's age, an inclosure of four acres, comprehending orchard, vineyard and kitchen-garden, was a stretch of luxury the world at that time had never beheld.

The hanging gardens of Babylon were a still greater prodigy. We are not acquainted with their disposition or contents; but as they are supposed to have been formed

on terrasses and the walls of the palace, whither soil was conveyed on purpose, we are very certain of what they were not; I mean they must have been trifling, of no extent, and a wanton instance of expence and labour. In other words, they were what sumptuous gardens have been in all ages till the present, unnatural, enriched by art, possibly with fountains, statues, balustrades, and summer-houses, and were any thing but verdant and rural.

From the days of Homer to those of Pliny, we have no traces to lead our guests to what were the gardens of the intervening ages. When Roman authors, whose climate instilled a wish for cool retreats, speak of their enjoyments in that kind, they sigh for grottos, caves, and the refreshing hollows of mountains, near irriguous and shady founts; or boast of their porticos, walks of planes, canals, baths and breezes from the sea. Their gardens are never mentioned as affording shade and shelter from the rage of the dog-star. Pliny has left us descriptions of two of his villas. As he used his Laurentine villa for his winter-retreat, it is not surprising that the garden makes no considerable part of the account. All he says of it is, that the gestatio or place of exercise, which surrounded the garden (the latter consequently not being very large) was bounded by a hedge of box, and where that was perished, with rosemary; that there was a walk of vines, and that most of the trees were fig and mulberry, the soil not being proper for any other sorts.

On his Tuscan villa he is more diffuse, the garden makes a considerable

considerable part of the description—and what was the principal beauty of that pleasure-ground? Exactly what was the admiration of this country about threescore years ago; box-trees cut into monsters, animals, letters, and the names of the master and the artificer. In an age when architecture displayed all its grandeur, all its purity, and all its taste; when arose Vespasian's amphitheatre, the temple of Peace, Trajan's forum, Domitian's baths, and Adrian's villa, the ruins and vestiges of which still excite our astonishment and curiosity; a Roman consul, a polished emperor's friend, and a man of elegant literature and taste, delighted in what the mob now scarce admire in a college-garden. All the ingredients of Pliny's corresponded exactly with those laid out by London and Wise on Dutch principles. He talks of slopes, terrasses, a wilderness, shrubs methodically trimmed, a marble basin, pipes spouting water, a cascade falling into the basin, bay-trees, alternately planted with planes, and a straight walk, from whence issued others parted off by hedges of box, and apple-trees, with obelisks placed between every two. There wants nothing but the embroidery of a parterre, to make a garden in the reign of Trajan serve for a

description of one in that of King William*. In one passage above Pliny seems to have conceived that natural irregularity might be a beauty; *in opere urbanissimo*, says he, *subita velut illati ruris imitatio*. Something like a rural view was contrived amidst so much polished composition. But the idea soon vanished, lineal walks immediately enveloped the slight scene, and names and inscriptions in box again succeeded to compensate for the daring introduction of nature.

In the paintings found at Herculaneum are a few traces of gardens, as may be seen in the second volume of the prints. They are small square inclosures formed by trellis-work, and espaliers†, and regularly ornamented with vases, fountains and caryatides, elegantly symmetrical, and proper for the narrow spaces allotted to the garden of a house in a capital city. From such I would not banish those playful waters that refresh a sultry mansion in town, nor the neat trellis, which preserves its wooden verdure better than natural greens exposed to dust. Those trellages in the gardens at Paris, particularly on the Boulevard, have a gay and delightful effect.—They form light corridors, and transpicious harbours through which the sun-

* Dr. Plot, in his natural history of Oxfordshire, p. 380, seems to have been a great admirer of trees carved into the most heterogeneous forms, which he calls *topiary works*, and quotes one Laurembergius for saying that the English are as expert as most nations in that kind of sculpture; for which Hampton-court was particularly remarkable. The doctor then names other gardens that flourished with animals, and castles, formed *arte topiaria*, and above all a wren's nest that was capacious enough to receive a man to sit on a seat made within it for that purpose.

† At Warwick-castle is an ancient suit of arras, in which there is a garden exactly resembling these pictures of Herculaneum.

beams play and chequer the shade, set off the statues, vases and fountains, that marry with their gaudy hotels, and suit the galant and idle society who paint the walks between their parterres, and realize the fantastic scenes of Watteau and Dürer.

We do not precisely know what our ancestors meant by a bower, it was probably an arbour; sometimes it meant the whole frittered inclosure, and in one instance it certainly included a labyrinth. Rosamond's bower was indisputably of that kind, though whether composed of walls or hedges we cannot determine. A square and a round labyrinth were so capital ingredients of a garden formerly, that in Du Cerceau's architecture, who lived in the time of Charles IX. and Henry III. there is scarce a ground-plot without one of each. The enchantment of antique appellations has consecrated a pleasing idea of a royal residence, of which we now regret the extinction. Havering in the bower, the jointure of many dowager queens, conveys to us the notion of a romantic scene.

In Kip's views of the seats of our nobility and gentry, we see the same tiresome and returning uniformity. Every house is approached by two or three gardens, consisting perhaps of a gravel walk and two grass-plots, or borders of flowers. Each rises above the other by two or three steps, and as many walls and terraces; and so many iron-gates, that we recollect those ancient romances, in which every entrance was guarded by nymphs or dragons. At lady Orford's at Piddletown in Dorsetshire, there was, when my brother

married, a double inclosure of thirteen gardens, each I suppose not an hundred feet square, with an enfildade of correspondent gates; and before you arrived at these, you passed a narrow gut between two stone terraces, that rose above your head, and which were crowned by a line of pyramidal yews.

Yet though these and such preposterous inconveniencies prevailed from age to age, good sense in this country had perceived the want of something at once more grand and more natural. These reflections and the bounds set to the waste made by royal spoilers, gave origine to parks. They were contracted forests, and extended gardens. Hentzner says, that according to Rous of Warwick the first park was that at Woodstock. If so, it might be the foundation of a legend that Henry II. secured his mistress in a labyrinth: it was no doubt more difficult to find her in a park than in a palace, when the intricacy of the woods and various lodges buried in covert might conceal her actual habitation.

It is more extraordinary that having so long ago stumbled on the principle of modern gardening, we should have persisted in retaining its reverse, symmetrical and unnatural gardens. That parks were rare in other countries, Hentzner, who travelled over great part of Europe, leads us to suppose, by observing that they were common in England. In France they retain the name, but nothing is more different both in compass and disposition. Their parks are usually square or oblong inclosures regularly planted with walks of chestnuts or limes, and generally every large town has one for its public

recreation. They are exactly like Burton's court at Chelsea-college, and rarely larger.

One man, one great man we had, on whom nor education nor custom could impose their prejudices; who, *on evil days though fallen, and with darkness and solitude compassed round*, judged that the mistaken and fantastic ornaments he had seen in gardens, were unworthy of the Almighty hand that planted the delights of Paradise. He seems with the prophetic eye of taste [as I have heard taste well defined] to have conceived, to have foreseen modern gardening; as Lord Bacon announced the discoveries since made by experimental philosophy. The description of Eden is a warmer and more just picture of the present style than Claud Lorrain could have painted from Hagley or Stourhead. The first lines I shall quote, exhibit Stourhead on a more magnificent scale.

Thro' Eden went a river large,
Nor chang'd his course, but thro' the
raggy hill
Pass'd underneath ingulph'd, for God had
thrown
That mountain as his garden-mound, high
rais'd
Upon the rapid current——

Hagley seems pictured in what follows,

which through veins
Of porous earth with kindly thirst up-
drawn,
Rose a fresh fountain, and with many a
rill
Water'd the garden——

What colouring, what freedom of
pencil, what landscape in these
lines,

— from that sapphire fount the crisped
brooks,
Rolling on orient pearl and sands of gold,

With mazy error under pendent shades
Ran nectar, visiting each plant, and fed
Flowers worthy of Paradise, which not
nice art

In beds and curious knots, but *nature*
beon

Pour'd forth profuse on hill and dale and
plain,

Both where the morning sun first warmly
finote

The *open field*, and where the unpierc'd
shade

Imbrown'd the noon-tide bow'rs.—*Thus*
was this place

A happy rural seat of various view.

Read this transporting description, paint to your mind the scenes that follow, contrast them with the savage but respectable terror with which the poet guards the bounds of his Paradise, fenced

—— with the champion head
Of a steep wilderness, whose hairy sides
With thicket overgrown, grotesque and
wild

Access denied; and over head upgrew
Insuperable height of loftiest shade,
Cedar and pine, and fir, and branching
palm,

A sylvan scene, and as the ranks ascend,
Shade above shade, a woody theatre
Of stateliest view——

and then recollect that the author of this sublime vision had never seen a glimpse of any thing like what he has imagined, that his favourite ancients had dropped not a hint of such divine scenery, and that the conceits in Italian gardens, and Theobalds and Non-such, were the brightest originals that his memory could furnish. His intellectual eye saw a nobler plan, so little did he suffer by the loss of sight. It sufficed him to have seen the materials with which he could work. The vigour of a boundless imagination told him how a plan might be disposed, that would embellish nature, and
restore

restore art to its proper office, the just improvement or imitation of it.

It is necessary that the concurrent testimony of the age should swear to posterity that the description above-quoted was written above half a century before the introduction of modern gardening, or our incredulous descendants will defraud the poet of half his glory, by being persuaded that he copied some garden or gardens he had seen—so minutely do his ideas correspond with the present standard. But what shall we say for that intervening half century who could read that plan and never attempt to put it in execution?

Now let us turn to an admired writer, posterior to Milton, and see how cold, how insipid, how tasteless is his account of what he pronounced a perfect garden. I speak not of his style, which it was not necessary for him to animate with the colouring and glow of poetry. It is his want of ideas, of imagination, of taste, that I censure, when he dictated on a subject that is capable of all the graces that a knowledge of beautiful nature can bestow. Sir William Temple was an excellent man; Milton, a genius of the first order.

We cannot wonder that Sir William declares in favour of parterres, fountains and statues, as necessary to break the sameness of large grass-plats, which he thinks have an ill effect upon the eye, when he acknowledges that he discovers fancy in the gardens of Alcinous. Milton studied the ancients with equal enthusiasm, but no bigotry, and had judgment to

distinguish between the want of invention and the beauties of poetry. Compare his Paradise with Homer's garden, both ascribed to a celestial design. For Sir William, it is just to observe, that his ideas centered in a fruit-garden. He had the honour of giving to his country many delicate fruits, and he thought of little else than disposing them to the best advantage. Here is the passage I proposed to quote; it is long, but I need not make an apology to the reader for entertaining him with any other words instead of my own.

“ The best figure of a garden is either a square or an oblong, and either upon a flat or a descent: they have all their beauties, but the best I esteem an oblong upon a descent. The beauty, the air, the view makes amends for the expence, which is very great in finishing and supporting the terras-walk, in levelling the parterres, and in the stone-stairs that are necessary from one to the other.

“ The perfectest figure of a garden I ever saw, either at home or abroad, was that of Moor-park in Hertfordshire, when I knew it about thirty years ago. It was made by the Countess of Bedford, esteemed among the greatest wits of her time, and celebrated by Doctor Donne; and with very great care, excellent contrivance and much cost; but greater sums may be thrown away without effect or honour, if there want sense in proportion to money, or *if nature be not followed*, which I take to be the great rule in this, and perhaps in every thing else, as far as the conduct not only of our lives, but
our

our governments." [We shall see how *natural* that admired garden was.]

"Because I take * the garden I have named to have been in all kinds the most beautiful and perfect, at least in the figure and disposition, that I have ever seen, I will describe it for a model to those that meet with such a situation, and are above the regards of common expence. It lies on the side of a hill, upon which the house stands, but not very steep. The length of the house, where the best rooms and most use or pleasure are, lies upon the breadth of the garden; the great parlour opens in the middle of a terras gravel-walk that lies even with it, and which may lie, as I remember, about three hundred paces long, and broad in proportion; the border set with standard laurels and at large distances, which have the beauty of orange-trees out of flower and fruit. From this walk are three descents by many stone steps, in the middle and at each end, into a very large parterre. This is divided into quarters by gravel-walks, and adorned with two fountains and eight statues in the several quarters. At the end of the terras-walk are two summer houses, and the sides of the parterre are ranged with two large cloisters open to the garden, upon arches of stone, and ending with two other summer-houses even with the cloisters, which are paved with stone, and designed for walks of shade, there being none other in the whole parterre. Over these

two cloisters are two terrasses covered with lead and fenced with balusters; and the passage into these airy walks is out of the two summer-houses at the end of the first terras-walk. The cloister facing the south is covered with vines, and would have been proper for an orange-house, and the other for myrtles or other more common greens, and had, I doubt not, been cast for that purpose, if this piece of gardening had been then in as much vogue as it is now.

"From the middle of this parterre is a descent by many steps flying on each side of a grotto that lies between them, covered with lead and flat, into the lower garden, which is all fruit-trees ranged about the several quarters of a wilderness which is very shady; the walks here are all green, the grotto embellished with figures of shell-rock-work, fountains, and water-works. If the hill had not ended with the lower garden, and the wall were not bounded by a common way that goes through the park, they might have added a third quarter of all greens; but this want is supplied by a garden on the other side the house, which is all of that sort, very wild, shady, and adorned with rough rock-work and fountains.

"This was Moor-park, when I was acquainted with it, and the sweetest place, I think, that I have seen in my life, either before or since, at home or abroad."—

I will make no farther remarks on this description. Any man

* The garden seems to have been made after the plan laid down by Lord Bacon in his 46th essay, to which, that I may not multiply quotations, I will refer the reader.

might design and *build* as sweet a garden who had been born in and never stirred out of Holbourn. It was not peculiar to Sir William Temple to think in that manner. How many Frenchmen are there who have seen *our* gardens, and still prefer *natural* flights of steps and shady cloisters covered with lead! Le Nautre, the architect of the groves and grottoes at Versailles, came hither on a mission to improve our taste. He planted St. James's and Greenwich parks—no great monuments of his invention.

To do farther justice to Sir William Temple, I must not omit what he adds. "What I have said of the best forms of gardens, is meant only of such as are in some sort regular; for there may be other forms wholly irregular, that may, for aught I know, have more beauty than any of the others; but they must owe it to some extraordinary dispositions of nature in the seat, or *some great race of fancy or judgment in the contrivance*, which may reduce many disagreeing parts *into some figure*, which shall yet, upon the whole, be very agreeable. Something of this I have seen in some places, but heard more of it from others, who have lived much among the Chinese, a people whose way of thinking seems to lie as wide of ours in Europe, as their country does.—Their greatest reach of imagination is employed in contriving figures, where the beauty shall be great and strike the eye, but without any order or disposition of parts, that shall be commonly or easily observed. And though we have hardly any notion of this sort of beauty, yet they have a

particular word to express it; and where they find it hit their eye at first sight, they say that Shara-wadgi is fine or is admirable, or any such expression of esteem—but I should hardly advise any of these attempts in the figure of gardens among us, they are adventures of too hard achievement for any common hands; and though there may be more honour if they succeed well, yet there is more dishonour if they fail, and it is twenty to one they will; whereas in regular figures, it is hard to make any great and remarkable faults."

Fortunately Kent and a few others were not quite so timid, or we might still be going up and down stairs in the open air.

It is true, we have heard much lately, as Sir William Temple did, of irregularity and imitations of nature in the gardens or grounds of the Chinese. The former is certainly true; they are as whimsically irregular, as European gardens are formally uniform, and unvaried—but with regard to nature, it seems as much avoided, as in the squares and oblongs, and straight lines of our ancestors. An artificial perpendicular rock starting out of a flat plain, and connected with nothing, often pierced through in various places with oval hollows, has no more pretension to be deemed natural than a lineal terrace or a parterre. The late Mr. Joseph Spence, who had both taste and zeal for the present style, was so persuaded of the Chinese emperor's pleasure-ground being laid out on principles resembling ours, that he translated and published, under the name of Sir Harry Beaumont, a particular account of that inclosure from the collection of the letters

letters of the Jesuits. I have looked it over, and except a determined irregularity, can find nothing in it that gives me any idea of attention being paid to nature. It is of vast circumference, and contains 200 palaces, besides as many contiguous for the eunuchs, all gilt, painted and varnished. There are raised hills from 20 to 60 feet high, streams and lakes, and one of the latter five miles round. These waters are passed by bridges—but even their bridges must not be strait—they serpentine as much as the rivulets, and are sometimes so long as to be furnished with resting places, and begin and end with triumphal arches. Methinks a strait canal is as rational at least as a meandering bridge. The colonades undulate in the same manner. In short, this pretty gaudy scene is the work of caprice and whim; and when we reflect on their buildings, presents no image but that of unsubstantial tawdriness. Nor is this all. Within this fantastic Paradise is a square town, each side a mile long. Here the eunuchs of the court, to entertain his imperial majesty with the bustle and business of the capital in which he resides, but which it is not of his dignity ever to see, act merchants and all sorts of trades, and even designedly exercise for his royal amusement every art of knavery that is practised under his auspicious government. Methinks this is the childish solace and repose of grandeur, not a retirement from affairs to the de-

lights of rural life. Here too his majesty plays at agriculture; there is a quarter set apart for that purpose; the eunuchs sow, reap, and carry in their harvest in the imperial presence; and his majesty returns to Peking persuaded that he has been in the country.

Having thus cleared my way by ascertaining what have been the ideas on gardening in all ages, as far as we have materials to judge by, it remains to show to what degree Mr. Kent invented the new style, and what hints he had received to suggest and conduct his undertaking.

We have seen what Moor-park was, when pronounced a standard. But as no succeeding generation in an opulent and luxurious country contents itself with the perfection established by its ancestors, more perfect perfection was still sought; and improvements had gone on, till London and Wife had stocked our gardens with giants, animals, monsters*, coats of arms and mottoes in yew, box and holly. Absurdity could go no farther, and the tide turned. Bridgman, the next fashionable designer of gardens, was far more chaste; and whether from good sense, or that the nation had been struck and reformed by the admirable paper in the Guardian, N^o 173, he banished verdant sculpture, and did not even revert to the square precision of the foregoing age. He enlarged his plans, disdained to make every division tally to its opposite, and though

* On the piers of a garden-gate not far from Paris I observed two very coquet sphinxes. These lady monsters had straw hats gracefully smart on one side of their heads, and silken cloaks half veiling their necks; all executed in stone.

he still adhered much to strait walks with high clipped hedges; they were only his great lines; the rest he diversified by wildness, and with loose groves of oak, though still within surrounding hedges. I have observed in the garden * at Gubbins in Hertfordshire many detached thoughts, that strongly indicate the dawn of modern taste. As his reformation gained footing, he ventured farther, and in the royal garden at Richmond dared to introduce cultivated fields, and even morsels of a forest appearance, by the sides of those endless and tiresome walks, that stretched out of one into another without intermission. But this was not till other innovators had broke loose too from rigid symmetry.

But the capital stroke, the leading step to all that has followed, was [I believe the first thought was Bridgman's] the destruction of walls for boundaries, and the invention of fossès—an attempt then deemed so astonishing, that the common people called them Ha! Ha's! to express their surprize at finding a sudden and unperceived check to their walk.

One of the first gardens planted in this simple though still formal style, was my father's at Houghton. It was laid out by Mr. Eyre, an imitator of Bridgman. It contains three-and-twenty acres, then reckoned a considerable portion.

I call a sunk fence the leading step, for these reasons. No sooner was this simple enchantment made,

than levelling, mowing and rolling, followed. The contiguous ground of the park without the sunk fence was to be harmonized with the lawn within; and the garden in its turn was to be set free from its prim regularity, that it might afford with the wilder country without. The sunk fence ascertained the specific garden, but that it might not draw too obvious a line of distinction between the neat and the rude, the contiguous out-lying parts came to be included in a kind of general design: and when nature was taken into the plan, under improvements, every step that was made, pointed out new beauties and inspired new ideas. At that moment appeared Kent, painter enough to taste the charms of landscape, bold and opinionative enough to dare and to dictate, and born with a genius to strike out a great system from the twilight of imperfect essays. He leaped the fence, and saw that all nature was a garden. He felt the delicious contrast of hill and valley changing imperceptibly into each other, tasted the beauty of the gentle swell, or concave scoop, and remarked how loose groves crowned an easy eminence with happy ornament, and while they called in the distant view between their graceful stems, removed and extended the perspective by delusive comparison.

Thus the pencil of his imagination bestowed all the arts of landscape on the scenes he handled. The great principles on which he

* The seat of the late Sir Jeremy Sambroke. It had formerly belonged to Lady More, mother-in-law of Sir Thomas More, and had been tyrannically wrenched from her by Henry VIII. on the execution of Sir Thomas, though not her son, and though her jointure from a former husband.

worked were perspective, and light and shade. Groupes of trees broke too uniform or too extensive a lawn; evergreens and woods were opposed to the glare of the champaign, and where the view was less fortunate, or so much exposed as to be beheld at once, he blotted out some parts by thick shades, to divide it into variety, or to make the richest scene more enchanting by reserving it to a farther advance of the spectator's step. Thus, selecting favourite objects, and veiling deformities by screens of plantation; sometimes allowing the rudest waste to add its soil to the richest theatre, he realized the compositions of the greatest masters in painting. Where objects were wanting to animate his horizon, his taste as an architect could bestow immediate termination.

But of all the beauties he added to the face of this beautiful country, none surpassed his management of water. Adieu to canals, circular basons, and cascades tumbling down marble steps, that last absurd magnificence of Italian and French villas. The forced elevation of cataracts was no more. The gentle stream was taught to serpentine seemingly at its pleasure, and where discontinued by different levels, its course appeared to be concealed by thickets properly interspersed, and glittered again at a distance where it might be supposed naturally to arrive. Its borders were smoothed, but preserved their waving irregularity. A few trees scattered here and there on its edges sprinkled the tame bank that accompanied its meanders; and when it disappeared among the hills, shades descending from the heights leaned

towards its progress, and framed the distant point of light under which it was lost, as it turned aside to either hand of the blue horizon.

Thus dealing in none but the colours of nature, and catching its most favourable features, men saw a new creation opening before their eyes. The living landscape was chastened or polished, not transformed. Freedom was given to the forms of trees; they extended their branches unrestricted, and where any eminent oak, or master beech had escaped maiming and survived the forest, bush and bramble was removed, and all its honours were restored to distinguish and shade the plain. Where the united plumage of an ancient wood extended wide its undulating canopy, and stood venerable in its darkness, Kent thinned the foremost ranks, and left but so many detached and scattered trees, as softened the approach of gloom and blended a chequered light with the thus lengthened shadows of the remaining columns.

Succeeding artists have added new master-strokes to these touches; perhaps improved or brought to perfection some that I have named. The introduction of foreign trees and plants, which we owe principally to Archibald Duke of Argyll, contributed essentially to the richness of colouring so peculiar to our modern landscape. The mixture of various greens, the contrast of forms between our forest-trees and the northern and West-Indian firs and pines, are improvements more recent than Kent, or but little known to him. The weeping-willow and every florid shrub, each tree of delicate or bold leaf, are new tints in the composition of our gardens.

gardens. The last century was certainly acquainted with many of those rare plants we now admire. The Weymouth-pine has long been naturalized here; the patriarch plant still exists at Longleat. The light and graceful acacia was known as early; witness those ancient stems in the court of Bedford-house in Bloomsbury-square; and in the Bishop of London's garden at Fulham are many exotics of very ancient date. I doubt therefore whether the difficulty of preserving them in a clime so foreign to their nature did not convince our ancestors of their inutility in general, unless the shapeliness of the lime and horse-chestnut, which accorded so well with established regularity, and which thence and from their novelty grew in fashion, did not occasion the neglect of the more curious plants.

That Kent's ideas were but rarely great, was in some measure owing to the novelty of his art. It would have been difficult to have transported the style of gardening at once from a few acres to tumbling of forests: and though new fashions often lead men to the most opposite excesses, it could not be the case in gardening, where the experiments would have been so expensive. Yet it is true too that the features in Kent's landscapes were seldom majestic. His clumps were puny, he aimed at immediate effect, and planted not for futurity. One sees no large woods sketched out by his direction. Nor are we yet entirely risen above a too great frequency of small clumps, especially in the elbows of serpentine rivers. How common to see three or four beeches,

then as many larches, a third knot of cypresses, and a revolution of all three! Kent's last designs were in a higher style, as his ideas opened on success. The north terrace at Claremont was much superior to the rest of the garden.

A return of some particular thoughts was common to him with other painters, and made his *band* known. A small lake edged by a winding bank with scattered trees that led to a seat at the head of the pond, was common to Claremont, Elther, and others of his designs. At Elther,

Where Kent and nature vied for Pelham's love,

the prospects more than aided the painter's genius.—They marked out the points where his art was necessary or not; but thence left his judgment in possession of all its glory.

Having routed *professed* art, for the modern gardener exerts his talents to conceal his art, Kent, like other reformers, knew not how to stop at the just limits. He had followed nature, and imitated her so happily, that he began to think all her works were equally proper for imitation. In Kensington-garden he planted dead trees, to give a greater air of truth to the scene—but he was soon laughed out of this excess. His ruling principle was, that *nature abhors a straight line*.—His mimics, for every genius has his apes, seemed to think that she could love nothing but what was crooked. Yet so many men of taste of all ranks devoted themselves to the new improvements, that it is surprizing how much beauty has been struck out, with how few absurdities. Still in some lights

lights the reformation seems to me to have been pushed too far. Though an avenue crossing a park or separating a lawn, and intercepting views from the seat to which it leads, are capital faults, yet a great avenue * cut through woods, perhaps before entering a park, has a noble air. In other places the total banishment of all particular neatness immediately about a house, which is frequently left gazing by itself in the middle of a park, is a defect. Sheltered and even close walks in so very uncertain a climate as ours, are comforts ill exchanged for the few picturesque days that we enjoy: and whenever a family can purloin a warm and even something of an old fashioned garden from the landscape designed for them by the undertaker in fashion, without interfering with the picture, they will find satisfactions on those days that do not invite strangers to come and see their improvements.

Fountains have with great reason been banished from gardens as unnatural; but it surprizes me that they have not been allotted to their proper positions, to cities, towns, and the courts of great houses, as proper accompaniments to architecture, and as works of grandeur in themselves. Their decorations admit the utmost invention, and when the waters are thrown up to different stages, and tumble over their border, nothing

has a more imposing or a more refreshing sound. A palace demands its external graces and attributes, as much as a garden. Fountains and cypresses peculiarly become buildings, and no man can have been at Rome, and seen the vast basins of marble dashed with perpetual cascades in the area of St. Peter's, without retaining an idea of taste and splendor. Those in the piazza Navona are as useful as sublimely conceived.

Grottoes in this climate are recesses only to be looked at transiently. When they are regularly composed within of symmetry and architecture, as in Italy, they are only splendid improprieties. The most judiciously, indeed most fortunately placed grotto, is that at Stourhead, where the river bursts from the urn of its god, and passes on its course through the cave.

But it is not my business to lay down rules for gardens, but to give the history of them. A system of rules pushed to a great degree of refinement, and collected from the best examples and practice, has been lately given in a book intitled *Observations on modern Gardening*.

The author divides his subject into gardens, parks, farms, and ridings. I do not mean to find fault with this division. Directions are requisite to each kind, and each has its department at many of the great scenes from whence

* Of this kind one of the most noble is that of Stanstead, the seat of the Earl of Halifax, traversing an ancient wood for two miles and bounded by the sea. The very extensive lawns at that seat, richly inclosed by venerable beech woods, and chequered by single beeches of vast size, particularly when you stand in the portico of the temple and survey the landscape that waits itself in rivers of broken sea, recall such exact pictures of Claud Lorrain, that it is difficult to conceive that he did not paint them from this very spot.

he drew his observations. In the historic light, I distinguish them into the garden that connects itself with a park, into the ornamented farm, and into the forest or savage garden. Kent, as I have shown, invented or established the first sort. Mr. Philip Southcote founded the second or *ferme ornée*, of which is a very just description in the author I have been quoting. The third I think he has not enough distinguished. I mean that kind of alpine scene, composed almost wholly of pines and firs, a few birch, and such trees as assimilate with a savage and mountainous country. Mr. Charles Hamilton, at Pain's-hill, in my opinion has given a perfect example of this mode in the utmost boundary of his garden. All is great and foreign and rude; the walks seem not designed, but cut through the wood of pines; and the style of the whole is so grand, and conducted with so serious an air of wild and uncultivated extent, that when you look down on this seeming forest, you are amazed to find it contain a very few acres. In general, except as a screen to conceal some deformity, or as a shelter in winter, I am not fond of total plantations of ever-greens. Firs in particular form a very ungraceful summit, all broken into angles.

Sir Henry Englefield was one of the first improvers on the new style, and selected with singular taste that chief beauty of all gardens, prospect and fortunate points of view. We tire of all the painter's art when it wants these finishing touches. The fairest scenes, that depend on themselves alone, weary when often seen. The Doric por-

tico, the Palladian bridge, the Gothic ruin, the Chinese pagoda, that surprize the stranger, soon lose their charms to their surfeited master. The lake that floats the valley is still more lifeless, and its lord seldom enjoys his expence but when he shows it to a visiter. But the ornament whose merit soonest fades, is the hermitage or scene adapted to contemplation. It is almost comic to set aside a quarter of one's garden to be melancholy in.

The most imminent danger that threatens the present, as it has ever done, all taste is the pursuit of variety. A modern French writer has in a very affected phrase given a just account of this, I will call it, distemper. He says, *l'ennui du beau amene le gout du singulier*. The noble simplicity of the Augustan age was driven out by false taste. The gigantic, the puerile, the quaint, and at last the barbarous, and the monkish, had each their successive admirers. Music has been improved, till it is a science of tricks and slight of hand: the sober greatness of Titian is lost, and painting since Carlo Maratti, has little more relief than Indian paper. Barromini twisted and curled architecture, as if it was subject to the change of fashions like a head of hair. If we once lose sight of the propriety of landscape in our gardens, we shall wander into all the fantastic sharawadgis of the Chinese. We have discovered the point of perfection. We have given the true model of gardening to the world; let other countries mimic or corrupt our taste; but let it reign here on its verdant throne, original by its elegant simplicity, and proud of no

other art than that of softening nature's harshnesses and copying her graceful touch.

The ingenious author of the *Observations on modern Gardening* is, I think, too rigid when he condemns some deceptions, because they have been often used. If those deceptions, as a feigned steeple of a distant church, or an unreal bridge to disguise the termination of water, were intended only to surprise, they were indeed tricks that would not bear repetition; but being intended to improve the landscape, are no more to be condemned because common, than they would be if employed by a painter in the composition of a picture. Ought one man's garden to be deprived of a happy object, because that object has been employed by another? The more we exact novelty, the sooner our taste will be vitiated. Situations are every where so various, that there never can be a sameness, while the disposition of the ground is studied and followed, and every incident of view turned to advantage.

In the mean time how rich, how gay, how picturesque the face of the country! The demolition of walls laying open each improvement, every journey is made through a succession of pictures; and even where taste is wanting in the spot improved, the general view is embellished by a variety. If no relapse to barbarism, formality, and secusion, is made, what landscapes will dignify every quarter of our island, when the daily plantations that are making have attained venerable maturity! A specimen of what our gardens will be, may be seen at Petworth, where

the portion of the park nearest the house has been allotted to the modern style. It is a garden of oaks two hundred years old. If there is a fault in so august a fragment of improved nature, it is, that the size of the trees are out of all proportion to the shrubs and accompaniments.

It was fortunate for the country and Mr. Kent, that he was succeeded by a very able master; and did living artists come within my plan, I should be glad to do justice to Mr. Brown; but he may be a gainer, by being reserved for some abler pen.

In general it is probably true, that the possessor, if he has any taste, must be the best designer of his own improvements. He sees his situation in all seasons of the year, at all times of the day. He knows where beauty will not clash with convenience, and observes in his silent walks or accidental rides a thousand hints that must escape a person who in a few days sketches out a pretty picture, but has not had leisure to examine the details and relations of every part.

On Improving the Memory. From a Treatise on Education, by Mr. Knox.

THE great and obvious utility of the memory, has urged the ingenious to devise artificial modes of increasing its power of retention. The great orator of Rome, whose judgment and experience, as well as his genius, give great weight to his opinions on didactic subjects, has spoken rather favourably of the *memoria technica*, or artificial memory. But,

Notwith-

notwithstanding the authority of him, and of other truly ingenious writers, the art is rather to be considered as a curious than an useful contrivance, and it is rejected by Quintilian. Few have really availed themselves of it; and many who have attempted to acquire it, have only added to the obscurity of their conceptions*.

That mode of improvement, then, may be totally laid aside, and may be numbered among the fanciful inventions, which serve to amuse the idle and the speculative, without being reducible to general and practical utility. The only infallible method of augmenting its powers, is frequent, regular, and well-directed exercise; such exercise, indeed, as it is commonly led to use in the classical schools, where a night seldom passes without a task appointed for the exercise of the memory.

In order to improve the memory, it is necessary to acquire a confidence in it. Many render it treacherous by fearing to trust it; and a practice has arisen from this fear, really injurious, though

apparently useful. It is the practice of committing to writing every thing which the student remarks, and desires to remember. Nothing is more common, and nothing more effectually frustrates the purpose it means to promote†. It is better that many things should be lost, than retained in the table book, without confiding in the memory. Like a generous friend, the memory will repay habitual confidence with fidelity.

There are injudicious and illiterate persons, who consider the cultivation of the memory as the first object in education. They think it is to be loaded with historical minutiae, and with chronological dates. They entertain a mean opinion of the scholar, who cannot reite matters of fact, however trivial, and specify the year of an event, however doubtful or insignificant. They expect to have the chapter and verse mentioned on every citation, and are more pleased with that little accuracy, than with a just recollection of a beautiful passage, or a striking sentiment. But to labour to remem-

* The few following rules have been given, and they may possibly be useful. 1. Si longior oratio mandanda fuerit memorizæ, proderit, totâ prius semel lectâ et intellectâ, *per partes edificare*. 2. Juvabit, *islem*, quibus scripseris, *chartis edificare*. 3. Tempus matutinum longè commodius est; tamen perquam utile erit *pridè vespri*, priusquam dormitum concedas, semel et iterum percurrere ea, quæ postridie sunt edificenda. 4. Si quidpiam difficiliter addiscitur, illi loco non erit inutile aliquod signum vel notam apponere, cujus recordatio excitet memoriam. 5. Præstat non tan ultuariè sed declamando statim et cum gestu edificare. 6. Maxima tamen fabricandæ et servandæ ubi memorizæ ars est frequens exercitatio. See John Holmes, Rhet.

† Illa, quæ scriptis reposuimus, velut custodire definimus, et ipsâ securitate dimittimus. *Those things which we have once committed to writing, we cease, as it were, to guard, and we lose them by thinking them in no danger of being lost.* Quintilian.

Μεγίστη δὲ βουλή τὸ μὴ γραφεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐκμαθεῖν. οὐ γὰρ εἰς τὰ γραφεία μὴ οὐκ ἀπαιτεῖν. *The surest method of keeping what we wish to retain, is, not to commit it to writing, but to trust it to the memory; for it is scarcely possible that written memoranda should not slip from the mind.*

ber unideal dates, and uninteresting transactions, must ever be an irksome study to a lively genius; and he who shall train young persons in this laborious track, will give them a disgust for literature. It is to feed them with the husks of learning, which, as they are both dry and hard, afford neither pleasure nor nourishment. Let the reading be pleasant and striking, and the memory will grasp and retain all that is sufficient for the purposes of valuable improvement.

There is one circumstance which has had an unfavourable influence on aspiring at the excellence of a retentive memory. An idea has prevailed, that memory and genius are seldom united. To be possessed of memory in a great degree, has led some to conclude, that genius was deficient; and all pretensions to memory have been readily sacrificed for the credit of possessing genius. Pope's famous lines, in which he says, that the beams of a warm imagination dissolve the impressions on the memory, seem to have induced those who wished to be thought to possess a fine imagination, to neglect their memory, in order to possess one symptom of a fine imagination. But I believe the remark of the inconsistency of great genius and great memory, is not universally true. There are instances, among the living, as well as the dead, which prove something against its

universality. It is, however, often true.

It cannot be denied, that nature has made a difference in dispensing the power of retaining ideas. If we may believe some accounts, she has sometimes formed prodigies in this species of excellence. Muret relates, that he recited words to the number of thirty-six thousand, some of them without meaning, to a young man, who repeated them all immediately, from the beginning to the end, and from the end to the beginning, in the same order, without a moment's hesitation, or a single mistake. Miraculous, and even incredible, as this may appear, Muret tells us, there were innumerable witnesses to the truth of the fact, and mentions many names of respectable persons, who were present at the repetition. Many other instances might be selected from authors of allowed veracity; but they are so different from that which falls within the experience of mankind in general, as scarcely to gain credit. If they are true, they afford encouraging motives for the cultivation of a faculty, which has sometimes been advanced to so high a degree of perfection*.

In giving great attention to the cultivation of the memory, there is danger lest it should be overlaid with minute objects; a circumstance highly injurious, especially in the course of education.

* Quintilian, after mentioning some extraordinary instances of memory, concludes with this judicious remark: *Dicebantur etiam esse nunc qui facerent, sed mihi nunquam ut ipse interesset contigit; habenda tamen fides est vel in hoc, ut, qui crediderit, et speret.* *It is said there are some who can do so now; but I never have happened to meet with them; one would, however, believe it, if it were only for this reason, that he who believes that such things have been, may hope that they may be again.*

Let it therefore be considered, that a good memory*, according to a similitude of Erasmus, resembles a net so made as to confine all the great fish, but to let the little ones escape.

*On the literary Education of Women.
From the same.*

THERE are many prejudices entertained against the character of a learned lady; and perhaps if all ladies were profoundly learned, some inconveniencies might arise from it; but I must own it does not appear to me, that a woman will be rendered less acceptable in the world, or worse qualified to perform any part of her duty in it, by having employed the time from six to sixteen, in the cultivation of her mind. Time enough will remain, after a few hours every day spent in reading, for the improvement of the person, and the acquisition of the usual accomplishments. With respect to these accomplishments, I will not presume to direct

the method of pursuing them. I will not so far intrude on a province, which by no means belongs to me. The ladies themselves, and their instructors, want no directions in matters of external ornament, the end of which is to please on intuition. However arrogant the men have been in their claims of superiority, they have usually allowed the ladies the possession of a delicate taste in the improvement and perception of all kinds of beauty.

The literary education of women ought indisputably to be varied according to their fortunes, and their expectations. Much refinement, and a taste for books, will injure her, whose time, from prudence motives, must be entirely engrossed by œconomy. Few women are indeed exempted from all attention to domestic care. But yet the unmarried, and those who enjoy opulence, find many intervals which they often devote to some species of reading. And there is no doubt, but that the reading would be selected with more judgment, and would afford more pleasure and advantage, if

* Some persons seem to think, that a good memory consists in retaining dates and minute particulars; but I believe, that though a reader remembers but few dates, and few minute particulars, he may yet retain all the necessary *general ideas* and valuable *conclusions*. He will see a wide and beautiful arrangement of important objects; while another, who stoops to pick up and preserve every trifle, will have his eyes fixed on the ground. It is not enough that the mind can re-produce just what it has received from reading, and no more; it must re-produce it digested, altered, improved, and refined. Reading, like food, must shew its effects in promoting growth; since, according to a striking remark of Epictetus τὰ πολλὰ ἐν ἡμῶν χερσὶν φέροντα, οὐκ οὐδὲν ποιοῦσιν ἐν δεικνύοντι. ΠΟΣΟΝ ἔφαγεν· ἀλλὰ τὴν νομὴν ἔβω πεφάνια, ἔβω ἔφαγε καὶ γάλα. *Sheep do not show the shepherd how much they have eaten, by producing the grass itself; but after they have inwardly digested the pasture, they produce outwardly wool and milk.*

the taste were formed by early culture *.

I will then venture to recommend, that ladies of this description should have a classical education. But let not the reader be alarmed. I mean not to advise, that they should be initiated, without exception, in Greek and Latin; but that they should be well and early acquainted with the French and the English classics.

As soon as they can read with fluency, let them begin to learn Lowth's Grammar, and to read at the same time some very easy and elegant author, with a view to exemplify the rules. They should learn a part in grammar every morning, and then proceed to read a lesson; just in the manner observed in classical schools in learning Latin. After a year spent in this method, if the success is adequate to the time, they should advance to French, and study that language exactly in the same mode. In the French grammar, it will not be necessary to go through those particulars which are common to the grammars of all languages, and which have been learned in studying English.

Several years should be spent in this elementary process; and when the scholar is perfectly acquainted with orthography and grammar, she may then proceed to the cul-

tivation of taste. Milton, Addison, and Pope, must be the standing models in English; Boileau, Fontenelle †, and Vertot, in French: and I wish these to be attended to solely for a considerable time. Many inconveniences arise from engaging young minds in the perusal of too many books. After these authors have been read over with attention, and with a critical observation of their beauties, the scholar may be permitted to select any of the approved writers of France and England, for her own improvement. She will be able to select with some judgment, and will have laid a foundation which will bear a good superstructure. Her mind, if she has been successful in this course, will have imbibed an elegance which will naturally diffuse itself over her conversation, address, and behaviour. It is well known, that internal beauty contributes much to perfect external grace. I believe it will also be favourable to virtue, and will operate greatly in restraining from any conduct grossly indelicate, and obviously improper. Much of the profligacy of female manners has proceeded from a levity occasioned by a want of a proper education. She who has no taste for well written books, will often be at a loss how to spend her time ‡; and the consequences

* "The girl is altogether kept from exercises of good learning and knowledge of good letters, or else she is so nouseled in amorous bookes, vaine stories, and sonde trifling fancies, &c." E. Hake's Touchstone for the time present. See the passage quoted in the ingenious Mr. T. Warton's History of English Poetry.

† Though Fontenelle is accused by the critics of deviating a little from the classical standard, he is yet a very pleasing writer.

‡ How happy is it TO KNOW HOW to live with oneself, to find oneself again with pleasure, to leave oneself with regret! The world then is less necessary to one.

MARCHIONESS de LAMBERT.

of such a state are too frequent not to be known, and too fatal not to be avoided.

Whenever a young lady in easy circumstances appears to possess a genius, and an inclination for learned pursuits, I will venture to say, she ought, if her situation and connections permit, to be early instructed in the elements of Latin and Greek. Her mind is certainly as capable of improvement, as that of the other sex. The instances which might be brought to prove this, are all too well known to admit of citation. And the method to be pursued must be exactly the same as that which is used in the private tuition of boys, when judiciously conducted.

And here I cannot refrain from adding, that though I disapprove, for the most part, of private tuition for boys, yet I very seriously recommend it to girls, with little exception. All sensible people agree in thinking, that large seminaries of young ladies, though managed with all the vigilance and caution which human abilities can exert, are in danger of great corruption. . . Vanity and vice will be introduced by some among a

large number, and the contagion soon spreads with irresistible violence. Who can be so proper an instructor and guardian, as a tender and a sensible mother? Where can virgin innocence and delicacy be better protected, than under a parent's roof, and in a father's and a brother's bosom? Certainly no where, provided that the parents are sensible and virtuous, and that the house is free from improper or dangerous connections. But where the parents are much engaged in pleasure, or in business; where they are ignorant or vicious; where a family is exposed to the visits or constant company of libertine young persons; there it is certainly expedient to place a daughter under the care of some of those judicious matrons, who preside over the schools in or near the metropolis. But I believe it often happens, that young ladies are sent from their parent's eye, to these seminaries, principally with a view to form connections. I leave it to the heart of a feeling father to determine, whether it is not cruel * to endanger the morals of his offspring for the sake of interest †.

Reflections

* It must be remembered, that only those parents can incur this censure, who keep their daughters at school after a CERTAIN AGE.

† One of the strongest arguments in favour of the literary education of women, is, that it enables them to superintend the domestic education of their children in the earlier periods, especially of daughters. We are told, in the very elegant dialogue on the causes of the decline of eloquence, that it was the glory of the ancient Roman matrons, to devote themselves to œconomy, and the care of their children's education. Jamprimum filius ex causâ parente natus, non in cellâ emptæ nutricis educabatur, sed in gremio ac sinu matris, cujus præcipua laus erat, tueri domum et intervire liberis. . . Sic Corneliam Gracchorum, sic Aureliam Julii Cæsaris, sic Attiam Augusti matrem, præfuisse educationibus liberorum accepimus. *As soon as a son was born of a chaste parent, he was not brought up in the cottage of some hireling nurse, but in the lap and the bosom of his mother, whose principal merit it was to take care of the house, and to devote herself to the service of the children. . . . Thus are*

Reflections on the Distresses of the Poor.

THE fact which is here related, and the reflections to which it gave rise, are too interesting to require any excuse for their being taken from one of the most chaste and instructive miscellanies of the age*.

WERE there no misery or distress in the world, there would be few occasions for exercising that benevolence, which excites gratitude and thankfulness on one hand, and the tender emotions of sympathy and humanity on the other. Conscious as we are, that no one is exempt from the painful vicissitudes of life, and that the blessed to-day may to-morrow experience a bitter reverse; the child of woe is always an object of commiseration, and should excite in our hearts that kind of compassion, and obtain that aid from us, which we should look for, were such afflictions suffered to overtake us.

Various are the occasions to

excite the sympathetic feelings of the human heart, for distress appears in a thousand shapes; but perhaps there are none more deserving of our attention, than abject poverty, particularly at this time, when the inclemency of the season requires additional expences, and when families, who have been supported by industry and labour, are many of them robbed of this support by the exigences of war, and compelled to depend upon the scanty and precarious assistance of the parish. Many who are permitted to continue with their families are obliged to labour in all the severe changes of weather, and are consequently more liable to violent diseases and aggravated want. Their families are often numerous, their habitations close and confined, and, when a fever or any infectious disease is once introduced, it extends its malignity, and augments desolation and misery: for the arm of the father,

we told, Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi, thus Aurelia, of Julius Cæsar, thus Attia, of Augustus, presided over the education of their children. And with respect to its not being the custom to teach ladies Latin, we may say in the words of the learned Matron in Erasmus, Quid mihi citas vulgum, pessimum rei gerendæ auctorem? Quid mihi consuetudinem, omnium malarum rerum magistrum? Optimis assuecendum: ita fiet solitum, quod erat insolitum; et suave fiet, quod erat insuave; fiet decorum, quod videbatur indecorum. Why do you tell me of the generality of people, the very worst pattern of conduct? Why do you talk to me of the custom, the teacher of all that is bad? Let us accustom ourselves to that which we know is best. So, that will become usual which was unusual; and that will become agreeable which was disagreeable, and that fashionable which appeared unfashionable.

He of whom antiquity boasts itself as of the wisest of mortals, was instructed in many elegant and profound subjects of learning by a lady.

Ἀσπασία μὲν τοι ἡ σοφὴ τοῦ Σωκράτους διδάσκαλος τῶν ρητορικῶν λόγων. Aspasia, the learned lady, was the preceptress of Socrates in rhetoric. ATHENÆUS.

Πλάτων τον Σωκράτην παρ' αὐτῆς φησι μαθεῖν τὰ πολιτικά. Plato says that Socrates learned politics of her. HARPOCRATION.

See some excellent remarks on the subject of giving daughters a learned education, in Eras. Epist. to Budæus, cited in Jortin's Eras. vol. ii. p. 366.

* Gentleman's Magazine.

upon

upon which a family of helpless children naturally depend for support, is thus equally prostrate with the babe at the breast. Sickness under every exterior comfort excites our solicitude and concern; but what a picture of human woe is exhibited, when want, penury, and pain, constitute the pillow!

The benevolence of this nation is great beyond comparison; and, when real distress is known, some tender bosom overflows with comfort and succour; but the chief examples of misery are unknown and unrelieved; many there are too diffident to apply for aid, or ignorant how to do it; some of these pine away in solitary want, till death closes their sufferings: numbers, however, rather than silently suffer their husbands, their wives, and their children, utterly to perish, supplicate our aid in the public streets and private avenues; but, unfortunately for them, the prevalent opinion, that there is somewhere abundant provision for the poor, and that idleness, not necessity, prompts their petitions, induces many to refuse that pittance, which would prove no loss to themselves, and in some instances might save a life.

In some diseases the attack is violent, and the progress rapid; and before the settlement of a poor helpless object can be ascertained, death decides the controversy.

I know that many undeserving objects intrude upon the benevolent, to the injury of real distress; but, rather than those should suffer all the pangs of misery unpitied and unaided, some enquiry might be made, and their case ascertained: were this tried, it

would frequently bring us acquainted with situations and circumstances of misery which cannot be described: acquaintance with such scenes of human woe would equally excite thankfulness for ourselves, and compassion for our fellow-creatures, who are visited with sufferings and pangs from which we have hitherto been providentially, if not undeservedly, preserved.

These sentiments were the result of a morning walk in the metropolis, which introduced the writer into some situations of real life, the relation of which, he trusts, will not be unacceptable to those benevolent minds, who think,

To pity human woe
Is what the happy to the unhappy owe.

A Morning Walk in the Metropolis.

“About the beginning of December, on going out of my house-door, I was accosted by a tall thin man, whose countenance exhibited such a picture of distress and poverty as fixed my attention, and induced me to enquire into his situation. He informed me that he was a day-labourer, just recovering from sickness, and that feeble as he then was, in order to procure sustenance for a sick family at home, he was compelled to seek for work, and to exert himself much beyond his strength; and he added, that he lived in a court called Little Greenwich, in Aldersgate-street. This poor object seemed to feel distress too deeply to be an impostor: and I could not avoid bestowing some means of obviating his present want, for which he retired bowing, with tears in his eyes; but when he
got

got out of sight, his image was present with me: I was then sorry that my generosity had not been equal to my sensibility, and this induced me to attempt finding out his family. He had mentioned that his name was Foy, and by the information he gave me, I discovered his miserable habitation: with difficulty I found my way up a dark passage and stair-case to a little chamber furnished with one bedstead: an old box was the only article that answered the purpose of a chair, the furniture of the bed consisted of a piece of old ticken, and a worn-out blanket, which constituted the only couch, except the floor, whereon this afflicted family could recline their heads to rest: and what a scene did they present! Near the centre of the bed lay the mother with half a shift, and covered as high as the middle with the blanket. She was incapable of telling her complaints—The spittle, for want of some fluid to moisten her mouth, had dried upon her lips, which were black, as were likewise the gums, the concomitants of a putrid fever, the disorder under which she laboured. At another end of the blanket was extended a girl about five years old; it had rolled from under this covering, and was totally naked, except its back, on which a blister plaster was tied by a piece of packthread crossed over its breast; and, though labouring under this dreadful fever, the poor creature was asleep. On one side of its mother lay a naked boy, about two years old; this little innocent was likewise sleeping. On the other side of the mother, on the floor, or rather on an old box, lay a girl about twelve years

old; she was in part covered with her gown and petticoat, but she had no shift. The fever had not bereaved her of her senses: she was perpetually moaning out, "I shall die of thirst, pray give me some water to drink." Near her stood another girl, about four years old, bare-footed: her whole covering was a loose piece of petticoat thrown over her shoulders; and to this infant it was that her sister was crying for water.

I now experienced how greatly the sight of real misery exceeds the description of it. What a contrast did this scene exhibit to the plenty and elegance which reigned within the extent of a few yards only—for this miserable receptacle was opposite to the stately edifice of an honourable alderman, and still nearer were many spacious houses and shops.

I have observed, that the daughter who was stretched on the floor, was still able to speak. She told me that something was the matter with her mother's side, and asked me to look at it. I turned up an edge of the blanket, and found that a very large mortification had taken place, extending from the middle of her body to the middle of the thigh, and of a hand's breadth; the length was upwards of half a yard, and to stop its progress nothing had been applied. It was a painful sight to behold; and many not less painful exist in this metropolis. I procured medical assistance immediately, and for a trifling gratuity got a neighbour to nurse the family. The church-warden, to whom I made application, heard their history with concern, and added his humane aid, to rescue from death a poor

poor and almost expiring family. I have, however, the pleasure to conclude this relation of their unspeakable distress, by communicating their total deliverance from it, which, I think, may be justly attributed to the timely assistance administered.

London, Jan. 6, 1780.

J. C. LETTSON."

Description of Pompey's Pillar, in the Neighbourhood of Alexandria, in Egypt, and an Anecdote of some English Sea Officers there. From Irwin's Voyage up the Red Sea.

IN the afternoon a large party of us sallied out to take a view of Pompey's Pillar, the theme of the present age, and the admiration of past times! Besides my companions and myself, we were joined by the two English commanders of the ships in the harbour, and Monsieur Meillon, and some young gentlemen of the French factory. We mounted the first asses that presented themselves for hire, and, attended by our Janizary, took the course we pursued yesterday. We left the convent on our right, and presently came among broken arches and long pavements, which are the remains of an aqueduct. Several towers reared up their dismantled heads on each side of us, whose appearance pronounces them to have been posts of great importance and strength. A number of stately pillars next engaged our attention. They are placed in two parallel lines, and seem to have formerly supported some magnificent portico. The pillars are of granite, or Thebaic marble,

and about thirty feet high, of a single stone; and we counted no less than thirty of them still standing. But however choice these columns might be in any other place, they were but foils to the pillar which now appeared before us. We had been buried amid the ruins and the hills of sand, which the winds have thrown up, when, leaving the city by the gate of Roseto, we came unexpectedly upon the Pillar. It is impossible to tell which is most worthy of admiration, the height, the workmanship, or the condition of this pillar. By the best accounts we can obtain, it is an hundred and ten feet high. The shaft, which is of a single stone of granite, is ninety feet, and the pedestal is twenty feet more. It is of the Corinthian order, which gives a beautiful dignity to its simplicity, rarely to be met with in modern architecture. It has suffered little or no injury from time. The polish upon the shaft has wonderfully withstood the buffeting of the tempest; and it promises to hand down a patriot name to the late posterity of the ignorant native, who has no other trace of the fame of Pompey! The pedestal has been somewhat damaged by the instruments of travellers, who are curious to possess a relic of this antiquity; and one of the volutes of the column was immaturity brought down about four years ago, by a prank of some English Captains, which is too ludicrous to pass over.

These jolly sons of Neptune had been pushing about the cannon on board one of the ships in the harbour, until a strange freak entered into one of their brains. The
eccentricity

eccentricity of the thought occasioned it immediately to be adopted; and its apparent impossibility was but a spur for putting it into execution. The boat was ordered, and with proper implements for the attempt, these enterprising heroes pushed ashore, to drink a bowl of punch on the top of Pompey's Pillar! At the spot they arrived; and many contrivances were proposed to accomplish the desired point. But their labour was vain; and they began to despair of success, when the genius who struck out the frolic, happily suggested the means of performing it. A man was dispatched to the city for a paper kite. The inhabitants were by this time apprized of what was going forward, and flocked in clouds to be witnesses of the address and boldness of the English. The Governor of Alexandria was told that these seamen were about to pull down Pompey's Pillar. But whether he gave them credit for their respect to the Roman warrior, or to the Turkish government, he left them to themselves, and politely answered, that the English were too great patriots to injure the remains of Pompey. He knew little, however, of the disposition of the people who were engaged in this undertaking. Had the Turkish empire rose in opposition, it would not, perhaps, at that moment have deterred them. The kite was brought, and flown so directly over the pillar, that when it fell on the other side, the string lodged upon the capital. The chief obstacle was now overcome. A two-inch rope was tied to one end of the string, and drawn over the pillar by the end to which the kite was affixed. By

this rope one of the seamen ascended to the top, and in less than an hour a kind of shroud was constructed, by which the whole company went up, and drank their punch amid the shouts of the astonished multitude. To the eye below, the capital of the pillar does not appear capable of holding more than one man upon it; but our seamen found it could contain no less than eight persons very conveniently. It is astonishing that no accident befel these madcaps, in a situation so elevated, that would have turned a landman giddy in his sober senses. The only detriment which the pillar received, was the loss of the volute before-mentioned; which came down with a thundering sound, and was carried to England by one of the captains, as a present to a lady who commissioned him for a piece of the pillar. The discovery which they made, amply compensated for this mischief; as without their evidence, the world would not have known at this hour, that there was originally a statue on this pillar, one foot and a half of which are still remaining. The statue was, probably, of Pompey himself; and must have been of a gigantic size, to have appeared of a man's proportion at so great an height.

There are circumstances in this story which might give it an air of fiction, were it not demonstrated beyond all doubt. Besides the testimonies of many eye-witnesses, the adventurers themselves have left us a token of the fact, by the initials of their names, which are very legible in black paint just beneath the capital.

Exemplary

*Exemplary Instance of Justice in the
present King of Prussia.*

ONE John Michael Arnold, a miller, had bought the lease of a mill, belonging to the estate of Count Schmettau of Pommernzig, situated in the New Marche of Brandenburg, near the city of Cultrin, and known in that province under the name of the Pommernziger Krieb's Mill. This mill, at the time when Mr. Arnold bought the lease of it, was plentifully supplied with water, by a rivulet which empties itself into the river Warta. During six years, Mr. Arnold had made various improvements in the said mill, and, by means of his labour and industry, had been enabled to pay his rent regularly, and to acquire a sufficiency for the maintenance of his family. At the end of that period, about four years ago, the proprietor of the said mill resolved to enlarge a fish-pond contiguous to his seat, and caused a canal to be cut from the said rivulet, at a small distance above the mill, to supply his fish-pond with water. By these means the current of the stream was lessened, and the quantity of water so much diminished, that the mill could no longer do the usual work.

The miller had foreseen the event, and from the beginning had remonstrated against the cutting of the canal. But his remonstrances, as well as his solicitations for cancelling the lease, proving in vain, he was at last forced to seek redress in a court of judicature at Cultrin, to whose cognizance the affair belonged: but his lord being a man of for-

tune and consequence in that province, soon found means to frustrate his endeavours. He continued to enlarge his fish-pond, so that the miller, instead of finding redress, found his water daily decreasing to such a degree, that at last he could only work during two or three weeks in spring, and about as many in the latter part of the year.

Under these circumstances, the miller could no longer procure his livelihood, and pay his rent, and consequently became indebted to his lord for a considerable sum. The latter, in order to obtain his rent, entered a suit against him in the same court of law at Cultrin, which had before refused relief to the miller, and soon obtained a sentence against the miller's effects; which sentence being approved of and ratified in the High Court of Appeals at Berlin, was put into execution. The miller's lease, utensils, goods, and chattels, were seized, and sold, in order to pay the arrears of rent, and the expences of a most iniquitous lawsuit; and thus poor Arnold and his family were reduced to want and wretchedness.

A glaring injustice of that kind could not pass unnoticed by some friends to humanity, who well knew the benevolent and equitable intentions of their sovereign. They advised and assisted the miller to lay his case before the king. His majesty, struck with the simplicity of the narrative, and the injustice that had apparently been committed, resolved to inquire minutely into this affair, and if the miller's assertions were founded in truth, to punish, in an exemplary

plary manner, the authors and promoters of such an unjust sentence.

The king accordingly made inquiries, and the informations he received corroborated the miller's narrative. His majesty afterwards ordered the Register of his High Court of Appeals, as also all the memorials and pleadings of the said law-suit, to be laid before him, which he revised himself, assisted by an eminent lawyer; and that nothing might be wanting, his majesty sent a person of confidence to Custrin, with orders to survey the said mill, the rivulet, and the new canal, as also to inquire into the miller's character, his former situation in life, the true cause of his failure, and all other circumstances attending this affair. And after being fully convinced, as well from the report of the said commissioner, as also from the papers laid before him, that the sentence against the said miller Arnold was an act of the most singular injustice and oppression, his majesty immediately dictated and signed his resolutions thereupon.

On the next day the king ordered his high chancellor, baron Fürst, as also Messrs. Christ. E. man. Friedell, Henry Lewis Graun, and John Lewis Ranleben, the three counsellors learned in law, who, together with the chancellor, had signed and approved the said sentence, into his cabinet, and on their arrival his majesty put the following questions to them:

QUESTION I.

When a lord takes from a peasant, who rents a piece of ground under him, his waggon, horse, plough, and other utensils, by

which he earns his living, and is thereby prevented from paying his rent, can a sentence of distress be in justice pronounced upon that peasant?

They all answered in the negative.

QUESTION II.

Can a like sentence be pronounced upon a miller for non-payment of rent for a mill, after the water, which used to turn his mill, is willfully taken from him by the proprietor of the mill?

They also answered in the negative.

“Then (said the king) you have yourselves acknowledged the injustice you have committed.—Here is the case:—A nobleman, in order to enlarge his fish-pond, has caused a canal to be cut, to receive more water from a rivulet which used to turn a mill. By these means the miller lost his water, and could not work his mill above a fortnight in spring, and about as many days in autumn;—notwithstanding, it is expected that he shall pay his rent as before, when his mill was plentifully supplied with water; but as that was out of his power, from the impossibility of pursuing his trade, the court of justice at Custrin decreed, that the miller's effects, goods, and chattels, should be sold, to pay the arrears of rent; which sentence being sent to the High Court of Appeals here, is confirmed and signed by you, and has since been executed.”

Here the king ordered the sentence, with their respective signatures, to be laid before them, and afterwards commanded his private secretary to read the resolutions which

which his majesty had dictated to him, and signed before, and which are as follow:

“ The sentence decreed against the miller Arnold, of the Pomertziger Krebs Mill, in the New Marche of Brandenburgh, being an act of the most singular injustice, and entirely opposite to the paternal intentions of his majesty, whose desire it is that impartial justice be speedily administered to all his subjects, whether rich or poor, without any regard to their rank or persons; his majesty, in order to prevent similar iniquities for the future, is resolved to punish, in an exemplary manner, the authors of that unjust sentence, and to establish an example for the future conduct of judges and magistrates in his dominions. For they all are to consider, that the meanest peasant, nay, even the beggar, is a man, as well as the king, and consequently equally entitled to impartial justice; especially as in the presence of justice all are equal, whether it be a prince who brings a complaint against a peasant, or a peasant who prefers one against a prince; in similar cases justice should act uniformly, without any retrospect to rank or person.—This ought to be an universal rule for the conduct of judges; and if the courts of law in his majesty’s dominions should ever deviate from this principle of equity, they may depend upon being severely punished. For an unjust magistrate, or a court of law, guilty of wrong, and subservient to oppression, are more dangerous than a band of robbers, against whom any man may be on his guard; but bad men entrusted

with authority, who under the cloak of justice practise their iniquities, are not so easily guarded against; they are the worst of villains, and deserve double punishment.

“ The king, at the same time, hereby signifies to all his courts of law, that he has appointed a new high chancellor, and that his majesty will be very exact for the future in the examination of his, and of their proceedings. They are, moreover, hereby strictly commanded,

“ I. To bring all law-suits to the speediest conclusion.

“ II. Carefully to avoid that the sacred name of justice may never be profaned by acts of oppression and injustice; and

“ III. To act with the most absolute impartiality towards every one, whether prince or peasant, without the least regard to situations in life.

“ And in case his majesty should find their proceedings in any ways contrary to the above orders, they may depend upon a rigorous punishment; the president, as well as the respective judges and counsellors, who shall be found guilty of, or accessory to, any sentence directly opposite to the fundamental principles of justice. Whereof all the courts of law in all his majesty’s dominions are to take notice.

(Signed) FREDERICK.”

Berlin, Dec. 11, 1779.

After the reading of the above, the king told the high chancellor that he had no further occasion for his services, and ordered them all to withdraw, and the three counsellors, Friedel, Graun, and Ranleben,

leben, to be taken into custody. He also sent immediate orders to Custrin, for the president, judges, and counsellors, who had decreed the unjust sentence in the first instance, to be arrested; and afterwards nominated a commission, under the direction of Baron de Zedlitz, minister of state, to proceed against them all according to law.

His majesty, in consideration of the said injustice, has presented the miller Arnold with the sum of

fifteen hundred rix-dollars. He also ordered, that a sum equal to that produced by the sale of the miller's effects, be stopped and paid to him from the salaries due to the respective judges, &c. who had any share in that unjust sentence; and has, moreover, condemned the proprietor of the mill to reimburse to the miller all the rent he had received, from the time when he first opened the canal.

P O E T R Y.

ODE for the NEW YEAR. *Written by WILLIAM WHITEHEAD, Esq.*
Poet Laureat.

AND dares insulting France pretend
 To grasp the Trident of the Main,
 And hope the astonish'd World should bend
 To the mock pageantry assum'd in vain?
 What, though her fleets the billows load,
 What, though her mimic thunders roar,
 She bears the ensigns of the God,
 But not his delegated power.
 Even from the birth of Time, 'twas Heaven's decree,
 The Queen of Isles should reign sole empress of the sea.
 United Bourbon's giant pride
 Strains every nerve, each effort tries,
 With all but Justice on its side,
 That Strength can give, or Perfidy devise.
 Dread they not Him who rules the sky,
 Whose nod directs the whirlwind's speed,
 Who bears his red right arm on high
 For vengeance on the perjur'd head?
 Th' Almighty Power, by whose august decree
 The Queen of Isles alone is sovereign of the sea?
 Vain-glorious France! deluded Spain!
 Whom ev'n experience warns in vain,
 Is there a sea, that dashing pours
 Its big waves round your trembling shores;
 Is there a Promontory's brow
 That does not Britain's vast achievements know?
 Ask Biscay's rolling flood,
 Ask the proud Celtic steep,
 How oft her navies rode
 Triumphant o'er the deep?
 Ask Lagos' summits that beheld your fate;
 Ask Calpes' jutting front, fair cause of endless hate.

Yet 'midst the loudest blasts of Fame,
 When most the admiring nations gaze,
 What to herself does Britain claim?
 —Not to herself she gives the praise,
 But low in dust her head she bows,
 And prostrate pays her grateful vows
 To Him, the Almighty Pow'r, by whose decree
 She reigns, and still shall reign, sole empress of the sea.

ODE for his Majesty's Birth-Day. By the same.

STILL o'er the deep does Britain reign,
 Her monarch still the trident bears:
 Vain-glorious France, deluded Spain,
 Have found their boasted efforts vain;
 Vain as the fleeting shades when orient light appears.
 As the young eagle to the blaze of day
 Undazzled, and undaunted turns his eyes;
 So unappall'd, where glory led the way,
 'Midst storms of war, 'midst mingling seas and skies,
 The genuine offspring of the Brunswick name
 Prov'd his high birth's hereditary claim,
 And the applauding nation hail'd for joy
 Their future hero in the intrepid boy.
 Prophetic as the flames that spread
 Round the young Iulus' head,
 Be that blest omen of success; the Muse
 Catches thence ecstatic views,
 Sees new laurels nobly won,
 As the circling year rolls on.
 Sees that triumphs of its own
 Each distinguish'd month shall crown
 And, ere this festive day again
 Returns to take the grateful strain,
 Sees all that host of foes
 Both to her glory and repose,
 Bend their proud necks beneath Britannia's yoke,
 And court that peace which their injustice broke.
 Still o'er the deep shall Britain reign,
 Her monarch still the trident bear;
 The warring world is leagued in vain
 To conquer those who know not fear.
 Grasped be the spear by ev'ry hand,
 Let ev'ry heart united glow;
 Collected, like the Theban band,
 Can Britain dread a foe?

No, o'er the deep she still shall reign,
 Her monarch still the trident bear;
 The warring world is leagued in vain
 To conquer those who know not fear.

From an Elegy on the Death of Capt. Cook, by Miss Seward.

YE, who 'ere while for Cook's illustrious brow
 Pluck'd the green laurel, and the oaken bough,
 Hung the gay garlands on the trophied oars,
 And pour'd his fame along a thousand shores,
 Strike the slow death-bell!—weave the sacred verse,
 And strew the cypress o'er his honour'd hearse;
 In sad procession wander round the shrine,
 And weep him mortal, whom ye sung divine!
 Say first, what Pow'r inspir'd his dauntless breast
 With scorn of danger, and inglorious rest,
 To quit imperial London's gorgeous plains,
 Where, rob'd in thousand tints, bright Pleasure reigns;
 In cups of summer-ice her nectar pours,
 And twines, 'mid wintry snows, her roseate bow'rs?
 Where Beauty moves with undulating grace,
 Calls the sweet blush to wanton o'er her face,
 On each fond Youth her soft artillery tries,
 Aims her light smile, and rolls her frolic eyes?

What Pow'r inspir'd his dauntless breast to brave
 The scorch'd Equator, and th' Antarctic wave?
 Climes, where fierce suns with cloudless ardour shine,
 And pour the dazzling deluge round the Line;
 The realms of frost, where icy mountains rise,
 'Mid the pale summer of the polar skies?

IT WAS HUMANITY!—on coasts unknown,
 The shiv'ring natives of the frozen zone,
 And the swart Indian, as he faintly strays
 “Where Cancer reddens in the solar blaze,”
 She bade him seek;—on each inclement shore
 Plant the rich seeds of her exhaustless store;
 Unite the savage hearts, and hostile hands,
 In the firm compact of her gentle bands;
 Strew her soft comforts o'er the barren plain,
 Sing her sweet lays, and consecrate her fane.

IT WAS HUMANITY!—O Nymph divine!
 I see thy light step print the burning Line!
 There thy bright eye the dubious pilot guides,
 The faint oar struggling with the scalding tides.—
 On as thou lead'st the bold, the glorious prow,
 Mild, and more mild, the sloping sun-beams glow;

Now weak and pale the lessen'd lustres play,
 As round th' horizon rolls the timid day;
 Barb'd with the fleeted snow, the driving hail,
 Rush the fierce arrows of the polar gale;
 And thro' the dim, unvaried, ling'ring hours,
 Wide o'er the waves incumbent horror low'rs.

And now antarctic Zealand's drear domain
 Frowns, and o'erhangs th' inhospitable main.
 On it's chill beach this dove of human kind
 For his long-wandering foot short rest shall find,
 Bear to the coast the * olive-branch in vain,
 And quit on wearied wing the hostile plain.—
 With jealous low'r the frowning natives view
 The stately vessel, and th' advent'rous crew;
 Nor fear the brave, nor emulate the good,
 But scowl with savage thirst of human blood!

And yet there were, who in this iron clime
 Soar'd o'er the herd on Virtue's wing sublime;
 Rever'd the stranger-guest, and smiling strove
 To soothe his stay with hospitable love;
 Fann'd in full confidence the friendly flame,
 Join'd plighted hands, and † name exchang'd for name.
 To these the Hero leads ‡ his living store,
 And pours new wonders on th' uncultur'd shore;
 The silky fleece, fair fruit, and golden grain;
 And future herds and harvests bless the plain.
 O'er the green soil his Kids exulting play,
 And sounds his clarion loud the Bird of day;
 The downy Goose her ruffled bosom laves,
 Trims her white wing, and wantons in the waves;
 Stern moves the Bull along th' affrighted shores,
 And countless nations tremble as he roars.

Now the warm solstice o'er the shining bay,
 Darts from the north its mild meridian ray;
 Again the Chief invokes the rising gale,
 And spreads again in desert seas the sail;

* *The olive-branch.*—"To carry a green branch in the hand on landing, is a pacific signal, universally understood by all the islanders in the South Seas."

† *And name exchang'd.*—The exchange of names is a pledge of amity among these islanders, and was frequently proposed by them to Captain Cook and his people; so also is the joining noses.

‡ *His living store.*—Captain Cook left various kinds of animals upon this coast, together with garden-seeds, &c. The Zealanders had hitherto subsisted upon fish, and such coarse vegetables as their climate produced; and this want of better provision, it is supposed, induced them to the horrid practice of eating human flesh.

O'er dangerous shoals his steady steerage keeps,
 O'er * walls of coral, ambush'd in the deeps;
 Strong Labour's hands the crackling cordage twine,
 And † sleepless Patience heaves the sounding-line.

Ἦς οἰωνος ἀπίστος ἀμυρεῖς περὶ πάλῃς.

*On the Love of our Country. Spoken in the Theatre as the Prize Poem
 at Oxford, 1772. By the Rev. Christopher Butson.*

YE souls illustrious, who in days of yore
 With peerless might the British target bore,
 Who clad in wolf-skin from the scythed car,
 Frown'd on the iron brow of mailed war,
 And dar'd your rudely-painted limbs oppose
 To Chalybean steel and Roman foes!

And ye of later age, tho' not less fame
 In Tilt and Tournament, the princely game
 Of *Arthur's* barons, wont by hardiest sport
 To claim the fairest guerdon of the court;
 Say, holy Shades, did e'er your generous blood
 Roll thro' your faithful sons in nobler flood,
 Than late, when *George* bade gird on every thigh
 The myrtle-braided sword of liberty?

Say, when the high-born Druids magic strain
 Rous'd on old *Mona's* top a female train
 'To Madness, and with more than mortal rage
 Bade them, like furies, in the fight engage,
 Frantic when each unbound her bristling hair,
 And shook a flaming torch, and yell'd in wild despair;
 Or when on *Cressy's* field the fable might
 Of *Edward* dar'd four monarchs to the fight;
 Say, holy Shades, did patriotic heat
 In your big hearts with quicker transports beat;
 Than in your sons, when forth, like storms, they pour'd
 In Freedom's cause the fury of the sword;
 Who rul'd the main, or gallant armies led,
 With *Harveke*, who conquer'd, or with *Wolf*, who bled?

Poor is his triumph, and disgrac'd his name,
 Who draws the sword for empire, wealth, or fame;

* *Walls of coral.*—The coral rocks are described as rising perpendicularly from the greatest depths of the ocean, insomuch that the sounding-line could not reach their bottom; and yet they were but just covered with water.—These rocks are now found to be fabricated by sea-insects.

† *And sleepless Patience.*—"We had now passed several months with a man constantly in the chains heaving the lead."

For him tho' wealth be blown on every wind,
 Tho' Fame announce him mightiest of mankind,
 Tho' twice ten nations crouch beneath his blade,
 Virtue disowns him, and his glories fade.
 For him no prayers are pour'd, no pæans sung,
 No blessings chaunted from a nation's tongue;
 Blood marks the path to his untimely bier:
 The curse of Orphans, and the Widows tear,
 Cry to high Heaven for vengeance on his head,
 Alive, deserted, and accurst, when dead.
 Indignant of his deeds the Muse, who sings
 Undaunted truth, and scorns to flatter kings,
 Shall shew the monster in his hideous form,
 And mark him as an earthquake or a storm.

Not so the patriot Chief who dar'd withstand
 The base invader of his native land,
 Who made her weal his noblest, only end,
 Rul'd but to serve her, fought but to defend;
 Her voice in council and in war her sword,
 Lov'd as her father, as her God, ador'd;
 Who firmly virtuous and severely brave,
 Sunk with the freedom that he could not save;
 On worth like his the Muse delights to wait,
 Reveres alike in triumph and defeat,
 Crowns with true glory and with spotless fame,
 And honours *Paci's* more than *Frederick's* name.

Here let the Muse withdraw the blood-stain'd veil,
 And shew the boldest of public zeal.
 Lo! *Sydney* pleading o'er the block—his mien,
 His voice, his hand, unshaken, clear, serene:
 Yet no harangue proudly declaim'd aloud,
 To gain the plaudit of a wayward croud;
 No specious vaunt Death's terrors to defy,
 Still Death deferring as afraid to dye;
 But sternly silent down he bows, to prove
 How firm his virtuous, tho' mistaken, Love.
 Unconquer'd Patriot! form'd by antient lore,
 The love of antient Freedom to restore;
 Who nobly acted what he boldly thought,
 And seal'd by Death the lesson that he taught.

Dear is the tie that links the anxious Sire
 To the fond Babe that prattles round his fire:
 Dear is the love that prompts the generous youth,
 His Sire's fond cares and drooping age to soothe;
 Dear is the brother, sister, husband, wife,
 Dear all the charities of social life:
 Nor wants firm friendship holy wreaths to bind
 In mutual sympathy the faithful mind:

But not th' endearing springs that fondly move
 To filial duty or parental love,
 Nor all the ties that kindred bosoms bind,
 Nor all in Friendship's holy wreaths entwin'd,
 Are half so dear, so potent to controul
 The generous workings of the patriot soul,
 As is that holy voice that cancels all
 Those ties, that bids him for his country fall.
 At this high summons with undaunted zeal
 He bares his breast; invites th' impending steel:
 Smiles at the hand that deals the fatal blow,
 Nor heaves one sigh for all he leaves below.

Nor yet doth Glory, tho' her port be bold,
 Her aspect radiant and her tresses gold,
 Guide thro' the walks of Death alone her car,
 Attendant only on the din of war:
 She ne'er disdains the gentle vale of peace,
 Or olive shades of philosophic ease;
 Where Heaven-taught minds to woo the muse resort,
 Create in colours or with sounds transport;
 More pleas'd on *Isis* silent marge to roam,
 Than bear in pomp the spoils of *Minden* home.

To read with *Newton's* ken the starry sky,
 And God the same in all his orbs descry;
 To lead forth Merit from her humble shade;
 Extend to rising arts a patron's aid;
 Build the nice structure of the generous law,
 That holds the free-born mind in willing awe;
 To swell the sail of trade—the barren plain
 To bid with fruitage blush, and wave with grain;
 O'er pale Misfortune drop with anxious sigh
 Pity's mild balm, and wipe Affliction's eye;
 These, these are deeds Britannia must approve,
 Must nurse their growth with all a parent's love;
 These are the deeds that Public Virtue owns,
 And, just to Public Virtue, Glory crowns.——

The following little Poem was wrote in a blank leaf before Thomson's Seasons, as a compliment to that ingenious Author, by his great admirer and name-fake, the Rev. Mr. William Thompson, some time Fellow of Queen's College, in Oxford.

HAIL, NATURE'S Poet! whom she taught alone
 To sing her Works in numbers like her own:
 Sweet as the thrush that warbles in the dale,
 And soft as Philomela's tender tale.

SHE lent her pencil too, of wond'rous power,
 To catch the rainbow, and to form the flower,
 Of many mingling hues; and, smiling, said,
 (But first with laurel crown'd her Favourite's head)
 "These beauteous children, tho' so fair they shine,
 "Fade in *my* SEASONS, let them live in *thine*."
 And live they shall the charm of every eye,
 'Till NATURE sickens, and the SEASONS die.

*The following beautiful Lines were written by a Lady on observing some
 white Hairs on her Lover's Head.*

THOU, to whose power reluctantly we bend,
 Foe to life's fairy dreams, relentless Time,
 Alike the dread of lover, and of friend,
 Why stamp thy seal on manhood's rosy prime?
 Already twining 'midst my Thyrsis' hair,
 The snowy wreaths of age, the monuments of care.
 Thro' all her forms, tho' Nature own thy sway,
 That boasted sway thou'lt here exert in vain;
 To the last beam of life's declining day,
 Thyrsis shall view, unmov'd, thy potent reign.
 Secure to please, whilst goodness knows to charm,
 Fancy and taste delight, or sense and truth inform.
 Tyrant, when from that lip of crimson glow,
 Swept by thy chilling wing, the rose shall fly;
 When thy rude scythe indents his polish'd brow,
 And quench'd is all the lustre of his eye;
 When ruthless age disperses ev'ry grace,
 Each smile that beams from that ingenuous face—
 Then, thro' her stores, shall active Mem'ry rove,
 Teaching each various charm to bloom anew,
 And still the raptur'd eye of faithful love
 Shall bend on Thyrsis its delighted view;
 Still shall he triumph, with resistless power,
 Still rule the conquer'd heart to life's remotest hour.

VERSES by Lady Craven, on Dreaming she saw her Heart at her Feet.

WHEN Nature, tir'd with thought, was sunk to rest,
 And all my senses were by sleep possess'd;
 Sweet sleep, that soft and balmy comfort brings
 Alike to beggars and despotic kings:

I dreamt

I dreamt of peace I never felt before,
 I dreamt my heart was lying on the floor.
 I view'd it, strange to tell! with joyful eyes,
 And, stranger still, without the least surprise!
 Elated with the sight, I smiling sat,
 Exulting o'er the victim at my feet;
 But soon with words of anguish thus address'd
 This painful sweet disturber of my breast:—
 ' Say, busy, lively, trembling, hoping thing,
 What new disaster hast thou now to bring,
 To torture with thy fears my tender frame,
 Who must for all her ills thee only blame?
 Speak now, and tell me why, ungrateful guest,
 For ten years past hast thou deny'd me rest?
 That in my bosom thou wast nurs'd, 'tis true,
 And with my life and with my stature grew.
 At first so small were all thy wants, that I
 Vainly imagin'd I could ne'er deny
 Whate'er thy fancy ask'd.—Alas! but now
 I find thy wants my ev'ry sense outgrow;
 And ever having, ever wanting more,
 A power to please, to give, or to adore.
 Say, why, like other hearts, thou dost not bear
 With callous apathy each worldly care?
 Why dost thou shrink at Envy's horrid cries?
 In thee Compassion Hatred's place supplies.
 Why not with malice treat malicious men?
 Why ever pity, where thou should'st condemn?
 Why, at the hearing of a dismal tale,
 Dost thou with sorrow turn my beauty pale?
 Why, when distress in any shape appears,
 Dost thou dissolve my very soul in tears?
 Why in thy secret folds is Friendship bred?
 In other hearts its very name is dead.
 Why, if keen Wit and learned Sense draw nigh,
 Dost thou with emulation beat so high?
 And while approving, wish to be approv'd,
 And when you love, wish more to be lov'd?
 Why not, in cold indifference ever clad,
 Alike unmov'd, regard the good and bad?
 Why dost thou waste my youthful bloom with care,
 And sacrifice myself, that I may share
 Distress in others? Why wilt thou adorn
 Their days with roses, and leave me a thorn?
 But here I saw it heave a heavy sigh,
 And thus in sweetest sounds it did reply:
 ' Ah! cease, ELIZA! cease thy speech unjust;
 Thy Heart has e'er fulfill'd its sacred trust;

And

And ever will its tender mansion serve,
 Nor can it from thee this reproach deserve:
 Against my dictates murm'ring have I found,
 Which thus has laid me bleeding on the ground.
 Compare thyself in this same hour depriv'd
 Of this soft Heart, from whence are all deriv'd
 The same bewitching graces which adorn
 And make thy face appear like beauteous morn:
 With me its brilliant ornaments are fled,
 And all thy features, like thy soul, are dead.
 'Tis I that make thee other's pleasures share,
 And in a filter's joy forget thy care.
 'Tis by my dictates thou art taught to find
 A godlike pleasure in a godlike mind;
 That makes thee oft relieve a stranger's woes,
 And often fix those friends that would be foes.
 'Tis I that tremblingly have taught thine ear
 To cherish Music; and 'tis I appear
 In all its softest dress, when to the hearts
 Of all beholders my dear voice imparts
 Harmonic strains: 'tis not because 'tis fine,
 For every note that's felt is surely mine.
 In smoothest numbers all that I indite,
 For 'tis I taught thy fearful hand to write:
 My genius has with watchful care supply'd
 What Education to thy sex deny'd;
 Made Sentiment and Nature all combine
 To melt the Reader in each flowing line,
 Till they in words this feeling truth impart,
 She needs no more, who will consult the Heart;
 And own in reading what is writ by thee,
 No study ever could improve like me.
 And when thy bloom is gone, thy beauty flown,
 And laughing youth to wrinkled age is grown,
 Thy actions, writings, friendship, which I gave,
 Still shall remain an age beyond the grave.
 Then do not thus displac'd let me remain,
 But take me to thy tender breast again.'

' Yes, soft persuader (I return'd) I will;
 And if I am deceiv'd, deceive me still!'

Seduc'd I was in haste; then stooping low,
 Soon re-inflated my sweet, pleasing foe;
 And waking, found it had not less nor more
 Than all the joys, the pangs it had before!

C—

PROLOGUE to the CHAPTER of ACCIDENTS.

Written by GEORGE COLMAN, *Esq;*

LONG has the passive stage, howe'er absurd,
 Been rul'd by *names*, and govern'd by a *word*,
 Some poor *cant term*, like magic spells, can awe,
 And bind our realms like a dramatic law.
 When Fielding, Humour's fav'rite child, appear'd,
Low was the word—a word each author fear'd!
 'Till chac'd at length, by pleasantry's bright ray,
 Nature and mirth resum'd their legal sway;
 And Goldsmith's genius bask'd in open day.

No beggar, howe'er poor, a cur can lack;
 Poor bards, of critic curs, can keep a *pack*.
 One yelper silenc'd, twenty barkers rise,
 And with new *howls*, their *snarlings* still disguise.
Low banish'd, the word *sentiment* succeeds;
 And at that shrine the modern playwright bleeds.
 Hard fate! but let each would-be critic know,
 That *sentiments* from genuine *feeling* flow!
 Critics! in vain declaim, and write, and rail;
 Nature, eternal nature! will prevail.
 Give me the bard, who makes me laugh and cry;
 Diverts and moves, and all, I scarce know why!
 Untaught by commentators, French or Dutch,
 Passion still answers to th' electric touch.
 Reason, like Falstaff, claims, when all is done,
 The honours of the field already won.

To-night, our author's is a mixt intent—
 Passion and humour—*low* and *sentiment*:
 Smiling in tears—a serio comic play—
 Sunshine and show'r—a kind of April Day!
 A lord, whose pride is in his honour plac'd;
 A governor, with av'rice not disgrac'd;
 An humble priest! a lady, and a lover
 So full of virtue, *some of it runs over*.
 No temporary touches, no allusions
 To camps, reviews, and all our late confusions:
 No personal reflections, no sharp satire,
 But a mere Chapter—from the book of nature.
 Wrote by a woman too! the Muses now
 Few liberties to naughty men allow;
 But like old maids on earth, resolv'd to vex,
 With cruel coyness treat the other sex.

P R O-

PROLOGUE to the GENEROUS IMPOSTOR.

[As he enters the Stage looking upon a Paper, and addressing himself to the Author behind, from whom he is supposed to have received it.]

THIS, Sir, the Prologue? Why this piteous whine,
Forebodes a catcall in each croaking line.
“The Author’s first offence!”—“implore!”—“beseech!”
Zounds! ’tis as dismal as a dying speech—
Will prove, itself, the piece’s sure damnation,
And give, like hawkers, by *anticipation*,
“Life, birth, and parentage, and education,”
Do you discover in this cast of feature
The striking traits to suit the doleful metre?
Give it to *Parsons*—his sad—tragice face
Such plaintive sentiments will aptly grace.
The rueful meaning *Moody* may supply
E’en from the fruitful river of his eye;
Or with mute *pathos*, walk about and sigh.

[To the Audience.]

Prologues are alter’d since that Gothic day
When only hungry play-wrights wrote—for pay.
Then while the Bard—poor miserable sinner!
Trembled behind—uncertain of his dinner—
Forth came in black—with solemn step—and slow,
The actor to unfold the tale of woe.
But in these days, when e’en the titled dame
Glow with the passion of dramatic fame,
When as the fashion gains, it may indite
The card of compliments for a third night,
With stile laconic, in the measured strain,
“Lady Charade sees friends at Drury-lane”—
In those bright days—this literary age,
When ’tis the taste—the very thing—the rage
To pen some lively *morceau* for the stage.
When belles write comedies, and beaux have wit,
The Prologue too the sprightly *ton* must hit;
Flippant and smart in careless easy rhymes,
Reflect the gayest colours of the times,
Camelion-like, on fashion’s air must live,
And, like that too, each varying tint must give.

[Returning to the paper, and supposed again to address the Author.]

This will ne’er do (*pausing*)—Can’t you contrive to swell
To thirty lines, some airy bagatelle?
Or take your subject from some modish scenes—
“Elections”—“Camps”—“Electrical machines?”

That

That thought's not bad—Why then suppose I try,
In metaphor—the House t' electrify.
 Wind the *conducting* strains that may dispense
 The mild effluvia's genial influence,
 Or fill the charge, the powerful charge that draws,
 From yon dread Gods! the thunder of applause:
 Or if such potent virtue can't controul
 The angry critic's *non-electric* soul,
 The ladies court—The light'ning of whose eyes,
 'The apt allusion readily supplies.—
 From those bright orbs th' æthereal beam that plays,
 Will blast the critic thorn, but spare the bays.
 Something like this may do—some neat terse thing,
 With a few smirks—and smiles—and bows from King.
 [To the Audience.]
 Mean time the want of form for once forgive,
 And for this night allow the piece to live.

EPILOGUE to *Lady CRAVEN's Comedy of the MINIA-
 TURE PICTURE.*

*Spoken by the Hon. Mrs. HOBART, at Newbury, and by Mrs. ABING-
 TON, at Drury-lane. Written by Mr. JEKYLL.*

THE men, like tyrants of the Turkish kind,
 Have long our sex's energy confin'd;
 In full dress black, and bow, and solemn stalk,
 Have long monopoliz'd the Prologue's walk.
 But still the flippant Epilogue was our's;
 It asked for gay support—the female pow'rs;
 It ask'd a flirting air, coquet and free;
 And so to murder it, they fix'd on *me*.

Much they mistake my talents—I was born
 To tell, in sobs and sighs, some tale forlorn;
 'To wet my handkerchief with Juliet's woes,
 Or tune to Shore's despair my *tragic nose*.

Yes, gentlemen, in education's spite,
 You still shall find that we can read and write;
 Like you, can swell a debt or a debate,
 Can quit the card-table to steer the state;
 Or bid our *Belle Assemblée's* rhet'ric flow,
 To drown your dull declaimers at Soho.
 Methinks e'en now I hear my sex's tongues,
 The shrill, smart melody of female lungs!
 The storm of question, the division calm,
 With "Hear her! Hear her! Mrs. speaker! Ma'am,
 "Oh,

“ Oh, order! Order!” — Kates and Sufans rise,
And Margaret moves, and Tabitha replies.

Look to the camp—Coxheath and Warley Common.
Supply’d at least for ev’ry tent a woman.

The cartridge-paper wrapt the billet-doux,
The rear and picquet form’d the rendezvous.
The drum’s stern rattle shook the nuptial bed;
The knapsack pillow’d lady Sturgeon’s head.
Love was the watch-word, ’till the morning five
Rous’d the tame major and his warlike wife.

Look to the stage. To night’s example draws
A female dramatist to grace the cause.
So fade the triumphs of presumptuous man!
And would you, ladies, but complete my plan,
Here should ye sign some Patriot Petition
To mend our constitutional condition.
The men invade our rights—the mimic elves
Lisp and nickname God’s creatures, like ourselves;
Rouge more than we do, simper, flounce, and fret;
And they coquet, good gods! how they coquet!
They too are coy; and, monstrous to relate!
Their’s is the coyness in a *tête-a-tête*.
Yes, ladies, yes, I could a tale unfold,
Would harrow up your—cushions! were it told;
Part your combined curis, and freeze—pomatum,
At griefs and grievances, as I could state ’em.
But such eternal blazon must not speak—
Besides, the House adjourns some day next week—
This fair committee shall detail the rest,
Then let the monsters (if they dare) protest!

*Extract from the Ode to JOHN HOWARD, Esq; Author of the State of
English and Foreign Prisons; by W. HALEY.*

HAIL! generous HOWARD! tho’ thou bear
A name which Glory’s hand sublime
Has blazon’d oft, with guardian care,
In characters that fear not Time;
For thee she fondly spreads her wings;
For thee from Paradise she brings,
More verdant than her laurel bough,
Such wreaths of sacred Palm, as ne’er till now
The smiling Seraph twin’d around a mortal brow.

I see the hallow'd shade of HALES*,
 Who felt, like thee, for human woe,
 And taught the health-diffusing gales
 Thro' Horror's murky cells to blow,
 As thy protecting angel wait;
 To save thee from the snares of Fate,
 Commission'd from the Eternal Throne:
 I hear him praise, in wonder's warmest tone,
 The virtues of thy heart, more active than his own.

Thy soul supplies new funds of health
 That fail not in the trying hour,
 Above Arabia's spicy wealth
 And Pharmacy's reviving power.
 The transports of the generous mind,
 Feeling its bounty to mankind,
 Insipit every mortal part;
 And, far more potent than precarious art,
 Give radiance to the eye, and vigor to the heart.

Nature! on thy maternal breast
 For ever be his worth engrav'd!
 Thy bosom only can attest
 How many a life his toil has sav'd:
 Nor in thy rescued Sons alone,
 Great Parent! this thy guardian own!
 His arm defends a dearer slave;
 Woman, thy darling! 'tis his pride to save †
 From evils, that surpass the horrors of the grave.

* STEPHEN HALES, minister of Teddington: he died at the age of 84, 1761; and has been justly called "An ornament to his profession, as a clergyman, and to his country, as a philosopher." I had the happiness of knowing this excellent man, when I was very young; and well remember the warm glow of benevolence which used to animate his countenance, in relating the success of his various projects for the benefit of mankind. I have frequently heard him dwell with great pleasure on the fortunate incident which led him to the discovery of his Ventilator, to which I have alluded.—He had ordered a new floor for one of his rooms; his carpenter not having prepared the work so soon as he expected, he thought the season improper for laying down new boards, when they were brought to his house, and gave orders for their being deposited in his barn;—from their accidental position in that place, he caught his first idea of this useful invention.

† Mr. HOWARD has been the happy instrument of preserving female prisoners from an infamous and indecent outrage.—It was formerly a custom in our gaols to load their legs and thighs with irons, for the detestable purpose of extorting money from these injured sufferers.—This circumstance, unknown to me when the Ode was written, has tempted me to introduce the few additional stanzas, as it is my ardent wish to render this tribute to an exalted character as little unworthy as I can of the very extensive and sublime merit which it aspires to celebrate.

Ye sprightly nymphs, by Fortune nurs'd,
 Who sport in Joy's unclouded air,
 Nor see the distant storms, that burst
 In ruin on the humble Fair;
 Ye know not to what bitter smart
 A kindred form, a kindred heart,
 Is often doom'd, in life's low vale,
 Where frantic fears the simple mind assail,
 And fierce afflictions press, and friends and fortune fail.

His Care, exulting BRITAIN found
 Here first display'd, not here confin'd!
 No single tract of earth could bound
 The active virtues of his mind.
 To all the lands, where'er the tear,
 That mourn'd the Prisoner's wrongs severe,
 Sad Pity's glist'ning cheek impearl'd,
 Eager he steer'd, with every sail unfurl'd,
 A friend to every clime! a Patriot of the World!

Ye nations thro' whose fair domain
 Our flying sons of joy have past,
 By Pleasure driven with loosen'd rein,
 Astonish'd that they flew so fast!
 How did the heart-improving sight
 Awake your wonder and delight,
 When, in her unexampled chace,
 Philanthropy outstript keen Pleasure's pace,
 When with a warmer soul she ran a nobler race!

Sweet is the joy when Science flings
 Her light on philosophic thought;
 When Genius, with keen ardor, springs
 To clasp the lovely truth he sought:
 Sweet is the joy, when Rapture's fire
 Flows from the spirit of the lyre;
 When Liberty and Virtue roll
 Spring-tides of fancy o'er the poet's soul,
 That waft his flying bark thro' seas above the pole.

Sweet the delight, when the gail'd heart
 Feels Consolation's lenient hand
 Bind up the wound from Fortune's dart
 With Friendship's life-supporting band!
 And sweeter still, and far above
 These fainter joys, when purest Love
 The soul his willing captive keeps!
 When he in bliss the melting spirit sleeps,
 Who drops delicious tears, and wonders that he weeps!

But not the brightest joy, which Arts,
 In floods of mental light, bestow;
 Nor what firm Friendship's zeal imparts,
 Blest antidote of bitterest woe!
 Nor those that Love's sweet hours dispense,
 Can equal the ecstatic sense,
 When, swelling to a fond excess,
 The grateful praises of 'reliev'd distress,
 Re-echoed thro' the heart; the soul of Bounty blest.

PROLOGUE to the MINIATURE PICTURE.

Written by RICHARD BRINSLEY SHERIDAN, *Esq;* *Spoken by*
Mr. KING.

CHILL'D by rough gales, while yet reluctant May
 With-holds the beauties of the vernal day;
 As some fond maid, whom matron frowns reprove,
 Suspends the smile her heart devotes to love;
 The season's pleasures too delay their hour,
 And Winter revels with protracted pow'r:
 'Then blame not, Critics, if, thus late, we bring
 A Winter's drama—but reproach—the Spring,
 What prudent cit dares yet the season trust,
 Bask in his whisky, and enjoy the dust?
 Hors'd in Cheapside, scarce yet the gayer spark
 Atchieves the Sunday triumph of the Park;
 Scarce yet you see him, dreading to be late,
 Scour the New-road, and dash through Grosvenor-gate,
 Anxious—and fearful too—his steed to shew,
 The hack'd Bucephalus of Rotten-row!
 Careless he seems, yet, vigilantly fly;
 Woos the stray glance of Ladies passing by,
 While his off heel, insidiously aside,
 Provokes the caper which he seems to chide:
 Scarce rural Kensington due honour gains,
 'The vulgar verdure of her walk remains,
 Where white rob'd Misses amble two by two,
 Nodding to booted beaux—'How do, how do?'
 With generous questions that no answer wait,
 'How vastly full! a'n't you come vastly late?
 'Isn't it quite charming? When do you leave town?
 'A'n't you quite tir'd? Pray, can we set you down?'
 These superb pleasures of a London May
 Imperfect yet, we hail the cold delay;
 But if this plea's denied, in our excuse
 Another still remains you can't refuse;
 It is a Lady writes—and hark—a noble Muse!

}

But see a Critic starting from his bench—
 ‘ A noble Author?’ Yes, Sir; but the Play’s not French;
 Yet if it were, no blame on us could fall;
 For we, you know, must follow Fashion’s call;
 And true it is things lately were *EN TRAIN*
 To woo the Gallic Muse at Drury lane;
 Not to import a troop of foreign elves,
 But treat you with French actors—in ourselves:
 A friend we had, who vow’d he’d make us speak
 Pure flippant French,—by contract—in a week;
 Told us ’twas time to study what was good,
 Polish, and leave off being understood,
 That crouded audiences we thus might bring
 To Monsieur Parsons and Chevalier King:
 Or should the vulgars grumble now and then,
 The prompter might translate—for country gentlemen.
 Strait all subscrib’d—Kings, Gods, Mutes, Singer, Actor,—
 A Flanders figure-dancer our contractor.
 But here, I grieve to own, tho’t be to you,
 He acted—e’en as most contractors do;
 Sold what he never dealt in, and th’ amount
 Being first discharg’d, submitted his account:
 And what th’ event? Their industry was such,
 Dodd spoke good Flemish, Bannister bad Dutch.
 Then the rogue told us, with insulting ease,
 So it was foreign, it was sure to please:
 Beaux, wits, applaud, as fashion should command,
 And Misses laugh—to seem to understand—
 So from each clime our foil may something gain;
 Manhood from Rome, and sprightliness from Spain;
 Some Russian Roscius next delight the age,
 And a Dutch Heinel skate along the stage.
 Exotic fopperies, hail! whose flatt’ring smile
 Supplants the sterner virtues of our isle!
 Thus, while with Chinese firs and Indian pines
 Our nurs’ries swarm, the British oak declines:
 Yet, vain our Muses fear—no foreign laws
 We dread, while native beauty pleads our cause:
 While you’re to judge, whose smiles are honours higher
 Than verse should gain, but where those eyes inspire.
 But if the men presume your pow’r to awe,
 Retort their churlish senatorial law;
 This is your house—and move—the gentlemen withdraw: }
 Then you may vote, with envy never ceasing,
 Your influence has increas’d, and is increasing;
 But there, I trust, the resolution’s finish’d;
 Sure none will say—it ought to be diminish’d.

Characters of SALLUST and LIVY. From HAYLEY's Essay on History.

BUT Rome's proud Genius, with exulting claim,
Points to her rivals of the Grecian name!
Sententious SALLUST leads her lofty train;
Clear, tho' concise, elaborately plain,
Poising his scale of words with frugal care,
Nor leaving one superfluous atom there!
Yet well displaying, in a narrow space,
Truth's native strength, and Nature's easy grace;
Skill'd to detect, in tracing Action's course,
The hidden motive, and the human source.
His lucid brevity the palm has won,
By Rome's decision, from OROUS' Son.

Of mightier spirit, of majestic frame,
With powers proportion'd to the Roman fame,
When Rome's fierce Eagle his broad wings unfurl'd,
And shadow'd with his plumes the subject world,
In bright pre-eminence, that Greece might own,
Sublimar LIVY claims th' Historic throne;
With that rich Eloquence, whose golden light
Brings the full scene distinctly to the sight;
That Zeal for Truth, which Interest cannot bend,
That Fire, which Freedom ever gives her friend:
Immortal artist of a work supreme!
Delighted Rome beheld, with proud esteem,
Her own bright image, of colossal size,
From thy long toils in purest marble rise.
But envious Time, with a malignant stroke,
This sacred statue into fragments broke;
In Lethe's stream its nobler portions sunk,
And left Futurity the wounded trunk.
Yet, like the matchless, mutilated frame,
'To which great ANGELO bequeath'd his name.
This glorious ruin, in whose strength we find
The splendid vigour of the Sculptor's mind,
In the fond eye of Admiration still
Rivals the finish'd forms of modern skill.

On Biography and the Character of PLUTARCH. From the same.

O BLEST Biography! thy charms of yore
Historic Truth to strong Affection bore,
And fost'ring Virtue gave thee as thy dower,
Of both thy parents the attractive power;

To win the heart, the wavering thought to fix,
 And fond delight with wise instruction mix.
 First of thy votaries, peerless, and alone,
 Thy PLUTARCH shines, by moral beauty known:
 Enchanting Sage! whose living lessons teach,
 What heights of Virtue human efforts reach.
 Tho' oft thy Pen, eccentrically wild,
 Ramble, in Learning's various maze beguil'd;
 Tho' in thy Style no brilliant graces shine,
 Nor the clear conduct of correct Design,
 Thy every page is uniformly bright
 With mild Philanthropy's diviner light.
 Of gentlest manners, as of mind elate,
 Thy happy Genius had the glorious fate
 To regulate, with Wisdom's soft controul,
 The strong ambition of a TRAJAN's soul.
 But O! how rare benignant Virtue springs,
 In the blank bosom of despotic kings!

Character of FROISSART. From the same.

YET Courtesy, with generous Valour join'd,
 Fair Twins of Chivalry! rejoic'd to find
 A faithful Chronicler in plain FROISSART;
 As rich in honesty as void of art.
 As the young Peasant, led by spirits keen
 To some great city's gay and gorgeous scene,
 Returning, with increase of proud delight,
 Dwells on the various splendor of the sight;
 And gives his tale, tho' told in terms uncouth,
 The charm of Nature, and the force of Truth,
 Tho' rude engaging; such thy simple page
 Seems, O FROISSART! to this enlighten'd age.
 Proud of their spirit, in thy writings shewn,
 Fair Faith and Honour mark thee for their own;
 Tho' oft the dupe of those delusive times,
 Thy Genius, foster'd with romantic rhymes,
 Appears to play the legendary Bard,
 And trespass on the truth it meant to guard.
 Still shall thy name, with lasting glory, stand
 High on the list of that advent'rous band,
 Who, bidding History speak a modern tongue,
 From her cramp'd hand the Monkish fetters flung,
 While yet depress'd in Gothic night she lay,
 Nor saw th' approaching dawn of Attic day.

Character

Character of FATHER PAUL. From the same.

SARPI, blest name! from every foible clear,
 Not more to Science than to Virtue dear.
 Thy pen, thy life, of equal praise secure!
 Both wisely bold, and both sublimely pure!
 That Freedom bids me on thy merits dwell,
 Whose radiant form illum'd thy letter'd cell;
 Who to thy hand the noblest task assign'd,
 That earth can offer to a heavenly mind:
 With Reason's arms to guard invaded laws,
 And guide the pen of Truth in Freedom's cause.
 Too firm of heart at Danger's cry to stoop,
 Nor Lucre's slave, nor vain Ambition's dupe,
 Thro' length of days invariably the same,
 Thy country's liberty thy constant aim!
 For this thy spirit dar'd th' Assassin's knife,
 That with repeated guilt pursu'd thy life;
 For this thy fervent and unweary'd care
 Form'd, ev'n in death, thy patriotic prayer,
 And, while his shadows on thine eye-lids hung,
 "Be it immortal!" trembled on thy tongue.

Character of VOLTAIRE. From the same.

THO' Pontiffs execrate, and Kings betray,
 Let not this fate your generous warmth allay,
 Ye kindred Worthies! who still dare to wield
 Reason's keen sword, and Toleration's shield,
 In climes where Persecution's iron mace
 Is rais'd to massacre the human race!
 The heart of Nature will your virtue feel,
 And her immortal voice reward your zeal:
 First in her praise her fearless champions live,
 Crown'd with the noblest palms that earth can give.
 Firm in this band, who to her aid advance,
 And high amid th' Historic sons of France,
 Delighted Nature saw, with partial care,
 The lively vigour of the gay VOLTAIRE;
 And fondly gave him, with ANACREON's fire,
 To throw the hand of Age across the lyre:
 But mute that vary'd voice, which pleas'd so long!
 Th' Historian's tale is clos'd, the Poet's song!
 Within the narrow tomb behold him lie,
 Who fill'd so large a space in Learning's eye!

Thou Mind unwearied! thy long toils are o'er;
Censure and Praise can touch thy ear no more:
Still let me breathe with just regret thy name,
Lament thy foibles, and thy powers proclaim!

On the wide sea of Letters 'twas thy boast
To croud each sail, and touch at every coast:
From that rich deep how often hast thou brought
The pure and precious pearls of splendid Thought!
How didst thou triumph on that subject-tide,
Till Vanity's wild gust, and stormy Pride,
Drove thy strong bark, in evil hour, to split
Upon the fatal rock of impious Wit!
But be thy failings cover'd by thy tomb!
And guardian laurels o'er thy ashes bloom!

From the long annals of the world thy art,
With chemic process, drew the richer part;
'To History gave a philosophic air,
And made the interest of mankind her care;
Pleas'd her grave brow with garlands to adorn,
And from the rose of Knowledge strip the thorn.

Thy lively Eloquence, in prose, in verse,
Still keenly bright, and elegantly terse,
Flames with bold spirit; yet is idly rash:
'Thy promis'd light is oft a dazzling flash:
Thy wisdom verges to sarcastic sport,
Satire thy joy! and ridicule thy fort!
But the gay Genius of the Gallic soil,
Shrinking from solemn tasks of serious toil,
Thro' every scene his playful air maintains,
And in the light Memoir unrival'd reigns.
Thy Wits, O France! (as e'en thy Critics own)
Support not History's majestic tone;
They, like thy Soldiers, want, in feats of length,
The persevering soul of British strength.

*Characters of CAMDEN, RAWLEIGH, CLARENDON, BURNET,
RAPIN, HUME, LYTTELTON. From the same.*

HAIL to thee, Britain! hail! delightful land!
I spring with filial joy to reach thy strand:
And thou! blest nourisher of Souls, sublime
As e'er immortaliz'd their native clime,
Rich in Poetic treasures, yet excuse
The trivial offering of an humble Muse,
Who pants to add, with fears by love o'ercome,
Her mite of Glory to thy countless sum!
With vary'd colours, of the richest die,
Fame's brilliant banners o'er thy Offspring fly:

In native Vigour bold, by Freedom led,
 No path of Honour have they fail'd to tread :
 But while they wisely plan, and bravely dare,
 Their own atchievements are their latest care.
 Tho' CAMDEN, rich in Learning's various store,
 Sought in Tradition's mine Truth's genuine ore,
 The waste of Hist'ry lay in lifeless shade,
 Tho' RAWLEIGH's piercing eye that world survey'd.
 Tho' mightier names there cast a casual glance,
 They seem'd to saunter round the field by chance,
 Till CLARENDON arose, and in the hour
 When civil Discord wak'd each mental Power,
 With brave desire to reach this distant goal,
 Strain'd all the vigour of his manly soul.
 Nor Truth, nor Freedom's injur'd Powers, allow
 A wreath unspotted to his haughty brow :
 Friendship's firm spirit still his fame exalts,
 With sweet atonement for his lesser faults.
 His pomp of phrase, his period of a mile,
 And all the maze of his bewilder'd style,
 Illum'd by warmth of heart, no more offend :
 What cannot Taste forgive, in FALKLAND's friend ?
 Nor flow his praises from this single source ;
 One province of his art displays his force :
 His Portraits boast, with features strongly like,
 The soft precision of the clear VANDYKE :
 Tho', like the Painter, his faint talents yield,
 And sink embarrass'd in the Epic field.
 Yet shall his labours long adorn our isle,
 Like the proud glories of some Gothic pile :
 They, tho' constructed by a Bigot's hand,
 Nor nicely finish'd, nor correctly plan'd,
 With solemn Majesty, and pious Gloom,
 An awful influence o'er the mind assume ;
 And from the alien eyes of every sect
 Attract observance, and command respect.

In following years, when thy great name, NASSAU !
 Stamp'd the blest deed of Liberty and Law ;
 When clear, and guiltless of Oppression's rage,
 There rose in Britain an Augustan age,
 And cluster'd Wits, by emulation bright,
 Diffus'd o'er ANNA's reign their mental light ;
 That constellation seem'd, tho' strong its flame,
 To want the splendor of Historic fame :
 Yet BURNET's page may lasting glory hope,
 Howe'er insulted by the spleen of POPE.
 Tho' his rough language haste and warmth denote,
 With ardent Honesty of soul he wrote ;

Tho' critic censures on his work may shower,
 Like Faith, his freedom has a saving power.
 Nor shalt thou want, RAPIN! thy well-earn'd praise
 The sage POLYBIUS thou of modern days!
 Thy sword, thy pen, have both thy name endear'd;
 This join'd our arms, and that our story clear'd:
 Thy foreign hand discharg'd th' Historian's trust,
 Unsway'd by Party, and to Freedom just.
 To letter'd Fame we own thy fair pretence,
 From patient Labour, and from candid Sense.
 Yet public Favour, ever hard to fix,
 Flew from thy page, as heavy and prolix.
 For soon, emerging from the Sophist's school,
 With Spirit eager, yet with Judgment cool,
 With subtle skill to steal upon applause,
 And give false vigour to the weaker cause;
 To paint a specious scene with nicest art,
 Retouch the whole, and varnish every part;
 Graceful in Style, in Argument acute;
 Master of every trick in keen Dispute!
 With these strong powers to form a winning tale,
 And hide Deceit in Moderation's veil,
 High on the pinnacle of Fashion plac'd,
 HUMERUS shone the idol of Historic Taste.
 Already, pierc'd by Freedom's searching rays,
 The waxen fabric of his fame decays.—
 Think not, keen Spirit! that these hands presume
 To tear each leaf of laurel from thy tomb!
 These hands! which, if a heart of human frame
 Could stoop to harbour that ungenerous aim,
 Would shield thy grave, and give, with guardian care,
 Each type of Eloquence to flourish there!
 But public Love commands the painful task,
 From the pretended Sage to strip the mask,
 When his false tongue, averse to Freedom's cause,
 Profanes the spirit of her antient laws.
 As Asia's soothing opiate drugs, by stealth,
 Shake every slacken'd nerve, and sap the health;
 Thy writings thus, with noxious charms refin'd,
 Seeming to soothe its ills, unnerve the mind.
 While the keen cunning of thy hand pretends
 To strike alone at Party's abject ends,
 Our hearts more free from Faction's weeds we feel,
 But they have lost the flower of Patriot zeal.
 Wild as thy feeble Metaphysic page,
 Thy Hist'ry rambles into Sceptic rage;
 Whose giddy and fantastic dreams abuse
 A HAMPDEN's Virtue, and a SHAKESPEARE's Muse.

With purer spirit, free from party strife,
 To soothe his evening hour of honour'd life,
 See candid LYTTLETON at length unfold
 The deeds of liberty in days of old!
 Fond of the theme, and narrative with age,
 He winds the lengthen'd tale thro' many a page;
 But there the beams of Patriot Virtue shine;
 There Truth and Freedom sanctify the line,
 And laurels, due to Civil Wisdom, shield
 This noble Nestor of th' Historic field.

The living names, who there display their power,
 And give its glory to the present hour,
 I pass with mute regard; in fear to fail,
 Weighing their worth in a suspected scale:
 Thy right, posterity! I sacred hold,
 To fix the stamp on literary gold;
 Blest! if this lighter ore, which I prepare
 For thy supreme Assay, with anxious care,
 Thy current sanction unimpeach'd enjoy,
 As only tinctur'd with a slight alloy!

RONDEAU. *Sung by Mrs. BARTHELEMON, at Ranelagh.*

NIGHT and day the anxious lover
 Is attentive to the fair,
 Till the doubtful courtship's over:
 Is she then so much his care?

Warm as Summer his addressee,
 Hope and ardour's in his eyes,
 Cool as Winter his caresses,
 When she yields his captive prize.

Now the owner of her beauty,
 Sees no more an Angel face;
 Half is love, the rest is duty:
 Pleasure sure is in the chase.

ACCOUNT of BOOKS for 1780.

Anecdotes of Painting in England; with some Account of the principal Artists, and incidental Notes on other Arts; collected by the late Mr. George Vertue; and now digested and published from his original MSS. by Mr. Horace Walpole. Vol. 3d. and 4th.

WE are indebted to our readers a long arrear on the account of the honorable editor of these memoirs. The two first volumes were published in the year 1762: and a short view of the compiler's plan, together with our opinion of the judicious and lively manner in which it was executed, were given in the Annual Register of that date. The third volume came out the following year; but the account of it was deferred till the publication of the fourth and last, which was then promised, and for which we have waited with all the impatience, that the singular merit of the preceding parts had, we believe, very generally excited.

But, how much soever we may have suffered from this delay in the gratification of our curiosity, the motives that occasioned it cannot be sufficiently commended. Mr. Walpole, whose humanity and benevolence are as much admired in private life, as are his fine genius

and lively talents are by the public, was unwilling, as he himself informs us, "to utter even gentle censures, which might wound the affections, or offend the prejudices, of those related to persons, whom truth forbid him to commend beyond their merits. . . As he could not therefore resolve, like most biographers, to dispense universal panegyric, the publication of this last volume, which contains the lives of artists in the two late reigns, though it had been long written, and even printed, was deferred, from motives of tenderness towards their surviving friends and relations." To risk the tide of popular curiosity would have been a dangerous experiment in an author of doubtful reputation. On the other hand, to sacrifice a long period of certain fame to the gratification of a private satisfaction, was still less to be expected from the vanity of an applauded favourite. But Mr. Walpole's genius and virtues make him superior to both these considerations; and he knows that men of true taste will not less admire the beneficent exertions of the one, than the most brilliant productions of the other.

The first of the volumes now before us commences with the reign of Charles the second. "The arts,

arts, says this spirited writer, were in a manner expelled with the royal family from Britain. The anecdotes of a civil war are the history of destruction. In all ages, the mob have vented their hatred to tyrants, on the pomp of tyranny. The magnificence, the people have envied, they grow to detest; and mistaking consequences for causes, the first objects of their fury are the palaces of their masters. If religion is thrown into the quarrel, the most innocent arts are catalogued with sins. This was the case in the contests between Charles and his parliament. As he had blended affection to the sciences with a lust of power, nonsense and ignorance were adopted into the liberties of the subject. Painting became idolatry, monuments were deemed carnal pride, and a venerable cathedral seemed equally contradictory to Magna Charta and the Bible. Learning and wit were construed to be so heathen, that one would have thought the Holy Ghost could endure nothing above a pun. What the fury of Henry the VIIIth had spared, was condemned by the Puritans; Ruin was their harvest, and they gleaned after the reformers. Had they countenanced any of the softer arts, what could those arts have represented? How picturesque was the figure of an Anabaptist? but sectaries have no ostensible enjoyments; their pleasures are private, comfortable, and gross. The arts that civilize society, are not calculated for men who mean to rise on the ruins of established order. Jargon and auferities are the weapons that best serve the purposes of heresiarchs and

innovators. The sciences have been excommunicated, from the Gnostics to Mr. Whitfield.

“ The restoration of royalty brought back the arts, not taste. Charles the II^d had a turn to mechanics, but to none of the politer sciences. He had learned to draw in his youth. In the imperial library at Vienna is a view of the Isle of Jersey, designed by him. But he was too indolent to amuse himself. He introduced the fashions of the court of France, without its elegance. He had seen Louis the XIVth countenance Corneille, Moliere, and Boileau, who forming themselves on the models of the ancients, seemed by the purity of their writings to have studied in Sparta. Charles found as much genius at home, but how licentious, how indelicate was the stile he permitted or demanded! Dryden’s tragedies are a compound of bombast and heroic obscenity, inclosed in the most beautiful numbers. If Wycherley had nature, it is nature stark naked. The painters of that age veiled it but little more. Sir Peter Lely scarce saves appearances but by a bit of fringe or embroidery. His nymphs, generally reposed on the turf, are too wanton and too magnificent to be taken for any thing but maids of honour. Yet fantastic as his compositions seem, they were pretty much in the dress of the times, as it is evident by a Puritan tract published in 1678, and intituled “ *Just and Reasonable Reprehensions of Naked Breasts and Shoulders.*” The court had gone a good way beyond the fashion of the preceding reign, when the gallantry in vogue was to wear a lock of some favourite

favourite object; and yet Prynne had thought that mode so damnable, that he published an absurd piece against it, called *The Unloveliness of Love-locks* *.

“The sectaries in opposition to the king, had run into the extreme against politeness: The new court, to indemnify themselves and mark aversion to their rigid adversaries, took the other extreme: Elegance and delicacy were the point from which both sides started different ways; and taste was as little fought by the men of wit, as by those who called themselves the men of God. The latter thought that to demolish was to reform; the others, that ridicule was the only rational corrective; and thus, while one party destroyed all order, and the other gave a loose to disorder, no wonder the age produced no work of art, that was worthy of being preserved by posterity. Yet in a history of the arts, as in other histories, the times of confusion and barbarism must have their place, to preserve the connection, and to ascertain the ebb and flow of genius. One likes to see through what clouds broke forth the age of Augustus.”—

—“The short and tempestuous reign of James, says our author, though he himself seems to have had much inclination to them, afforded small encouragement to the arts. His religion was not of a complexion to exclude decoration; but four years, crowded with insurrections, prosecutions, innovations, were not

likely to make a figure in a history of painting.”—

—King William follows next in order. “This prince, he observes, like most of those in our annals, contributed nothing to the advancement of arts. He was born in a country where taste never flourished, and nature had not given it him as an embellishment of his great qualities. He courted fame, but none of her ministers. Holland owed its preservation to his heroic virtue; England its liberty to his ambition; Europe its independence to his competition with Louis the XIVth; for however unsuccessful in the contest, the very struggle was salutary. Being obliged to draw all his resources from himself, and not content to acquire glory by proxy, he had no leisure, like his rival, to preside over the registers of his fame. He fought his own battles, instead of choosing mottoes for the medals that recorded them; and although my Lord Halifax promised him that his wound, in the battle of the Boyne,

Should run for ever purple in our looms, his majesty certainly did not bespeak a single suit of tapestry in memory of the action. In England he met with nothing but disgusts. He understood little of the nation, and seems to have acted too much upon a plan formed before he came over; and, however necessary to his early situation, little adapted to so peculiar a peo-

* “At the sale of the late Lady Worsely, about seven or eight years ago, was the portrait of the Duchesse of Somerset, daughter to Robert Earl of Essex (Q. Elizabeth’s favourite), with a lock of her father’s hair hanging on her neck, and the lock itself was in the same auction.”

ple as the English. He thought that valour and taciturnity would conquer or govern the world, and vainly imagining his new subjects loved liberty better than party, he trusted to their feeling gratitude for a blessing, which they could not help seeing was conferred a little for his own sake. Reserved, unsociable, ill in his health, and soured by his situation, he sought none of those amusements that make the hours of the happy much happier. If we must except the palace at Hampton Court, at least it is no monument of his taste; it seems erected in emulation of what it certainly was meant to imitate, the pompous edifices of the French monarch. We are told that

—Great Nassau to Kneller's hand decreed

To fix him graceful on the bounding steed.

In general I believe his majesty patronized neither painters nor * poets, though he was happy in the latter—but the case is different; a great prince may have a Garth, a Prior, a Montagu, and want Titians and Vandycks, if he encourages neither—You must address yourself to a painter if you wish to be flattered—A poet brings his incense to you. Mary seems to have had little more propensity to the arts than the king: the good queen loved to work and talk, and contented herself with praying to God that her husband might be a great hero, since he did not choose to be a fond husband.—

—Of the reign of Queen Anne

so illustrated by heroes, he observes, that it “was not equally fortunate in artists. Except Kneller, scarce a painter of note. Westminster-Abbey testifies there was no eminent statuaries. One man there was who disgraced this period by his architecture as much as he enlivened it by his wit; formed to please both Augustus and an Egyptian monarch, who thought nothing preserved fame like a solid mass of stone, he produced a Relapse and Blenheim. Party, that sharpened the genius of the age, dishonoured it too. A halfpenny print of Sacheverel would have been preferred to a sketch of Raphael. Lord Sunderland and Lord Oxford collected books, the Duke of Devonshire and Lord Pembroke, pictures, medals, statues: The performance of the time had little pretensions to be admitted into such cabinets.”—

—The fourth volume opens with George the first. “We are now arrived,” says Mr. Walpole, “at the period, in which the arts were sunk to the lowest ebb in Britain. From the stiffness introduced by Holbein and the Flemish masters, who not only laboured under the timidity of the new art, but who saw nothing but the starch and unpliant habits of the times, we were fallen into a loose, and, if I may use the word, a *dissolute* kind of painting, which was not less barbarous than the opposite extreme, and yet had not the merit of representing even the dresses of the age. Sir Godfrey Kneller still lived, but only in name, which he

* King William had so little leisure to attend to, or so little disposition to men of wit, that when St. Evremont was introduced to him, the king said coldly, “I think you was a major-general in the French service.”

prostituted by suffering the most wretched daubings of hired substitutes to pass for his works, while at most he gave himself the trouble of taking the likeness of the person who sat to him. His bold and free manner was the sole admiration of his successors, who thought they had caught his style, when they neglected drawing, probability, and finishing. Kneller had exaggerated the curls of full-bottomed wigs and the tiaras of ribbands, lace and hair, till he had struck out a graceful kind of unnatural grandeur; but the succeeding modes were still less favourable to picturesque imagination. The habits of the time were shrunk to awkward coats and waistcoats for the men; and for the women, to tight-laced gowns, round hoops, and half a dozen squeezed plaits of linen, to which dangled behind two unmeaning pendants, called lappets, not half covering their strait-drawn hair. Dahl, Dagar, Richardson, Jervas, and others, rebuffed with such barbarous forms, and not possessing genius enough to deviate from what they saw into graceful variations, clothed all their personages with a loose drapery and airy mantles, which not only were not, but could not be the dress of any age or nation, so little were they adapted to cover the limbs, to exhibit any form, or to adhere to the person, which they scarce enveloped, and from which they must fall on the least motion. As those casual lappings and flowing streamers were imitated from nothing, they seldom have any folds or chiaro 'scuro; anatomy and colouring being equally forgotten. Linen, from what æconomy I know not, is seldom allowed

in those portraits, even to the ladies, who lean carelessly on a bank, and play with a parrot they do not look at, under a tranquillity which ill accords with their seeming situation; the slightness of their vestment and the lankness of their hair having the appearance of their being just risen from the bath; and of having found none of their cloaths to put on, but a loose gown. Architecture was perverted to meer house-building, where it retained not a little of Vanbrugh; and if employed on churches, produced at best but corrupt and tawdry imitations of Sir Christopher Wren. Statuary still less deserved the name of an art.

The new monarch was void of taste, and not likely at an advanced age to encourage the embellishment of a country, to which he had little partiality, and with the face of which he had few opportunities of getting acquainted; though had he been better known, he must have grown the delight of it, possessing all that plain good-humoured simplicity and social integrity, which peculiarly distinguishes the *honest English private gentleman*. Like those patriots, it was more natural to George the first to be content with, or even partial to whatever he found established, than to seek for improvement and foreign ornament. But the arts, when neglected, always degenerate. Encouragement must keep them up, or a genius revivify them. Neither happened under the first of the house of Brunswick."

Having finished the reign of George the first, "it is with complacency, says the author, I enter upon a more shining period in the history of arts, upon a new
era;

era; for though painting made but feeble efforts towards advancement, yet it was in the reign of George the second that architecture revived in antique purity; and that an art unknown to every age and climate not only started into being, but advanced with master-steps to vigorous perfection; I mean, the art of gardening, or as I should chuse to call it, *the art of creating landscape*. Rysbrack and Roubiliac redeemed statuary from reproach, and engraving began to demand better painters, whose works it might imitate. The king, it is true, had little propensity to refined pleasures; but queen Caroline was ever ready to reward merit, and wished to have their reign illustrated by monuments of genius. She enthroned Newton, Boyle, and Locke: she employed Kent, and sat to Zincke. Pope might have enjoyed her favour, and Swift had it at first, till intolerant under the mask of independence; and not content without domineering over her politics, she abandoned him to his ill-humour, and to the vexation of that misguided and disappointed ambition, that perverted and preyed on his excellent genius.

To have an exact view of so long a reign as that of George the second, it must be remembered that many of the artists already recorded lived past the beginning of it, and were principal performers. Thus the style that had predominated both in painting and architecture in the two preceding reigns, still existed during the first years of the late king, and may be considered as the remains of the schools of Dahl and Sir Godfrey Kneller, and of Sir Christopher

Wren. Richardson and Jervas, Gibbs and Campbell, were still at the head of their respective professions. Each art improved, before the old professors left the stage. Vanloo introduced a better style of draperies, which by the help of Vanaken became common to and indeed the same in the works of almost all our painters; and Leoni, by publishing and imitating Palladio, disencumbered architecture from some of the weight with which it had been overloaded. Kent, Lord Burlington, and Lord Pembroke, though the two first were no foes to heavy ornaments, restored every other grace to that imposing science, and left the art in possession of all its rights—yet still Mr. Adam and Mr. Chambers were wanting to give it perfect delicacy. The reign was not closed, when Sir Joshua Reynolds ransomed portrait-painting from insipidity, and would have excelled the greatest masters in that branch, if his colouring were as lasting, as his taste and imagination are inexhaustible.”

We cannot close these extracts without adding one more, in which Mr. W. has done justice to the merits of our living artists, with the same taste and discernment, that he has appreciated the value of their predecessors—In an advertisement prefixed to the last volume, he acquaints us that “The work is carried as far as the author intended to go, though he is sensible he could continue it with more satisfaction to himself, as the arts, at least those of painting and architecture, are emerging from the wretched state in which they lay at the accession of George the first. To architecture, taste and vigour

vigour were given by lord Burlington and Kent—They have successors worthy of the tone they gave; if, as refinement generally verges to extreme contrarieties, Kent's ponderosity does not degenerate into filligraine—But the modern Pantheon, uniting grandeur and lightness, simplicity and ornament, seems to have marked the medium, where taste must stop. The architect who shall endeavour to refine on Mr. Wyat, will perhaps give date to the age of embroidery. Virgil, Longinus and Vitruvius afford no rules, no examples, of scattering finery.

This delicate redundancy of ornament growing into our architecture might perhaps be checked, if our artists would study the sublime dreams of Piranesi, who seems to have conceived visions of Rome beyond what it boasted even in the meridian of its splendor. Savage as Salvator Rosa, fierce as Michael Angelo, and exuberant as Rubens, he has imagined scenes that would startle geometry, and exhaust the Indies to realize. He piles palaces on bridges, and temples on palaces, and scales Heaven with

mountains of edifices. Yet what taste in his boldness! what grandeur in his wildness! what labour and thought both in his rashness and details! Architecture, indeed, has in a manner two sexes; its masculine dignity can only exert its muscles in public works and at public expence; its softer beauties come better within the compass of private residence and enjoyment.

How painting has rekindled from its embers, the works of many living artists demonstrate. The prints after the works of Sir Joshua Reynolds have spread his fame to Italy, where they have not at present a single painter that can pretend to rival an imagination so fertile, that the attitudes of his portraits are as * various as those of history. In what age were paternal despair and the horrors of death pronounced with more expressive accents than in his picture of Count Ugolino? When was infantine loveliness, or embryo-passions, touched with sweeter truth than in his portraits of Miss Price and the baby Jupiter? What frankness of nature in Mr. Gainborough's landscapes; which may

* Sir J. Reynolds has been accused of plagiarism for having borrowed attitudes from ancient masters. Not only candour but criticism must deny the *force* of the charge. When a single posture is imitated from an historic picture and applied to a portrait in a different dress and with new attributes, This is not plagiarism, but quotation: and a quotation from a great author, with a novel application of the sense, has always been allowed to be an instance of parts and taste; and may have more merit than the original. When the sons of Jacob imposed on their father by a false coat of Joseph, saying, "Know now whether This be thy son's coat or not," they only asked a deceitful question—but that interrogation became wit, when Richard 1st. on the pope reclaiming a bishop whom the king had taken prisoner in battle, sent him the prelate's coat of mail, and in the words of scripture asked his holiness, whether THAT was the coat of his son or not? Is not there humour and satire in Sir Joshua's reducing Holbein's swaggering and colossal haughtiness of Henry 8th. to the boyish jollity of master Crewe?—One prophecy I will venture to make; Sir Joshua is not a plagiarist, but will beget a thousand. The exuberance of his invention will be the grammar of future painters of portrait.

entitled

entitle them to rank in the noblest collections! What genuine humour in Zaffani's comic scenes; which do not, like the works of Dutch and Flemish painters, invite laughter to divert itself with the nastiest indelicacy of boors!

Such topics would please a pen that delights to do justice to its country—but the author has forbidden himself to treat of living professors. Posterity appreciates impartially the works of the dead. To posterity he leaves the continuation of these volumes; and recommends to the lovers of arts the industry of Mr. Vertue, who preserved notices of all his contemporaries, as he had collected of past ages, and thence gave birth to this work. In that supplement will not be forgotten the wonderful progress in miniature of Lady Lucan, who has arrived at copying the most exquisite works of Isaac and Peter Oliver, Hoskins and Cooper, with a genius that almost depreciates those masters, when we consider that they spent their lives in attaining perfection; and who, soaring above their modest timidity, has transferred the vigour of Raphael to her copies in water-colours. There will be recorded the living etchings of Mr. H. Bunbury, the second Hogarth, and first imitator who ever fully equalled his original; and who, like Hogarth, has more humour when he invents, than when he illustrates*—probably because genius can draw from the sources of nature with more spirit than from the ideas of another. Has any painter ever executed a scene, a character of Shakespear, that ap-

proached to the prototype so near as Shakespear himself attained to nature? Yet is there a pencil in a living hand as capable of pronouncing the passions as our unequalled poet; a pencil not only inspired by his insight into nature, but by the graces and taste of Grecian artists—but it is not fair to excite the curiosity of the public, when both the rank and bashful merit of the possessor, and a too rare exertion of superior talents, confine the proofs to a narrow circle. Whoever has seen the drawings, and bas-reliefs, designed and executed by Lady Diana Beauclerc, is sensible that these imperfect encomiums are far short of the excellence of her works. Her portrait of the Duchess of Devonshire, in several hands, confirms the truth of part of these assertions. The nymph-like simplicity of the figure is equal to what a Grecian statuary would have formed for a dryad or goddess of a river. Bartolozzi's print of her two daughters after the drawing of the same lady, is another specimen of her singular genius and taste. The gay and sportive innocence of the younger daughter, and the demure application of the elder, are as characteristically contrasted as Milton's Allegro and Penferoso.

The historic compositions offered for St. Paul's by some of our first artists seemed to disclose a vision of future improvement—a period the more to be wished, as the wound given to painting through the sides of the Romish religion menaces the arts as well as idolatry—unless the Methodists, whose rigour seems to soften and adopt the

* For instance, in his prints to *Tristram Shandy*.

artifices of the Catholics, [for our itinerant mountebanks already are fond of being fainted in mezzotinto, as well as their St. Bridgets and Terefas] should borrow the paraphernalia of enthusiasm now waning in Italy, and superadd the witchery of painting to that of music. Whitfield's temples encircled with glory may convert rustics, who have never heard of his or Ignatius Loyola's peregrinations. If enthusiasm is to revive, and tabernacles to rise as convents are demolished, may we not hope at least to see them painted? Le Sueur's cloyster at Paris makes some little amends for the imprisonment of the Carthusians. The absurdity of the legend of the reviving canon is lost in the amazing art of the painter; and the last scene of St. Bruno expiring, in which are expressed all the stages of devotion from the youngest mind impressed with fear to the composed resignation of the prior, is perhaps inferior to no single picture of the greatest master. If Raphael died young, so did Le Sueur; the former had seen the antique, the latter only prints from Raphael; yet in the Charteuse, what airs of heads! what harmony of colouring! what aerial perspective! How Grecian the simplicity of architecture and drapery! How diversified a single quadrangle, though the life of a hermit be the only subject, and devotion the only pathetic! In short, till we have other pictures than portraits, and painting has ampler fields to range in than private apartments, it is in vain to expect the art should recover its genuine lustre. Statuary has still less encouragement. Sepulchral

decorations are almost disused; and though the rage for portraits is at its highest tide both in pictures and prints, busts and statues are never demanded. We seem to wish no longer duration to the monuments of our expence, than the inhabitants of Peru and Russia, where edifices are calculated to last but to the next earthquake or conflagration."

From these extracts our readers will perceive that Mr. Walpole has lost nothing of that lively and spirited manner, which so strongly mark all his writings. The Essay on Gardening, which we have given at large in the former part of this volume, will afford a lasting proof of his taste and judgment.

Besides the four volumes which we have now gone through, Mr. Walpole published some time ago a supplemental volume on engraving, of which, as it compleats the author's plan, it may be necessary to insert here a short account. It is entitled—*A Catalogue of Engravers who have been born or resided in England; digested by Mr. Horace Walpole, from the MSS. of Mr. George Vertue; to which is added, an Account of the Life and Works of the latter.* 4to.

As Mr. Vertue was of this profession himself, we may have the greater confidence in the industry and fidelity with which these materials have been collected. Such particulars of the lives of the several artists, as their general obscurity has suffered to remain, are recorded; and as accurate lists of their works, whenever they could be obtained, together with an account of their merits, are added, this work must be of singular use to the collectors of this species of

Virtù.

Virtù. We shall now take leave of our author with the following account of the origin of the art of engraving, and of its introduction into England.

“ When the monarchs of Egypt erected those stupendous masses, the pyramids, for no other use but to record their names, they little suspected that a weed growing by the Nile would one day be converted into more durable registers of fame than quarries of marble and granite. Yet when paper had been invented, what ages rolled away before it was destined to its best service. It is equally amusing to observe what obvious arts escape our touch, and how quickly various channels are deduced from a source when once opened. This was the case of the press: Printing was not discovered till about the year 1430: In thirty years more it was applied to the multiplication of drawings. Authors had scarce seen that facility of dispersing their works, before painters received an almost equal advantage. To each was endless fame in a manner insured, if they had merit to challenge it. With regard to prints, the new discovery associated the professors in some degree with the great masters whose works they copied. This intimate connection between printers and engravers makes some account of the latter a necessary supplement to the history of the former. But if this country has not produced many men of genius in the nobler branch, it has been still more deficient in excellent engravers. Mr. Vertue had been alike industrious in hunting after monuments of the latter profession; he was of it himself; but as the artists were less illustrious, his la-

bour was by far more unsuccessful. Till the arrival of Hollar the art of engraving was in England almost confined to portraits. Vertue thought what was produced here, before the reign of King James, of so little consequence, that in a sketch which he had made for a beginning, he professedly dates his account from the year 1600. If I take it up earlier, it is merely to give a compleat history, which will be comprehended in a few lines, and the materials for which I have chiefly gathered from his papers, and from the *Typographical Antiquities* of Mr. Ames.

“ Mr. Evelyn says the art of engraving, and working off from, plates of copper, did not appear till about the year 1490; that is, it was not brought to perfection from the hints gathered from topography; yet it is certain, that in 1460 Maso Finiguerra, a goldsmith of Florence, by an accident that might have given birth to the rolling-press, without the antecedent discovery of printing, did actually light upon the method of taking off stamps from an engraved plate. Casting a piece of such plate into melted brimstone, he observed that the exact impression of the engraving was left upon the surface of the cold brimstone marked by lines of black. He repeated the experiment on moistened paper, rolling it gently with a roller. It succeeded. He communicated the discovery to Baccio Baldini, of his own profession and city. The latter pursued the invention with success, and engraved several plates from drawings of Sandro Botticello, which being seen by Andrea Mantegna, he not only assisted Baldini with designs,

but cultivated the new art himself. It had not been long in vogue before Hugh da Carpi tried the same experiment with wood, and even added a variety of tints by using different stamps, for the graduations of lights and shades; a method revived here some years ago with much success by Kirkall, and since at Venice by Jackson, though very imperfectly.

“ From Italy engraving soon travelled into Flanders, where it was first practised by one Martin of Antwerp. He was followed by Albert Durer, who carried the art to a great height considering how bad the taste was of the age and country in which he lived. His fidelity to what he saw, was at once his fame and misfortune; he was happy in copying nature, but it was nature disguised and hid under ungraceful forms. With neither choice of subjects or beauty, his industry gave merit even to ugliness and absurdity. Confining his labours almost wholly to religious and legendary histories, he turned the Testament into the History of a Flemish Village; the habits of Herod, Pilate, Joseph, &c. their dwellings, their utensils, and their customs, were all Gothic and European; his Virgin Mary was the heroine of a Kermis. Lucas of Leyden imitated him in all his faults, and was still more burlesque in his representations. It was not till Raphael had formed Marc-Antonio, that engraving placed itself with dignity by the side of painting.

“ When the art reached England does not appear. It is a notorious blunder in Chambers to say it was first brought from Antwerp by Speed in the reign of

James the 1st. In some degree we had it almost as soon as printing; the printers themselves using small plates for their devices and rebuses. Caxton's Golden Legend has in the beginning a group of saints, and many other cuts dispersed through the body of the work. It was printed in 1483. The second edition of his Game at Chefs had cuts too: So has his *Le Morte de Arthur*. Wynkyn de Worde, Caxton's successor, prefixed to his title of the Statutes, in the sixth year of Henry VII. a plate with the king's arms, crests, &c. a copy of which is given in the Life of Wynkyn, by Ames in his *Typographical Antiquities*, p. 79. The same printer exhibited several books adorned with cuts, some of which are particularly described by his Biographer, in pages 87, 88, 89. & *sequenribus*.

“ The subsequent printers continued to ornament their books with wooden cuts. One considerable work, published by John Rastell, was distinguished by prints of uncommon merit for that age. It was called *The Pastyme of the People*, and by Bishop Nicholson, in his *Historical Library*, *Rastell's Chronicle*. This scarce book, of a very large size, I saw at the auction of Mr. Ames's library; it had many cuts, eighteen of which were in great folio, representing the kings of England, so well designed and boldly executed as to be attributed to Holbein, though I think they were not of his hand. I shall mention one more book with wooden cuts, (though several are recorded by Ames); it is Grafton's *Chronicle*, printed in 1569, and containing many heads, as of William the Conqueror, Henry VIII,

VIII, and Queen Elizabeth, &c. Yet even though portraits were used in books, I find no trace of single prints being wrought off in that age. Those I have mentioned in a former volume as composing part of the collection of Henry VIII, were probably the productions of foreign artists. The first book that appeared with cuts from copper-plates, at least the first that so industrious an enquirer as Mr. Ames had observed, was, "The Birth of Mankind, otherwise called, The Womans Book," dedicated to Queen Catharine, and published by Thomas Rolande in 1540, with many small copper cuts, but to these no name was affixed."

An Essay on History, in three Epistles to Edward Gibbon, Esq; with Notes. By William Hayley, Esq.

IT has been the fortune of few poets to begin their career with such universal, and, we may add, undivided applause, as the author of the essay now before us. It is no small part of his merit, that in times, not perhaps so very deficient in poetical abilities, as remarkable for countenancing the most frivolous and licentious abuse of them, he has made choice of subjects which the English muse need not blush to decorate. The Essay on Painting is a convincing proof of his talents in that mixed kind of poetry, which is partly didactic, partly descriptive; and his Epistle on the Death of Mr. Thornton, and the Ode to Mr. Howard, shew that he is no weak master of the pathetic.

His poetical talents, without be-

ing marked by any strong cast of original genius, are of that sort, which is well qualified to adorn philosophy, and illuminate the dictates of reason and good sense. He possesses a considerable command of figurative language: his versification, though it has no great compass or variety, is easy, flowing, and harmonious: his invention is quick and fertile: his imagery new and various: his similes are novel, frequent, and happily applied.

The poem now before us is divided into three parts. In the first, after some general reflections on his subject, the author traces the progress of history from

—the rude symbol on the artless stone—

to those models of historical composition which we owe to the genius of Athens. The following reflections on the scarcity of great historians, and the impossibility of attaining to perfection, are equally just and beautiful.

Pure, faultless writing, like transmuted gold,
Mortals may wish, but never shall behold:
Let genius still this glorious object own,
And seek Perfection's philosophic stone!
For while the mind, in Study's toilsome hours,
Tries on the long research her latent powers,
New wonders rise, to pay her patient thought,
Inferior only to the prize she sought.

Nor are those lines less poetical, in which he introduces Herodotus at the head of his historic worthies.

———— Behold the historic fire!
Ionic roses mark his soft attire;
Bold in his air, but graceful in his mien,
As the fair figure of his favour'd queen,

When her proud galley sham'd the Persian
 van,
 And grateful Xerxes own'd her more than
 man!

The characters of Thucydides, Xenophon, Polybius, Sallust, Livy, and Tacitus, are afterwards drawn with great spirit and judgment.

The poet next addresses himself to Biography, of which he seems to consider Plutarch as the father. This must be done rather on the account of his excellency, than the priority of his claim; since Diogenes Laertius has left us a valuable work of the same kind. But probably the author has omitted this latter writer, as having compiled rather the history of philosophical opinions, than of the actions of mankind.—The characters of Marcellinus and Anna Comnena conclude this part.

The second epistle commences with the Monkish historians, to whose merits and defects the author has done justice in a manner much to the credit both of his candour and discernment.—The principal Italian, Spanish, and French writers follow, and these are succeeded by the later historians of our own country. The numerous extracts we have already given from this part of the poem, in our poetical article, makes it unnecessary to add more here, and will in a great measure enable our readers to judge for themselves of our author's abilities both as a poet and a critic.

The sources of the principal defects in history, and its general laws, are the subjects of the third epistle.—This, as our author seems to have been well aware, is the

most important and difficult part of his design.

It has been well observed of the *Essay on translated Verse*, “that Roscommon has indeed deserved his praises, had they been given with discernment, and bestowed not on the rules themselves, but the art with which they are introduced, and the decorations with which they are adorned.” As to Mr. Hayley, though we cannot allow that he deserves no praise as the legislator of history, yet we must confess that he is very far from having given us a complete code. In enumerating the defects of historians, he has confined himself to what relates to the subject-matter of history, and has not entered at all into those which arise from faults in the style and manner. The rules which he afterwards lays down on that subject, are too general and indefinite to be capable of useful application.

Vanity, national and private, flattery, party-spirit, superstition, and false philosophy, are the sources from which he derives the principal faults in history. These topics he has touched with great spirit, and illustrated with a variety of poetical images. Speaking of flattery he says:

But arts of deeper guile, and baser wrong,
 To Adulation's subtle scribes belong:
 They oft, their present idols to exalt,
 Profanely bury the consecrated vault;
 Steal from the buried chief bright Honour's plume,
 Or stain with slander's gall the Statesman's tomb:
 Stay, sacrilegious slaves! with reverence tread
 O'er the blest ashes of the worthy dead!
 See! where, unbury'd by the channel's damp,
 The Vestal, Virtue, with undying lamp,
 Fond

Fond of her toil, and jealous of her trust,
Sits the keen Guardian of their sacred
dust,

And thus indignant, from the depth of
earth,

Checks your vile aim, and vindicates their
worth:

“Hence ye! who buried excellence be-
lied,

“To sooth the fordid spleen of living
“Pride;

“Go! gild with Adulation’s feeble ray,

“Th’ imperial pageant of your passing
“day!

“Nor hope to stain, on base Detraction’s
“scroll,

“A TULLY’s morals, or a SIDNEY’s
“soul!”—

Just Nature will abhor, and Virtue scorn,
That Pen, tho’ eloquence its page adorn,
Which, brib’d by Interest, or from vain
pretence

To subtler Wit, and deep-discerning
Sense,

Would blot the praise on public toils be-
flow’d,

And Patriot passions, as a jest, explode.

The character of an accomplish-
ed historian is drawn with great
force and boldness.

Far other views the liberal Genius fire,
Whose toils to pure Historic praise aspire;
Nor Moderation’s dupe, nor Faction’s
brave,

Nor Guilt’s apologist, nor Flattery’s slave:
Wise, but not cunning; temperate, not
cold;

Servant of Truth, and in that service
bold;

Free from all bias, save that just controul
By which mild Nature sways the manly
soul,

And Reason’s philanthropic spirit draws
To Virtue’s interest, and Freedom’s cause;
Those great ennoblers of the human name,
Pure springs of power, of happiness, and
fame!

The necessity of chusing a sub-
ject that is important and interest-
ing, is judiciously shewn from the
failure of Knolles; and the dan-
ger of dwelling on the distant and
minute parts of a subject really
interesting, is pointed out in the

example of Milton. But the worst
defect in an historian our author
lays down to be, his supporting
any system of tyranny. With his
warm and animated expostulations
on this subject, we shall conclude
our extracts.

Neglect alone repays their slight offence,
Whose wand’ring wearies our bewilder’d
sense:

But just Abhorrence brands his guilty
name,

Who dares to vilify his Country’s fame;
With Slander’s rage the pen of History
grasp,

And pour from thence the poison of the
Asp;

The murderous falsehood, stifling Ho-
nour’s breath!

The slavish teast, Public Virtue’s death!
With all that undermines a Nation’s
health,

And robs the People of their richest
wealth!

Ye tools of Tyranny! whose servile guile
Would thus pollute the records of our life,
Behold your Leader curst with public
hate,

And read your just reward in BRADY’S
fate!

*Memoirs of the Life of David Gar-
rick, Esq; interspersed with Cha-
racters and Anecdotes of his Thea-
trical Contemporaries. By Tho-
mas Davies. 2 Vol. 8vo.*

THE life of Mr. Garrick is
so intimately connected with
the history of the stage, of which
he was the unrivalled ornament
and a successful manager for up-
wards of thirty years, that his bio-
grapher has judiciously chosen to
join them in these volumes. The
lovers of theatrical anecdotes will
find them a valuable continuation
of the *Apology of Colley Cibber*, and
both those who act, and those who
go to see plays, will meet with

hints for improvement, or subjects for comparison.—The author appears to be every way well qualified for the task he has undertaken. A long acquaintance with the stage, as he himself informs us, and an earnest inclination to excel in the profession of acting, to which he was for many years attached, afforded him an opportunity to know much of plays and theatrical history. To this account of himself we must in justice add, that the many proofs of candour and good sense, which he has given throughout his performance, leave no room to suspect, that he has wilfully misrepresented either facts or characters.

As we have already given our readers an account of the Life of Mr. Garrick, which we do not find to differ materially from what is related of him in these memoirs, we shall select, for their entertainment, such parts of the work before us, as relate to the most celebrated of his cotemporaries.

Of Mr. Fleetwood, the patentee, and the revolt of the comedians of Drury-lane in 1743, he gives the following account.

“ Charles Fleetwood, Esq; was a gentleman of an ancient and respectable family, possessed of a large paternal estate. His person was genteel, and his manner elegant. His acquaintance, in the early part of life, with certain persons of rank and distinction, proved fatal to him; they drew him into many fashionable irregularities and excesses; they gave him an unlucky and extravagant habit for play. Amongst those who are addicted to gaming, there are many young men of family and fortune, who are imprudent and

undesigning; they generally fall a prey to the artful, the avaricious, and fraudulent: the betrayed, in their turns, become the betrayers; nor from this censure was Mr. Fleetwood exempted.

With the remains of his fortune he was persuaded, by some of his acquaintance, to purchase the greatest part of Drury-lane patent. He fortunately bought at a time when the proprietors, by a run of ill success, were become weary of their bargain, and willing to sell cheap what they had bought at a high price. They had weakly fallen out with the most esteemed of their players, on account of a small advance in salary, which they had demanded; the sum in dispute did not, I believe, much exceed 400*l.* per annum. The actors revolted, and opened the little theatre in the Hay-market with some appearance of success.

Fleetwood brought back the seceders, and united the two companies of Drury-lane and the Hay-market. When this was accomplished, he tried all methods to strengthen his troop, by gaining some actors of merit from Covent-garden theatre, with large and unusual offers. Mr. Quin was persuaded to leave his old master Rich, under whose theatrical banners he had fought twenty years, for the advantageous income of 500*l.* a salary till then unknown in any English theatre. This was, indeed, to him an annual increase of 200*l.* but it must be confessed that Quin offered to remain in his old station for a less sum than that which Fleetwood offered to give him; but Rich refused the proposal, and declared
that

that no actor was worth more than 300*l.* per annum.

For some years, by the prudent advice of the principal players, more especially, I believe, of Mr. Charles Macklin, who was the only player I ever heard of, that made acting a science; and the unremitted labours of this actor, Quin, Clive, Pritchard, and some others, the theatre at Drury-lane was in a state of considerable credit, and generally filled with the choicest company. But it was impossible to restrain so irregular and expensive a man as the patentee within the bounds of prudence and œconomy. After he had happily been obliged to forsake the practice of high play, and had deserted Arthur's *, he was seized with an unaccountable passion for low diversion, and took a strange delight in the company of the meanest of the human species. This man of genteel address and polite manners conceived a peculiar fondness for the professors of the art of boxing; his time was divided between sturdy athletics and ridiculous buffoons; between Broughton, James, and Taylor, the most eminent of our boxers, and the tumblers of Sadler's-Wells; the heroic combatants of Hockley in the Hole and the Bear-Garden graced the patentee's levee almost every morning.

Some time before Mr. Garrick's engagement with this manager, he had brought all the inmates of Sadler's-Wells upon his stage, and entertained the public with fights of tall monsters and contemptible rope-dancers.—

The theatre was farmed to one

Pierfon, his treasurer, who had lent large sums of money to the manager. This fellow considered the merits of the best actors in no other view than as they contributed to the payment of his loan; the just and legal demands of the actors were treated by him with insolence and contempt: he was civil to Mr. Garrick, indeed, because he hoped, by his acting, to get back the money he had risked upon the patent.

In this distracted state of Fleetwood's management, the ill treatment of the players seemed to call aloud for redress. Bailiffs were often in possession of the theatre; and the properties, cloaths, and other stage ornaments of the comedians, were sometimes seized upon by these low implements of the law. Many ridiculous contests and foolish squabbles between the actors and these licensed harpies might here be recorded for the reader's amusement; I shall content myself with relating one of them. The hat of king Richard the Third, by being adorned with jewels of paste, feathers, and other ornaments, seemed, to the sheriff's officers, a prey worthy of their seizure; but honest Davy, Mr. Garrick's Welch servant, told them, they did not know what they were about; "For, look you," said Davy, "that hat belongs to the king." The fellows imagining that what was meant of Richard the Third was spoken of George the Second, resigned their prey, though with some reluctance.

Repeated, but ineffectual applications, were made to the patentee, for removal of grievances,

* Generally called White's Chocolate-House.

by Garrick, Macklin, Pritchard, and others. It is true, he did not treat their remonstrances with haughtiness as his treasurer did; he listened to their addresses with great calmness, as well as affability; he owned the justice of their representations, and the rectitude of their demands; he was most heartily sorry, he protested, for what was past, and promised very solemnly to reform every thing that was amiss.—Fair promises frequently made, and as often broken, will tire out the most patient tempers; the clamours of the actors, but especially those who had no means of subsistence but their weekly income, were now so loud and urgent, that it became necessary to look about in earnest for some means of substantial redress.

About the end of the summer 1743, the actors found leisure to digest a plan for removing the grievances under which they had so long patiently suffered. About a dozen of them, the chief of whom were Garrick, Macklin, Havard, Berry, Blakes, Mrs. Pritchard and Mrs. Clive, with Mills, and his wife, entered into an association, to which others were invited. A formal agreement was signed, by which they obliged themselves not to accede to any terms which might be proposed to them by the patentee, without the consent of all the subscribers.

The players were in hopes that the lord chamberlain would be induced to grant them his favour and protection; and, in imitation of one of his predecessors, the witty and benevolent earl of Dorset, who rescued Betterton, Mrs.

Barry, and other aggrieved actors, from the tyranny and oppression of Christopher Rich, the old patentee of Drury-lane playhouse, grant them a licence or patent for acting plays at the Opera-house or elsewhere. They drew up a petition, in which they stated their grievances very exactly, and supported their claim to redress from a variety of facts which they offered to prove.

The duke of Grafton, who was then chamberlain, received the petition of the players with coldness; instead of examining into the merits of their complaints, he desired to know the amount of their annual stipends. He was much surprized to be informed, that a man could gain, merely by playing, the yearly salary of 500*l*. His grace observed, that a near relation of his, who was then an inferior officer in the navy, exposed his life in behalf of his king and country for less than half that sum. All attempts to convince the duke that justice and right were on the side of the petitioners, were to no purpose.

It requires but little art of reasoning to confute the duke's argument: his attempt to compare a principal actor's income with that of a subaltern officer, was very ill founded: every gentleman that would wish to rise in the fleet or the army, is obliged to go through the several gradations of preferment; but the midshipman and the cadet both hope to rise to the highest office which they can possibly attain. Besides, genius steps beyond the tedious formalities of progressive service and limited practice. Hawke, Howe, and Keppel, were forced to serve in the

the navy some time before they attained to the rank of lieutenant; Garrick, Clive, and Cibber, from the first trial of their abilities, proved themselves accomplished comedians. —

Whilst the players were busy in gaining friends to their cause, and to promote their success with the lord chamberlain, the patentee was not idle; he endeavoured to raise recruits amongst all the itinerant actors in England. Before they proceeded to greater hostilities, each party strove to justify their cause by appealing to the public from the press. Paul Whitehead, it is said, drew his pen for the manager; and William Guthrie, the historian, was the champion for Mr. Garrick and his party.

Towards the middle of September, the manager was determined to open his theatre; but, on mustering his forces, he found himself so weak, that he could scarce act any play whatever. But upon being joined by Mrs. Bennet, an useful actress, whom he suspected to be gone over to the revolvers, and by the assistance of some new-raised forces, he announced in his play-bills the *Conscious Lovers*, for September the 20th, the usual time of beginning to act plays in the metropolis.

The compassion of the public, the efforts of friends, and motives of curiosity, concurred to bring together a pretty full audience; and the play, though but tolerably acted, passed with applause. The contest between the manager and the seceders became soon very unequal. The latter found all applications for a new patent ineffectual. There was now no remedy left, but to agree with the

manager upon the best terms that could be obtained. The matter ended, as it might have been foreseen, from the moment the chamberlain turned his back upon the players. Some of the principal actors, and such as were absolutely necessary to the conducting of the theatrical machine, were admitted to favour upon reasonable terms, and were allowed the same annual stipends which they enjoyed before the secession; others of less consequence were abridged of half their income." —

Mr. Lacy succeeded Fleetwood as manager of Drury-lane; at the same time Rich, the inventor of our modern pantomime, governed the theatre at Covent-garden. The characters of these two leaders, and the important event of the campaign of 1747, are thus described.

“ John Rich, the son of Christopher Rich, formerly patentee of Drury-lane theatre, seems to have imbibed, from his very early years, a dislike of the people with whom he was destined to live and daily converse. We are told, that his father wished rather to acquire wealth by French dancers, Italian singers, and every other exotic exhibition, than by the united skill of the most accomplished comedians. The son inherited the same odd taste; for being left by his father in the joint possession of the patent with his brother Christopher, and after having ineffectually tried his talent for acting in the part of the Earl of Essex, and some other important character, he applied himself to the study of pantomimical representation. In this he was happily very fortunate. He formed a kind of harlequinade, unknown

unknown to this, and, I believe, to any other country, which he called a pantomime: it consisted of two parts, one serious and the other comic. By the help of gay scenes, fine habits, grand dances, appropriated music, and other decorations, he exhibited a story from Ovid's *Metamorphosis*, or some other fabulous writer: between the pauses or acts of this serious representation, he interwove a comic fable, consisting chiefly of the courtship of Harlequin and Columbine, with a variety of surprising adventures and sudden transformations, which were produced by the magic wand of Harlequin. —

It is a very singular circumstance, that of all the pantomimes which Rich brought on the stage, from the *Harlequin Sorcerer*, in the year 1717, to the last which was exhibited a year before his death, which fell out in 1761, there was scarce one which failed to please the public, who testified their approbation of them forty or fifty nights successively. —

Mr. Lacy, the rival of Mr. Rich, was a man of good understanding, uncultivated by education. — By a succession of schemes he endeavoured to attain affluence and independence. The first dawn of his prosperity he owed to his projecting the rotunda of Ranelagh, about forty years since, which gained him the sum of 4000*l*. This building is a standing monument of his taste and ingenuity. His being appointed manager for the bankers, who purchased the remainder of Mr. Fleetwood's patent, with a third of his own, advanced him still higher to public notice; and the

misfortunes of these men, owing perhaps to an utter desertion of theatrical entertainments, in the year of the Scotch rebellion in 1745, were occasionally the making of his fortune; for having, during the time he was a manager, frequently attended the duke of Grafton, then lord chamberlain, in his hunting parties, he so far ingratiated himself in his grace's favour, that he afterwards, at the expiration of the old patent, obtained on very reasonable terms a new one, the half of which Mr. Garrick purchased.

Mr. Lacy was active and enterprising. He brought Barry from Ireland; and, at the same time, secured Macklin, Yates, Berry, Beard, Neale, Taswell, Mrs. Clive, Mrs. Woffington, Mr. and Mrs. Giffard, and others. He appeared so formidable to Rich, that, by the advice of his counsellors, he immediately entered into a treaty with Mr. Garrick, Mr. Quin, and Mrs. Cibber. Mrs. Pritchard, Messrs. Woodward. Chapman, Hippisley, and Mrs. Green, he had already bound to himself by articles.

It is not, perhaps, more difficult to settle the covenants of a league between mighty monarchs, than to adjust the preliminaries of a treaty in which the high and potent princes and princesses of a theatre are the parties. Mr. Garrick and Mr. Quin had too much sense and temper to squabble about trifles. After one or two previous and friendly meetings, they selected such characters as they intended to act without being obliged to join in the same play. Some parts were to be acted by them alternately, particularly Richard the

Third

Third and Othello. The great difficulty lay in chusing such plays as they might both appear in to advantage. The following parts they consented, as far as I can recollect, to act together: Lothario and Horatio in the Fair Penitent; in June Shore, Hastings and Gloster; in Henry the Fourth, (first part) Hotspur and Falstaff; in the Disbested Mother, Orestes, Garrick; Pyrrhus, Quin; and, I believe, Brutus and Cassius in Julius Cæsar. I have seen the character of Cassius accurately delineated in Mr. Garrick's own handwriting, which he had extracted from Bayle; and it is very probable that he had given his consent to act the part, but that, on serious reflection, he had renounced his intention, as the weight of applause, in the much-admired scene between these great men in the fourth act of the play, must have fallen to the share of Brutus. There was another reason for rejecting Cassius, which, in all probability, had its force with him; he would never willingly put on the Roman habit.

Mr. Quin soon found, that his competition with Mr. Garrick, whose reputation was hourly increasing, whilst his own was on the decline, would soon become ineffectual. His Richard the Third could scarce draw together a decent appearance of company in the boxes; and he was, with some difficulty, tolerated in the part, when Garrick acted the same character to crowded houses, and with very great applause.

The town had often wished to see these great actors fairly matched in two characters of almost equal importance. The Fair Pe-

nitent presented an opportunity to display their several merits; though it must be owned, that the balance was as much in favour of Quin, as the advocate of virtue is superior in argument to the defender of libertinism.

The shouts of applause, when Horatio and Lothario met on the stage together in the second act, were so loud, and so often repeated, before the audience permitted them to speak, that the combatants seemed to be disconcerted. It was observed that Quin changed colour, and Garrick seemed to be embarrassed; and, it must be owned, that these actors were never less masters of themselves, than on the first night of the contest for pre-eminence.—

Notwithstanding the evident disparity arising from one actor's pleading the cause of truth and virtue, and the other being engaged on the side of licentiousness and profligacy, Mr. Quin was, in the opinion of the best judges, fairly defeated; by striving to do too much, he missed the mark at which he aimed. The character of Horatio is compounded of deliberate courage, warm friendship, and cool contempt of vice. The last Quin had in a superior degree, but could not rise to an equal expression of the other two. The strong emphasis which he stamped on almost every word in a line, robbed the whole of that ease and graceful familiarity which should have accompanied the elocution and action of a man who is calmly chastising a vain and audacious boaster.

When Lothario gave Horatio the challenge, Quin, instead of accepting it instantaneously, with the

the determined and unembarrassed brow of superior bravery, made a long pause, and dragged out the words,

“ I'll meet thee there !”

in such a manner as to make it appear absolutely ludicrous. He paused so long before he spoke, that somebody, it was said, called out from the gallery, “ Why don't you tell the gentleman whether you will meet him or not ?” —

The success of the Lying Valet and Lethe induced Mr. Garrick to try his fortune once more as a writer; and Miss in her Teens was the produce of his muse; a farce, in which cowardice and effeminacy are so happily contrasted, and strongly ridiculed, that it will for a long time maintain its ground in the theatre. This petit-piece was acted a great number of nights. Mr. Quin was called upon to play some of his characters during its representation. He complied at first, but soon after repented: he surlily swore he would not hold up the tail of any farce. “ Nor shall he,” said Mr. Garrick, when he was told what Quin had said; “ I will give him a month's holidays.” He picked out of the prompter's list of plays all such as could be acted without Quin, and were not supposed to have any internal strength to draw company of themselves. To these Miss in her Teens was tacked every night for above a month, or five weeks. Quin would sometimes, during the run of the farce, pay a visit to the theatre; but on being told that the house was crowded, he

would give a significant growl, and withdraw. —

The great run of company to Covent-garden left Drury-lane in a state of inferiority and despondency. — Lacy having about this time, prevailed on the duke of Grafton to promise a renewal of the Drury-lane patent, he wisely thought, the best way to secure so valuable an acquisition as Mr. Garrick, would be to offer him the moiety of it. —

The tender of so considerable and valuable a thing as the half of a patent, was by no means unpleasing to Mr. Garrick; he consulted his friends, who all advised him to purchase it on reasonable terms. By paying the moderate sum of eight thousand pounds, he became joint-patentee of Drury-lane theatre with Mr. Lacy. This transaction was finished to the satisfaction of both parties, about the end of March, or beginning of April, 1747.

Mr. Rich, though he was visibly acquiring very large property by such a constant succession of good houses, and principally by the means of his actors, did not seem to enjoy or understand the happiness of his situation. It was imagined, by those who knew his humour best, that he would have been better pleased to see his great comedians shew away to empty benches, that he might have had an opportunity to mortify their pride, by bringing out a new pantomime, and drawing the town after his raree-show. Often would he take a peep at the house through the curtain, and as often, from disappointment and disgust, arising from the view of a full audience,

ence, break out into the following expressions, "What, are you there! Well, much good may it do you."

Though he might have easily fixed Mr. Garrick in his service, long before he had bargained for a share of Drury-lane patent, he gave himself no concern, when he was told of a matter so fatal to his interest; he rather seemed to consider it as a release from a disagreeable engagement, and consoled himself with mimicking the great actor. It was a ridiculous sight to see the old man upon his knees, repeating Lear's curse to his daughter, after Garrick's manner, as he termed it; while some of the players, who stood round him, gave him loud applauses; and others, though they were obliged to join in the general approbation, heartily pitied his folly, and despised his ignorance.

I am authorised to assert, that the profits arising from plays at Covent-garden theatre, from September 1746, to the end of May, 1747, amounted to eight thousand five hundred pounds. And let no man think this an exorbitant sum, which was earned by a Garrick, in conjunction with many excellent comedians, when it can be proved, that in one year, after paying all expences, eleven thousand pounds were the produce of Mr. Maddock's (the straw-man's) agility, added to the inferior talents of the players, at the same house, some few years afterwards."——

His short sketch of an actress so celebrated for beauty of countenance and elegance of form, as well as merit in her profession, as Mrs. Woffington, cannot but be acceptable to our readers.

"Mrs. Margaret Woffington was born at Dublin in 1718. For her education, in the very early part of life, she was indebted to Madame Violante, a French woman of good reputation, and famous for feats of agility. She is occasionally mentioned in Swift's Defence of Lord Carteret. From her instructions little Woffington learned that easy action and graceful deportment, which she afterwards endeavoured, with unremitting application, to improve. When the Beggar's Opera was first acted at Dublin, it was so much applauded and admired, that all ranks of people flocked to see it. A company of children, under the title of Lilliputians, were encouraged to represent this favourite piece at the Theatre Royal; and Miss Woffington, then in the tenth year of her age, made a very distinguished figure amongst these pigmy comedians.

She appeared, for the first time in London, at the theatre in Covent-garden, in 1738. Her choice of character excited the curiosity of the public: Sir Harry Wildair, acted by a woman, was a novelty: this gay, dissipated, good-humoured rake, she represented with so much ease, elegance, and propriety of deportment, that no male actor has since equalled her in that part: she acquitted herself so much to the general satisfaction, that it became fashionable to see Mrs. Woffington personate Sir Harry Wildair. The managers soon found it to be their interest to announce her frequently for that favourite character; it proved a constant charm to fill their houses.

In Dublin she tried her powers of acting a tragedy rake, for Lothario is certainly of that cast; but whether she was as greatly accomplished in the manly tread of the buskin'd libertine, as she was in the genteel walk of the gay gentleman in comedy, I know not; but it is certain that she did not meet with the same approbation in the part of Lothario, as in that of Wildair.

Her chief merit in acting, I think, consisted in the representation of females in high-rank, and of dignified elegance, whose graces in deportment, as well as foibles, she understood, and displayed in a very lively and pleasing manner. The fashionable irregularities and sprightly coquetry of a Millamant, a Lady Townly, Lady Betty Modish, and Maria in the Non-Juror, were exhibited by Woffington with that happy ease and gaiety, and with such powerful attraction, that the excesses of these characters appeared not only pardonable, but agreeable.

But this actress did not confine herself to parts of superior elegance; she loved to wanton with ignorance when combined with absurdity, and to play with petulance and folly, with peevishness and vulgarity: those who remember her Lady Pliant in Congreve's *Double Dealer*, will recollect with great pleasure her whimsical discovery of passion, and her awkwardly assumed prudery: in Mrs. Day, in the *Committee*, she made no scruple to disguise her beautiful countenance, by drawing on it the lines of deformity, and the wrinkles of old age; and to put on the tawdry habiliments and

vulgar manners of an old hypocritical city vixen.

As, in her profession, she aimed at attaining general excellence, she studied several parts of the most pathetic, as well as lofty class in tragedy; and was resolved to perfect herself in the grace and grandeur of the French theatre. With this view she visited Paris; here she was introduced to Mademoiselle Dumefnil, an actress celebrated for natural elocution and dignified action. Colley Cibber, at the age of seventy, professed himself Mrs. Woffington's humble admirer; he thought himself happy to be her Cicisbeo and instructor; his great delight was to play Nykin, or Fondlewife in the *Old Batchelor*, to her Cocky, or Letitia, in the same play.

On her return from Paris, she acted with approbation some parts in tragedy, particularly *Andromache* and *Hermione* in the *Distressed Mother*, which, to shew her proficiency, she played alternately; but she never could attain to that happy art of speaking, nor reach that skill of touching the passions, so justly admired in Cibber and Pritchard. Old Colley, her master, was himself a mean actor in tragedy, though he was extremely fond of the buskin; he taught her to recite so pompously, that nature and passion were not seldom sacrificed to a false glare of eloquence. The teacher insisted upon a particular *tone*, as he called it, in the declamation of his pupils.

Mr. Garrick's acquaintance with Mrs. Woffington commenced, I believe, in Ireland, when he first visited

visited that kingdom, in 1742; she acted Cordelia and Ophelia to his Lear and Hamlet. When he commenced patentee, in 1747, he found her one of the articulated comedians of Mr. Lacy; but, as he brought with him from Covent-garden Mrs. Cibber and Mrs. Pritchard, she thought her continuing at Drury-lane would be attended with many disagreeable contentions for characters. Before that time, Clive and Woffington had clashed on various occasions, which brought forth squabbles, diverting enough to their several partizans amongst the actors. Woffington was well-bred, seemingly dispassionate, and at all times mistress of herself. Clive was frank, open, and impetuous; what came uppermost in her mind, she spoke without reserve: the other blunted the sharp speeches of Clive by her apparently civil, but keen and sarcastic replies; thus she often threw Clive off her guard by an arch severity, which the warmth of the other could not easily parry.

No two women of high rank ever hated one another more unreservedly than these great dames of the theatre. But though the passions of each were as lofty as those of a first duchess, yet they wanted the courtly art of concealing them; and this occasioned now and then a very grotesque scene in the Green-room.

Mrs. Woffington, after acting a few years with Mr. Rich, engaged herself, in 1751, to Mr. Sheridan, the manager of the Dublin theatre. Here she continued three years, and was the admiration of the public in a variety of parts, tragic and comic. Her company

was sought after by men of the first rank and distinction; persons of the gravest character, and most eminent for learning, were proud of her acquaintance, and charmed with her conversation. She was I think, chosen president of a select society of beaux esprits, called the Beef Steak Club, and was the only woman in the company.

She frankly declared, that she preferred the company of men to that of women; the latter, she said, talked of nothing but silks and scandal. Whether this particular preference of the conversation of males might not take its rise from her not being admitted to visit certain ladies of quality, I will not take upon me to say; but she certainly had not that free access to women of rank and virtue which was permitted to Oldfield and Cibber.

Mrs. Woffington was mistress of a good understanding, which was much improved by company and books. She had a most attractive sprightliness in her manner, and dearly loved to pursue the bagatelle of vivacity and humour: she was affable, good-natured, and charitable. When she returned to London, in 1756, she once more engaged herself to Mr. Rich; and died, about a year before his death, of a gradual decay."

Mr. Malloch or Mallet, the author of *Elvira*, and several other dramatick compositions, makes too conspicuous a figure in these memoirs to be omitted.

"This author, says Mr. Davies, was, when very young, janitor of the High School of Edinburgh. His real name was Macgregor, a member of a Scotch clan, which

had rendered themselves so notorious, as well as obnoxious to the laws, for acts of violence and robbery, that they were obliged, by an act of parliament, to change the name of Macgregor for another. Our author chose that of Malloch; but after having used it some time, and signed it to a dedication, he thought it sounded so unpolitely and was so unharmonious, that he afterward softened it into Mallet. The first production of his muse, and when he was very young, was a sweet and plaintive ballad called William and Margaret. Captain Thompson, the editor of Andrew Marvell's works, declares that he found this poetical nosegay among many other productions of the same author in a folio MS. of his works, and with several poems published by Mr. Addison in the Spectator.

The English poetry, in Marvell's time, was certainly not arrived at that elegance and harmony so visible in the song of William and Margaret, and the hymns and versions of psalms in the Spectator; which latter bear evident marks of their being Mr. Addison's own composition. Nor can I presume to rob Mr. Mallet of the merit of writing William and Margaret, on so slender a proof as that of its being found in a volume of numerous poems attributed to Mr. Marvell, a name which deserves to be revered by every sincere lover of his country. Mr. Mallet having distinguished himself as a man of learning and capacity, was appointed private tutor to his grace the Duke of Montrose, and his brother, Lord George Graham. Soon after, he went abroad with Mr.

Craggs; and after he returned to England, he wrote his tragedy of Eurydice, which was acted at the theatre in Drury-lane in 1731. Aaron Hill wrote the prologue and epilogue, and was enthusiastically warm in his praises of the play, though he found great fault with the acting of it. Eurydice is not written to the heart; the language is not original in many places, but borrowed from other plays; nor are the situations in which the characters are placed interesting, any more than the characters themselves are justly or powerfully drawn; Periander and Procles are Tamerlane and Bajazet, only in dissimilar situations of fortune.

We have in this play rage without producing terror, and grief that causes no commiseration. Eurydice was considerably altered and revived almost thirty years after its first representation. The principal characters were personated by Mr. Garrick and Mrs. Cibber, but to no effect. The passions of love and jealousy are, of all others, the most capable of affecting the minds of the spectators; but all the rage of a Garrick, and pathos of a Cibber, could not extract a tear from the audience. But the author would not take the blame upon himself; he sat in the orchestra, and bestowed his execrations plentifully upon the players, to whom he attributed the cold reception of his tragedy.

Soon after the first acting of Eurydice he published his poem of Verbal Criticism; a true satire on pedants and pedantry, composed of such common-place railery as that with which small

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wits usually attack great and eminent scholars. Bentley's *Paradise Lost* was indeed a fair mark for censure; and we must, I am afraid, reckon it amongst the dotages of that learned man, who published his edition of Milton in a very advanced age. But Mallet's attack upon Theobald was equally ignorant and illiberal; for the *Shakspeare Restored* of this writer laid the foundation of just criticism upon our great poet. However, the poem was written with a design to ingratiate the author with Mr. Pope, who soon after introduced him to Lord Bolingbroke.

Thomson and Mallet were recommended to the patronage of Frederick Prince of Wales, who appointed them both his secretaries. The politicks of St. James's and of Leicester House being very opposite, these writers were employed by the friends of the prince to justify his conduct, and vindicate his cause, by attacking the administration of Sir Robert Walpole.

The two poets did not pretend to understand political argument, but were supposed capable of interesting the public in favour of their master's cause by the art of working up a fable in a tragedy, and in the drawing characters, and giving them such language, as an audience could not fail properly to apply. Thomson, under the auspices of his great patron, brought his *Agamemnon* on Drury-lane stage. I remember the following speech of the principal character in the play, which was spoken to Ægisthus, was greatly applauded:

——But the most fruitful source,
Of every evil—O! that I in thunder
Could found it o'er the listening world
to kings;
Is delegating power to wretched hands.

Agamemnon, though well acted, for Mrs. Porter in advanced age and lame was prevailed on to perform *Clytemnestra*, was not written agreeably to the taste of the critics, who very justly observed, that he had not entirely preserved ancient manners and characters; *Clytemnestra* did not resemble the portrait drawn of her by Æschylus, which is more consistent and agreeable to history. The displeasure of the audience shown to certain scenes produced a whimsical effect upon the author; he had promised to meet some friends at a tavern as soon as the play was ended, but he was obliged to defer his attending them to a very late hour. When he came, they asked him the reason of his stay; he told them, that the critics had sweated him so terribly, by their severe treatment of certain parts of his tragedy, that the perspiration was so violent, as to render his wig unfit to wear; and that he had spent a great deal of time amongst the peruke-makers in procuring a proper cover for his head.

Though Thomson's *Edward and Elonora* was excluded the stage, because the licenser saw, as he imagined, a formidable attack upon the minister; Mallet's *Mustapha*, which was said to glance at the king and Sir Robert Walpole, in the character of Solyman the Magnificent and Roxelana his sister, was acted with great applause.

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On the first night of its exhibition were assembled all the chiefs in opposition to the court; and many speeches were applied by the audience to the supposed grievances of the times, and to persons and characters. The play was in general well acted: more particularly the parts of Solymán and Mustapha, by Quin and Milward. Mr. Pope was present, in the boxes; and at the end of the play went behind the scenes, a place which he had not visited for some years. He expressed himself to be well pleased with his entertainment; and particularly addressed himself to Quin, who was greatly flattered with the distinction paid him by so great a man; and when Pope's servant brought his master's scarlet cloak, Quin insisted upon the honour of putting it on him.

Thomson and Mallet were soon after commanded by the Prince of Wales to write the masque of Alfred, to celebrate the birthday of Lady Augusta, his eldest daughter, which was twice acted, in the gardens of Clifden, by Quin, Milward, Mrs. Clive, Mrs. Norton, and other players. The accommodations for the company, I was told, were but scanty, and ill managed; and the players were not treated as persons ought to be who are employed by a prince. Quin, I believe, was admitted among those of the higher order; and Mrs. Clive might be entrusted to take care of herself anywhere.

But Mallet's reputation was so highly advanced, that the Duke of Marlborough left a legacy by will to him and Mr. Mallet, as a reward for writing

the life of the Duke of Marlborough. The latter declining the task, the whole sum became the property of the former.

Mr. Mallet, after the death of his friend Thomson, which happened in 1748, resumed the story of Alfred, on which they had written in conjunction. He observed that in the first sketch, Alfred was but the second character in his own piece; and this, I imagine, was owing to the influence of Quin, whose manner of speaking and figure were better adapted to the part of the hermit than Alfred. He found himself obliged to make great alterations, more agreeable to the dignity of the principal part, and more suited to Mr. Garrick's powers, who undertook to act it. Abundance of songs, and some odes, were added, and many new incidents and characters; so that little of the old masque remained. In decorations of magnificent triumphal arches, dances of furies, various harmony of musick and incantations, fine scenes and dresses, this masque exceeded every thing which had before made its appearance on the English stage.

Mr. Mallet, in the end of the year 1748, was employed by his patron, Bolingbroke, in a business which, if he had any feeling, must have been very disagreeable to him, the writing the preface to an edition of the Patriot King, in which he was obliged to censure the conduct of his friend Mr. Pope. This great man had been entrusted with several printed copies of the book, and enjoined to communicate the knowledge of it to a few select persons only; but he had, unknown to the author, printed

printed an edition privately of 1500 copies.

Lord Bolingbroke died in December 1751, and left all his writings, published and unpublished, to Mr. Mallet; but with respect to those political works printed in his life-time, he expressed himself cautiously, as if he foresaw that somebody would lay claim to them; and therefore he left them to his legatee, as far as he lawfully could.

When Mallet had prepared Lord Bolingbroke's works for the press, he was surprised with a claim of Mr. Richard Francklin, the printer, who had, in 1726, published Lord Bolingbroke's Political Tracts; and in 1735-6 retailed in the *Craftsman* his Remarks upon the History of England, and his Dissertation on Parties; and afterwards, by the consent, or at least connivance, of the author, printed them in separate volumes. He and Mr. Mallet were advised, by Mr. Garrick and other friends, to leave the matter in dispute to the arbitration of two persons who were supposed by them to be competent judges of the question. Mallet named Mr. Garrick's friend, Mr. Draper, a partner of Jacob Tonson; and Francklin chose Mr. Thomas Wotton, an eminent bookseller, who had retired from business. A writing was drawn, wherein the question was stated, and a power given to the umpires to decide upon it, signed by the parties.

After mature deliberation, the arbitrators gave their decree in writing, as follows: That Mr. Mallet should pay Mr. Francklin the sum of two hundred pounds

for leave to print the political works of Lord Bolingbroke, which had been published in his lordship's life-time, in a complete collection of the said nobleman's writings, and in any form which he thought proper, and as often as he pleased; with this proviso, that Mr. Francklin should be at liberty to print the books in question in separate volumes, as usual.

Mr. Mallet did by no means approve the decision; and Francklin, by trusting to his honour, in not having insisted upon bonds of arbitration, was deprived of the benefit of the award.

The sum of two hundred pounds, for leave to print two or three old volumes, will doubtless appear at present too large a gratification; but, at that time, the right of copy was esteemed a valuable perpetuity; and we cannot now condemn two very intelligent and honest men for a decision in favour of that property which was so differently rated above six and twenty years ago. Mr. Mallet's conduct will not bear justification. But though we cannot defend his behaviour, we may perhaps alledge something by way of excuse. Mr. Mallet and his lady appeared to all the world to be the happiest couple in it, and I desire to have no doubt that they really were what they wished the world should think them. However, Mrs. Mallet, to her excessive love, joined the most consummate prudence. Every shilling of her fortune, which amounted to seven or eight thousand pounds, she settled upon herself; but then she took all imaginable care that Mr. Mallet should ap-

pear like a gentleman of distinction, and, from her great kindness, she always purchased every thing that he wore; hat, stockings, coat, waistcoat, &c. were all of her own choice, as well as at her own cost; and such was the warmth of her fondness, that she took care all the world should know the pains she bestowed on her husband's dress*.

Mallet dreamt of getting golden mountains by Bolingbroke's legacy; he was so sanguine in his expectations, that he rejected the offer of three thousand pounds, tendered to him by Mr. Millar the bookseller, for the copy-right of that nobleman's works; at the same time he was so distressed for cash, that he was forced to borrow money of the same Mr. Millar, to pay his stationer and printer.

Mallet heartily repented his refusal of the Bookseller's offer, for the first impression of his edition of Bolingbroke's works was not sold off in twenty years.

Mr. Mallet's masque of Britannia was acted in 1755. Mr. Garrick spoke a humorous epilogue to it in the character of a drunken sailor, part of which he composed himself. Britannia was represented by Mrs. Jefferson, the most complete figure in beauty of countenance and symmetry of form I ever beheld. This good woman (for she was as virtuous as fair) was so unaffected and simple in her behaviour, that she knew not her power of charming. Her beautiful figure and majestick step in the character of Anna Ballen, drew the admiration of all who saw her. She was very tall; and, had

she been happy in abilities to act characters of consequence, she would have been an excellent partner in tragedy for Mr. Barry. In the vicissitudes of itinerant acting, she had been often reduced, from the small number of players in the company she belonged to, to disguise her lovely form, and to assume parts very unsuitable to so delicate a creature.

When she was asked what characters she excelled in most, she innocently replied, *Old men in comedy*; meaning such parts as Fendleswicke in the *Old Bachelor*, and Sir Jealous Traffick in the *Busy Body*. She died suddenly at Plymouth, as she was looking at a dance that was practising for the night's representation.

Mr. Mallet obtained a pension from the ministry in 1757, and was employed to write a vindication of their measures, and more particularly respecting their sending a fleet into the Mediterranean under Byng; this he effected in a letter, written, as it is said in the title, by a plain man, which was published in a large sheet of paper; the ministers were soon after changed: however, his old friends had the interest to procure him a very considerable place in the customs, which he enjoyed till his death.

Till the year 1763, we hear nothing of Mallet, except a dedication of his poems to the late Duke of Marlborough, in which he promises himself speedily the honour of dedicating to him the life of his great relation. In the preface to his *Alfred*, published with his other works in 1759, he

* Mr. Mallet's favourite dress was a suit of black velvet.

had there suppressed what he had said in a former advertisement to that masque, published in 1751, that it was written to amuse himself, amidst the fatigues of his great work, the life of the Duke of Marlborough.

However, this life, of which he never wrote one line, served him as a kind of stalking-horse, to reach at any game which he had in prospect.

When he had finished his *Elvira*, he cast about in what manner he could best prevail upon Mr. Garrick to act it. He knew that his revived *Eurydice*, and his masque of *Britannia*, had done nothing for the managers, though he had gained something by them himself. He waited on Mr. Garrick, in the usual intercourse of friendship, with *Elvira* in his pocket.

After the common salute, Mr. Garrick asked him, what it was that employed his studies. "Why, upon my word, said Mallet, I am eternally fatigued with preparing and arranging materials for the life of the great Duke of Marlborough; all my nights and days are occupied with that history; and you know, Mr. Garrick, that it is a very bright and interesting period in the British annals. But hark you, my friend! do you know that I have found out a pretty saug nich in it for you?"—"Heh! how's that! a nich for me! (said the manager, turning quickly upon him, his eyes sparkling with unusual fire.) How the devil could you bring me into the history of John Churchill Duke of

Marlborough?"—"That's my business, my dear friend (rejoined Mallet;) but I tell you, I have done it."—"Well, faith, Mallet, you have the art of surprising your friends in the most unexpected and the politest manner: but why won't you, now, who are so well qualified, write something for the stage? You should relax. *Interpone this*—ha! you know! for I am sure the theatre is a mere matter of diversion, a pleasure to you."

"Why faith, said the other, to tell you the truth, I have, whenever I could rob the duke of an hour or so, employed myself in adapting *La Motte's Ines de Castro* to the English stage, and here it is." The manager embraced *Elvira* with rapture, and brought it forward with all expedition.*

A gentleman of the law, who could not miss such an opportunity of laughing at Mr. Garrick's vanity, met him one day, and told him he had been applied to by the booksellers to publish an edition of the *Statutes at Large*, and he hoped he should find a saug nich in them to introduce him.

The story of *Elvira* is exceedingly affecting, and Mrs. Cibber would excite tears, if possible, from insensibility; but the style of Mallet is not dramatick; it is laboured and affected, void of nature and simplicity. The play was well acted, but I believe it was stopped at the ninth night. Some application made by the pit to an unpopular nobleman did no manner of service to it. Mallet,

* Dr. Johnson, in his life of Mallet, places this anecdote to the *Masque of Alfred*.

alarmed at the discontinuing the run of his last and favourite offspring, acquainted Mr. Garrick by a note, that he had received forty cards from persons of distinction, all of whom desired to know the reason why his play was stopped; and for answer, he had referred them to him, the proper judge.

Mr. Garrick had no stomach to repeat the acting of a tragedy that was not approved by the public, and in which he had received such signal mortification. The part of Don Pedro in *Elvira* was the last new character he ever acted.

I have said a great deal of this gentleman, and yet there was a striking peculiarity in his conduct that I ought not to omit, as it may very probably convey some useful advice to others. He was a great free-thinker, and a very free-speaker of his free-thoughts; he made no scruple to disseminate his sceptical opinions where-ever he could with any propriety introduce them.

At his own table indeed, the lady of the house (who was a staunch advocate for her husband's opinions) would often, in the warmth of argument, say "Sir, *are you a deist?*"

She once made use of this expression in a mixed company to David Hume, who refused the intended compliment, by answering that he was a very good Christian; to the truth of which he appealed to a worthy clergyman present; and this occasioned a laugh, which a little embarrassed the lady and Sir Mordaunt.

The lecture after the *new creation* of the French nation was reported to *them*, and urged with so much earnestness, that the infe-

rior domesticks became soon as able disputants as the heads of the family. The fellow who waited at table being thoroughly convinced, that for any of his misdeeds he should have no after-account to make, was resolved to profit by the doctrine, and made off with many things of value, particularly the plate. Luckily he was so closely pursued, that he was brought back with his prey to his master's house, who examined him before some select friends. At first, the man was sullen, and would answer no questions put to him; but being urged to give a reason for his infamous behaviour, he resolutely said, 'Sir, I had heard you so often talk of the impossibility of a future state, and that after death there was no reward for virtue, or punishment for vice, that I was tempted to commit the robbery.' "Well; but you rascal (replied Mallet) had you no fear of the gallows?" "Sir, said the fellow (looking sternly at his master) what is that to you, if I had a mind to venture that? you had removed my greatest terror; why should I fear the lesser?" Mr. Mallet died April 21, 1765."

We shall conclude our extracts from this entertaining miscellany with the following anecdotes of two celebrated and much admired theatrical personages, Mrs. Clive, and Mr. Foote.

"About a year after Mrs. Fritchard had withdrawn from the theatre, her constant companion and friend, Mrs. Clive, determined to follow her example; had she thought proper, she could have continued several years longer to delight the public in various characters

raisters adapted to her figure and time of life; for to the last she was admirable and unrivalled.

Mr. Garrick sent Mr. Hopkins, the prompter, to her, to know whether she was in earnest in her intention of leaving the stage. To such a messenger Mrs. Clive disdained to give an answer. To Mr. George Garrick, whom he afterwards deputed to wait on her upon the same errand, this high-spirited actress was not much more civil; however, she condescended to tell him, that, if his brother wished to know her mind, he should have called upon her himself. When the manager and Mrs. Clive met, their interview was short, and their discourse curious. After some compliments on her great merit, Mr. Garrick wished, he said, that she would continue, for her own sake, some years longer on the stage. This civil suggestion she answered by a look of contempt, and a decisive negative. He asked how much she was worth; she replied briskly, as much as himself. Upon his smiling at her supposed ignorance or misinformation, she explained herself, by telling him, that *she* knew when she had enough, though *he* never would. He then entreated her to renew her agreement for three or four years; she peremptorily refused. Upon repeating his regret at her leaving the stage, she abruptly told him, that she hated hypocrisy; for she was sure that he would light up candles for joy of her leaving him, but that it would be attended with some expence.—Every body will see there was an unnecessary smartness in the lady's language, approaching to rudeness; but how-

ever it was her way, as her friend Mrs. Pritchard used to express it.

The other anecdote relates to transactions between Mr. Garrick and Mr. Foote, which, if the whole of them be true, place the profligacy of the one, arising from his irregularities, and the timidity of the other, arising from his vanity, in a striking point of view.

These rivals would often meet at the houses of persons of fashion, who were glad to have two such guests at their table; though they certainly should have entertained their friends separately; for Mr. Garrick was a *muta persona* in the presence of Foote: he was all admiration when this great genius entertained the company, and no man laughed more heartily at his lively sallies than he did. It must be owned that he tried all methods to conciliate Foote's mind, so far at least as to prevail upon him to forbear his illiberal attacks upon him when absent; and this he ought to have done for his own sake, for Foote often rendered his conversation disgusting by his nauseous abuse of Mr. Garrick; but, the more sensibly the latter discovered, the greater price the former put upon his ceasing from hostilities.

The great success of the Stratford Jubilee, when exhibited, in the winter of 1770, at Drury-lane, inspired this envious man with the design of producing a mock procession in imitation of it, and of introducing Mr. Garrick upon his stage. He considered him as fit goods to bring to his market, a man so rich, so meritorious, so well known, so much admired, and so envied, was a prey too valuable not to be seized on for
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his own use; the foregoing it, he thought, would be losing a staple commodity, which would fill his house forty nights successively, or perhaps for the whole summer. In this mock procession, a fellow was to be dressed up, and made as much like Mr. Garrick as possible; it was intended that some ragamuffin in the procession should address Roscius in the well-known lines of the poet-laureat,

A nation's fate depends on you;
He saves a nation's virtue too.

The representative of Mr. Garrick was to make no answer, but to cry "Cock a doodle do!"

While this scheme was in embryo, Foote's necessities, which were brought on by a ridiculous parade of splendid living, by hiring a number of useless servants, and by treating with magnificent dinners those who laughed at his wit, drank his claret, and won his money at cards, (for he was a great dupe at play,) reduced him to the humiliating situation of borrowing money of the man whom he intended to expose to public ridicule. Five hundred pounds were lent to him by Mr. Garrick: and this sum, after a successful run of a new piece, was paid back in a pettish resentment, because it was pretended that Mr. Garrick's creatures had circulated a report that Mr. Foote was under obligations to him. By this time he had formed his plan, and had resolved, or at least so he gave out, to put it in execution. He was at no pains to conceal his design from Mr. Garrick, who had early intelligence of the whole scheme. The uneasiness he felt upon the occasion could not be

dissembled; he dreaded public ridicule as the worst of all misfortunes, and apprehended the ruin of that reputation which he had been raising so many years. To resent an affront personally to a man with a wooden leg would only have exposed him to laughter.

It was pleasant enough, during the suspension of hostilities, to see them meet, on a visit, at a nobleman's door, and alighting from their chaises. Significant looks were exchanged before they spoke; Mr. Garrick broke silence first: "What is it, war or peace?" "Oh! peace, by all means," said Foote, with much apparent gloom; and the day was spent in great seeming cordiality. Much about this time, Mr. Garrick paid this levelling satirist a visit, and was surprised to see a bust of himself placed on his bureau. Is this intended as a compliment to me? said Roscius. — Certainly. And can you trust me so near your cash and your bank notes? — Yes, very well, said Foote; for you are without hands.

What put an end to this project I could never learn: whether a well-timed gratification, or Garrick's threats of serving him in kind. But of this last I never heard the least hint, though I am well persuaded that such a menace might probably have had its effect; for no man threatened more than Foote, nor was any man more timorous. At the time when he was dealing out his scandal at the Hay-market, and levelling all characters for his private emolument, he was heard to declare, in a kind of agony, that he was afraid to take a news-paper in his hand, for fear of reading some out-

outrageous abuse upon himself or his friends.

But, although the project of a mock procession was given up, Foote thought the ridiculing Garrick on the stage was a morsel too delicious to resign. At the very time when the mind of Mr. Garrick was disturbed by a scandalous and false insinuation, which the author of it publicly and solemnly afterwards disavowed, Mr. Foote, from a ridiculous pretence that Mr. Garrick kept his play-house open purposely to distress him, by acting several of his most favourite characters, and by these means drawing all the play-going people to Drury-lane, resolved to shew his resentment in a manner the most profitable to himself and offensive to Mr. Garrick.

He first attacked him with much vehemence in the news-papers, in the form of letters, fables, and dialogues. This was preparatory to his grand design of regaling the public with a feast of Roscius. The new scheme was to introduce him in his puppet-show: to this end, a mask was made, that bore as near a resemblance as possible

to the countenance of Mr. Garrick, and this he shewed to all his visitors; a paste-board figure of a body was prepared, to be joined to the head; a man was to be concealed under this strange shell, who was, every now and then, to utter something which the author was to convey to him. But so fond was Foote of his favourite Cock: a doodle do! that, as soon as the figure was introduced on the stage, he was ordered to clap his sides, and crow as loud as the cock in Hamlet.

His mock representation of Mr. Garrick was talked of for a long time, though not announced in the news-papers. Foote laboured to raise his fears and apprehensions, and at the same time to create an appetite in the public for so extraordinary a dish. That this project, too, was afterwards laid aside, it was generally supposed, was owing to a sum of money which was borrowed never to be repaid; or perhaps to a gratification, the accepting of which was still more dishonourable; however, this is only conjecture."



T H E

C O N T E N T S.



HISTORY OF EUROPE.

C H A P. I.

Retrospective view of the affairs of Europe in the year 1779. State of the belligerent powers in Germany. Event of the late campaign, induces a disposition favourable to the pacific views of the Empress-Queen; which are farther seconded by the mediation of Russia and France. A suspension of arms published, and the Congress for negotiating a peace assembles at Teschen. Treaty of peace concluded. Differences between Russia and the Porte, threaten a new war. Negotiation conducted, and a new convention concluded, under the mediation of the French minister. Naval preparations by Spain. Opens the war with the siege of Gibraltar. France. Consequences of the appointment of M. Necker to the government of the French finances. Successful expedition to the coast of Africa. Ineffectual attempt upon the Island of Jersey. Threat of an invasion, and great preparations apparently for that purpose. French fleet sails from Brest, and proceeds to the coasts of Spain. Combined fleets of France and Spain enter the British channel, and appear in great force before Plymouth. Enemy quit the channel, return again; at length finally quit the British coasts, and proceed to Brest. p. [1

C H A P. II.

State of public affairs previous to the meeting of parliament. Vast combination of power against Great Britain. Proclamations; for reprisals on Spain; and for defensive measures in case of an invasion. Various manifestos, and public pieces, issued by the belligerent powers. Some observations on the charges exhibited by Spain. Ostensible causes, and real motives for war, on the side of the House of Bourbon. Ireland. Causes which led to the present state of affairs in that kingdom. Com-

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Commercial, and non consumption agreements. French invasion threatened. Military operations. People become strongly armed. Exemplary conduct of the officers. Prudent measures of government in that country. General demand of a free and unlimited commerce. Discontents in Scotland, under an apprehension of a relaxation of the popery laws. Outrages in Edinburgh and Glasgow. Subscriptions for raising troops, and other public purposes. East India company grant bounties for raising 6000 seamen, and undertake to build three ships of the line, as an augmentation to the royal navy. State of parties. Changes in administration. Meeting of the Irish parliament. [15

C H A P. III.

Speech from the throne. Addresses. Amendment moved in the House of Commons by Lord John Cavendish. Great Debates. Strictures upon public measures in general, and upon the conduct of the preceding campaign. Able defence made by the minister. Amendment rejected upon a division. Amendment in the House of Lords moved for by the Marquis of Rockingham. After long debates, rejected upon a division. [37

C H A P. IV.

Vote of censure against ministers, relative to their conduct with respect to Ireland, moved by the Earl of Shelburne. Debates on the question. Part taken by the late lord president of the council. Motion rejected upon a division. Similar motion in the House of Commons by the Earl of Upper Ossery. Defence of administration. Animadversion. Motion rejected upon a division. Motion by the Duke of Richmond, for an economical reform of the civil list establishment. Motion, after considerable debates, rejected upon a division. Minister opens his propositions, in the House of Commons, for affording relief to Ireland. Agreed to without opposition. Two bills accordingly brought in, and passed before the recess. Third bill to lie open till after the holidays. Earl of Shelburne's motion relative to the extraordinary expenses of the army; and introductory to a farther reform in the public expenditure. Motion rejected on a division. Notice given of a second intended motion, and the lords summoned for the 8th of February. Letters of thanks from the city of London to the Duke of Richmond and to the Earl of Shelburne, for their attempts to introduce a reform in the public expenditure; and similar letters sent to his royal highness the Duke of Cumberland, and to all the other lords who supported the two last motions. Mr. Burre gives notice of his plan of public reform and economy, which he proposes bringing forward after the recess. [57

C H A P. V.

County meetings, petitions, and associations. York leads the way. Great meeting at that city. Committee appointed. Some account of the petition from that county, which becomes a model to others. Sir George Sackville

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Wille presents the petition from the county of York. Debates on that subject. Jamaica petition presented. Mr. Burke's plan of economical reform. Bills brought in upon that system. Earl of Shelburne's motion (pursuant to the notice given before the recess) for a committee of both houses, to enquire into the public expenditure. Motion seconded by the Earl of Coventry. Opposed. Debates. Strictures with respect to the county meetings and petitions. Marquis of Carmarthen explains the causes of his resignation. Strictures on the conduct of a noble lord at the head of a great department. Motion rejected upon a division. Unusual strength shown by the opposition on this division. [85

C H A P. VI.

Colonel Barre gives notice of his intended propositions relative to a committee of accounts. Scheme approved of by the minister. Sir George Saville's motion, for an account of patent places and salaries, agreed to. Second motion, for an account of pensions, during pleasure or otherwise, opposed. Debate broken off by the illness of the speaker. Resumed in the following week. Amendment, moved by the minister. Long debates. Minister's amendment carried, on an exceedingly close division. Jamaica petition presented in the House of Lords, and the subject strongly engaged, by the Marquis of Rockingham. Thanks of the lords and commons to Admiral Sir George Rodney, for his late eminent services. Attempt by the opposition, in both houses, to obtain some mark of royal favour for that commander. Scheme, for a commission of accounts, announced by the minister, in the House of Commons. Strictures on that business. Mr. Burke's establishment bill read a first and second time without opposition; debate, and division, relative only to time, on its commitment. Motion by the Earl of Shelburne, relative to the removal of the Marquis of Carmarthen, and the Earl of Pembroke, from the lieutenancy of their respective counties. Question, much agitated. Motion rejected on a division. [114

C H A P. VII.

Order of the day for going into a committee on Mr. Burke's establishment bill. Question of competency put. Debated. Opposition insist, that the decision of that question should take place of the order of the day. Question for the order of the day, carried, upon a very close division. Debates in the committee on the first clause of the establishment bill, for abolishing the office of third secretary of state. Clause rejected, after very long debates, upon a division, by a very small majority. Long debates in the committee, on a subsequent day, upon that clause of the establishment bill, for abolishing the board of trade. Question for abolishing that board, carried upon a division. Difference between the speaker and the minister. Mr. Fubarton's complaint of the Earl of Shelburne. Issue of that affair in Hyde Park. Notice given by Sir James Lowther, of an intended motion, for preserving the freedom of debate in parliament. Subject considerably agitated. Warmly rejoined without success. A -

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addresses of congratulation to the Earl of Shelburne on his recovery. Danger to which Mr. Fox and he had been exposed, attributed to their zeal in the service of their country. Contractors bill brought in by Sir Philip Jennings Clerke, and carried through the House of Commons without a division. Great debates on the clause in Mr. Burke's establishment bill, for abolishing the offices of treasurer of the chamber, and others. Question, on the first member of the clause, lost upon a division. Succeeding questions rejected. Debates on the minister's motion for giving notice to the East India company, of the paying off their capital stock at the end of three years. Previous question moved, and lost on a division. Motion against receiving the report of the new taxes, until the petitions of the people were considered, rejected upon a division by a great majority. Earl of Effingham's motion in the House of Lords, for a list of places, pensions, &c. held by members of that house, rejected upon a division. [134

C H A P. VIII.

Army estimates. Debates on the subject of the new corps. Division. Question carried. Consideration of the petitions. Great debates in the committee. Part taken by the Speaker. Amendment to the motion, proposed and agreed to. Mr. Dunning's amended motion, carried, upon a division, in a very full house. Second motion, agreed to. Third motion, by Mr. T. Pitt, agreed to. House refused. Mr. Fox's motion, for immediately receiving the report from the committee, opposed, but carried. Resolutions, reported, received, and confirmed by the House. Mr. Dunning's motion (on a following day) in the committee, for securing the independence of parliament, agreed to. Second motion, for disqualifying persons holding certain offices, from sitting in that house, carried, upon a division, by a majority of two only. Mr. Crewe's bill, for excluding revenue officers from voting on the election of members of parliament, rejected, on a division. Great debates in the House of Lords, upon the second reading of the contractors bill. The bill rejected, upon a division, by a considerable majority. Protest. Consequences of the Speaker's illness. Postponed motion of Mr. Dunning's, for an address, to prevent dissolving the parliament, or proroguing the present session, until proper measures should be taken for correcting the evils complained of in the petitions of the people, brings out long debates; but is rejected by a considerable majority, in an exceedingly full house. Diversion upon Mr. Fox's rising to speak, after the division. Nature of his speech. Reply, by the minister. Great debates upon the clause in Mr. Burke's establishment bill, for abolishing the office of the Great Wardrobe, &c. Clause rejected upon a division. Succeeding clause, for abolishing the Board of Works, rejected upon a division. Debates upon the minister's bill for a commission of accounts. Close division upon a question in the committee. Bill at length passed. Debates on Colonel Barre's motions, relation to the extraordinaries of the army. First motion rejected, upon a division, by a great majority. Succeeding resolutions rejected. General Conway's bill, for restoring peace with America, disposed of, upon a division,

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division, by a motion for the order of the day. Motion tending to an enquiry, into any requisition made by the civil magistrate, for the attendance of the military, upon the late meeting of the electors of Westminster. Various clauses of Mr. Burke's establishment bill, rejected, upon, or without divisions. Recorder of London's motion in behalf of the petitioners, rejected upon a division. Mr. Dunning's motion, in the committee of the whole house on the consideration of the petitions, for reporting their own two resolutions of the 10th of April, set aside, by a motion for the chairman to quit the chair, which was carried upon a division. Meeting of the Protestant association in St. George's Fields. Subsequent riots, mischiefs, and conflagrations. Resolutions, conduct, and adjournment of both houses. Lord George Gordon committed to the Tower. Speech from the throne, on the meeting of parliament after the late disorders. Addresses. Resolutions in the House of Commons, for quieting the minds of well-meaning, but ill-informed persons. Bill passes the House of Commons, for the security of the Protestant religion. Is laid by in the House of Lords. Speech from the throne. Prerogation. [139

C H A P. IX.

*Sir George Rodney proceeds to Gibraltar, in his way to the West Indies. Takes a valuable Spanish Convoy. Falls in with a squadron, under the command of Don Juan de Langara. Takes the Admiral, with several men of war, and destroys others. Relieves Gibraltar, supplies Minorca, and proceeds on his destined voyage. Protee, French man of war, taken by Admiral Digby, on his return from Gibraltar. Dutch convoy, under the conduct of Count Byland, stopped, and examined by Commodore Fielding. Count Byland comes to Spithead, with his squadron, and convoy. Consequences of that, and of other precedent and subsequent measures. Russian manifesto. Northern neutrality. Royal proclamation in London, suspending certain stipulations in favour of the subjects of the States General. Retrospective view of affairs in America and the West Indies, in the year 1779. Advantages derived by the Spanish commanders, from their early knowledge of the intended rupture. Don Bernardo de Galvez, subdues the British settlements on the Mississippi. Sullivan's successful expedition against the Indians of the six nations. Some observations on the policy of that people, and on the state of culture and improvement, which the Americans discovered in their country. Expeditions from Jamaica to the Bay of Honduras, and the Mosquito shore. Forts of Omoa and Spanish register ships taken. Vigilant and successful conduct of Admiral Hyde Parker, on the leeward island station. [*201*

C H A P. X.

Rhode Island evacuated. Design against New York frustrated by D'Eſtaing's failure at Savannah. Expedition against Charles Town. Sir Henry Clinton lands with the army in South Carolina; takes possession of the
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islands of John and James; passes Ashley River to Charles Town Neck; siege of that city. Admiral Arbuthnot passes the Bar with difficulty. American and French marine force abandon their station, and retire to the town, where most of the former are sunk to bar a passage. The admiral passes the heavy fire of the fort on Sullivan's Island, and takes possession of the harbour. General Lincoln summoned without effect. State of the defences on Charles Town Neck. Colonel Tarleton cuts off a party of the rebels. Col. Webster passes Cooper River with a detachment, by which the city is closely invested. Lord Cornwallis takes the command on that side. Siege pressed with great vigour. Admiral Arbuthnot takes Mount Pleasant, and reduces Fort Moultrie. Tarleton defeats and destroys the rebel cavalry. Capitulation of Charles Town. Garrison, artillery, frigates, &c. Rebels again defeated by Tarleton, at Waxaw. Regulations by Sir Henry Clinton for the security of the province. Departure for New York. Earl Cornwallis reduces the whole colony. Unexpected danger to which the severity of the winter had exposed New York. Gallant defence made by Capt. Cornwallis, against a French superior naval force. Three naval actions between Sir George Rodney, and M. de Guichen, productive of no decisive consequences. Insurrections of the loyalists in North Carolina quelled. Baron de Kalbe marches into that province with a continental force. Is followed by Gen. Gates, who takes the chief command. State of affairs in the two Carolina's. Battle of Camden. Complete victory gained by Lord Cornwallis. Sumpter routed by Tarleton. [216]

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